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VASARI'S LIVES

OF THE MOST EMINENT

PAINTERS, SCULPTORS, AND
ARCHITECTS.

VOL. I.

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Montabone.

1797.

Vesuvius

LIVES
OF THE MOST EMINENT
PAINTERS, SCULPTORS
AND
ARCHITECTS

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN OF
GIORGIO VASARI

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS, CHIEFLY SELECTED FROM GERMAN
AND ITALIAN COMMENTATORS

MRS. JONATHAN FOSTER.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

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P R E F A C E.

A GERMAN writer has remarked that, "No man exhibits his own character so effectually as when engaged in portraying that of another." The justice of this observation is not unfrequently exemplified in the Biographies written by Vasari; and how charming is the character of himself thus unconsciously revealed! It is always pleasant to find that an author who has obtained your attention, is deserving also of your esteem; a book may amuse, or may inform, but if it fail to command respect for the writer, how serious a drawback is this on the pleasure derived from it. To such disadvantage the reader of Vasari will not be exposed: for he cannot but esteem his author.

Three hundred years have now elapsed since our distinguished critic and biographer first enriched the world with the work before us; and from that time to the present his compatriots and admirers have continually employed themselves in writing Annotations, Commentaries, or Criticisms upon it. His statements are sometimes impugned, and his dates are not always strictly accurate; but he has never wanted able and zealous defenders. He may not have attained perfection, but in him later writers have generally found their best resources. On his book almost every subsequent

performance in the same department is based; nor do we open a work on the Arts in any language without finding his authority extensively cited.

Of the many Italian editions of Vasari published from time to time, the most important are the first and second, which appeared in 1550 and 1568 respectively, both under the superintendence of the author himself; and the fourth, published at Rome, in the year 1759, embellished with portraits, and enriched with elaborate annotations by the learned ecclesiastic, Giovanni Bottari.

The sixth edition, published at Siena, was superintended by the Padre Della Valle, whom Cicognara accuses of having "rendered Vasari more voluminous, with no better result than an increase of bulk, coupled with a decrease of value".* The many original documents presented in this edition may, nevertheless, be consulted with advantage; especially those relating to the School of Siena.

The tenth Italian edition, that published by Passigli, of Florence, 1832-38, is perhaps, upon the whole, the most valuable. It was edited, first by the laborious and accurate Montani, of Cremona, and, on his death, by that highly competent authority, and most impartial critic, Giovanni Masselli. The latest edition of Vasari, commenced in 1846, is still in course of publication. It is superintended by an association of learned Italians, and has great value, as giving the most recent intelligence respecting the locality and condition of many of the works of art described by the author: but for its

* *Catalogo ragionato de' Libri d'Arte*, 2 vol. 8vo., Pisa 1821.

best notes this new edition is indebted to that superintended by Montani and Masselli.

There is, besides, a German translation; and here, as elsewhere, the Germans have brought their unconquerable patience of research, and conscientious minuteness of investigation, to the work before them. The world has, consequently, to thank them for an admirable version, and for annotations which are invaluable. The French have also given what they call a translation; but this is an impertinent travesty, of which no more need be said.

In our own language, no translation, previous to the present, has appeared; but an abridgement of a few of the lives was published in a thin 4to, London, 1719.

Of the mode in which the present attempt has been performed, the reader will form his own judgment. The object of the translator has been to give Vasari as he is, without the slightest deviation from the letter of the text. In doing this, certain sacrifices have not unfrequently been called for in respect to style. The reader whose taste has been formed on the more polished models of the present day, will, doubtless, be frequently reminded that Vasari wrote three hundred years since, and, even with this qualification, may sometimes think him rendered in too homely a manner; but the excellent Giorgio was a man of plain words, and we would not have him say to us, as Donato said to Duke Cosmo, "This mantle, that thou hast given me, is too dainty for my wear."*

From the vast amount of notes and commentaries accumulated in the different editions of our author, the

* *Spicilegium Romanum*. "*Vita di Cosmo*." See also p. 489, *note*, of the present work.

translator has selected carefully, according to the best of her judgment; contributing such additions of her own as frequent visits to the principal galleries of Europe have enabled her to offer. A profound sense of what is due to her author, and a firm conviction that no writer should presume to place before the public anything short of the best that he can produce, have impressed on her the necessity of shrinking from no amount of labour required for the due performance of her task. The result she begs the reader, in the words of Vasari himself, to accept: "Not as what I would fain offer, but as what I am able to present."

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DEDICATION TO COSMO DE' MEDICI.

[TO THE EDITION OF 1550].

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST EXCELLENT
SIGNOR COSMO DE' MEDICI, DUKE OF FLORENCE
MY MOST REVERED LORD.

IMPELLED by your own natural magnanimity, and following the example of your illustrious progenitors, your Excellency has never ceased to favour and exalt every kind of talent, wheresoever it may be found, more particularly do you protect the arts of design ; and since your gracious disposition towards those who exercise these arts, with your knowledge of, and pleasure in, their best and rarest works, is fully manifest, I have thought that this labour which I have undertaken—of writing the lives, describing the works, and setting forth the various relations of those who, when art had become extinct, first revived, and then gradually conducted her to that degree of beauty and majesty wherein we now see her, would not be other than pleasing to your Excellency.

And since almost all these masters were Tuscans, the greater part of them your own Florentines, many of whom were aided and encouraged by your illustrious ancestors with every sort of honour and reward, it may be truly affirmed that the arts were recalled to life in your own States—nay, in your own most fortunate house. Thus is the world indebted to your ancestors for the recovery of these noble arts, by which it is both ennobled and embellished.

Reflecting, therefore, on the gratitude which this age—the arts and their masters—owe alike to your ancestors, and to yourself, as the heir of their virtues, and their patronage of these professions,—reflecting also on what I owe them in my own person, whether as subject or servant, and for what I have learned from them. Brought up under the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, and under Alexander, your predecessor, and deeply honouring the memory of the magnanimous Ottaviano de' Medici, by whom I was supported, befriended,

and sheltered while he lived · for all these reasons, and because the greatness of your high fortune will largely contribute to the advantage of this work, and from your intimate acquaintance with its subject, the extent of its utility, with the care and industry bestowed on its execution, can be so fully appreciated by none as by your Excellency—it appears to me that I cannot suitably dedicate this work to any other than your Excellency, under the protection of whose most honoured name I desire that it may reach the hands of men.

Deign, then, to accept, to favour, and—if your exalted occupations permit—sometimes to read my book, having regard to the nature of the matters treated therein, and to the uprightness of my intention : for my object has not been to acquire praise as a writer, but rather, as an artist, to celebrate the industry, and revive the memory, of those who, having adorned and given life to these professions, do not merit that their names and works should remain the prey of death and oblivion, as they have hitherto been. I have, besides, thought that the example of so many able men, with the various notices, of divers kinds, collected by my labours in this book, might be of no small advantage to those who study the arts, and would gratify all others who have taste for, and pleasure in them. And I have laboured to execute the whole with that accuracy and good faith demanded in the relation of historical facts committed to writing. But if my fashion of writing—being uncultivated and simple, as I am wont to speak—is not worthy of your Excellency's ear, or of the merits of so many men of illustrious ability—pardon me as to them—that the pen of a Draftsman, such as they were themselves, has not availed to give them a clearer outline or more effective shadows; and as to yourself, it shall suffice me if your Excellency will deign to look favourably on my simple work, remembering that the necessity I am in of providing myself with the daily necessities of life, has not allowed me time for other studies than those of the pencil. Nor even in these have I yet attained to that point at which I now hope to arrive, now, when fortune promises to favour me so far, that, with more credit to myself, and more satisfaction to others, I may be able to express my thoughts, whatever they may be, to the world, as well with my pencil as my pen. For, in addition to the aid and protection which I may hope from your Excellency as my liege lord, and as the protector of poor artists, it has pleased the Divine goodness to elect the most holy and most blessed Julius III to be his vicar upon earth—a pontiff who acknowledges and loves every kind of excellence, more especially in these most noble and difficult arts; and from whose exalted liberality I expect indemnification for the many years I have consumed, and the heavy labours I have endured, up to this time, without any fruit whatever. And not only I, who have devoted myself in perpetual servitude to his Holiness,

but all the ingenious artists of this age, may equally expect honour, reward, and opportunity to exercise their art; so that I rejoice already in the thought that these arts will reach the supreme point of their perfection during his reign, and Rome be adorned by so many and such excellent artists, that, counting with them those of Florence, daily called into activity by your Excellency, we may hope that they who shall come after us will have to write a fourth part to my work, enriched by other performances and other masters than those here described, in the company of whom I continually make every effort to be not among the last.

Meanwhile, I am content that your Excellency have some hope of me, and a better opinion of me than you probably, without any fault of mine, have hitherto held, entreating that your Excellency will not suffer me to be injured, in your estimation, by the malignant assertions of others, while my life and works prove the contrary of their reports. And now, with the earnest desire ever to serve and honour your Excellency, I dedicate this my rude labour, as I have devoted myself and all that I have, to your service, entreating that you will not disdain to take it under your protection, or that you will at least regard the devotion of him who offers it. I recommend myself to your gracious consideration, and humbly kissing your hands, am your Excellency's most obedient servant,

GIORGIO VASARI,
Painter, of Arezzo.

DEDICATION TO COSMO DE' MEDICI.

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST EXCELLENT
SIGNOR COSMO DE' MEDICI, DUKE OF FLORENCE
AND SIENA, HIS MOST HONOURED LORD.

SEVENTEEN years have now elapsed since I presented to your most illustrious Excellency the then but roughly sketched Lives of the most renowned Painters, Sculptors, and Architects ; and now they once again return to present themselves before you, not indeed wholly finished, yet so changed from what they first were,—so enriched by the many works of which I had not been able to obtain an earlier knowledge, and so much more complete, that there remains, in my opinion, nothing more that my power can supply, to be desired for them. Again I present these Lives to you, therefore, most illustrious and most truly excellent My Lord Duke, with the addition of other noble and very famous artists, who, between the former period and the present, have passed from the miseries of this life to a better ; as well as of some, who, though still in life amongst us, have so nobly laboured in their vocation, that they are most worthy to be had in eternal remembrance. And of a truth it has been of no small advantage to many, that I have been permitted, by the mercy of Him through whom live all things, to survive until I have been able to write this book almost anew ; for, as I have expunged many things, which in my absence and without my knowledge, had been printed in the former one. I know not how, so I have also altered and added many things, which, although useful and even necessary, were previously wanting. And if the portraits of the many distinguished men, which I have added to this work, and of which great part have been procured by the favour and aid of your Excellency, are not always true to the life, and have not those characteristic expressions, or that resemblance more commonly given by the vivacity of colour, this is not because the drawings have not been made from the life, or are not the real and natural likeness of the artist, but arises from the fact, that they have been sent to me in great part by the friends that I possess in various places, and have not been taken by a master's hand. I have also endured no small in-

convenience from the distance of those who have engraved the heads; for if the engravers had been near me, we might probably have had the work executed with greater care than has now been done. But however this may be, our artists, and the lovers of art for whose benefit and convenience I have subjected myself to so much labour, are wholly indebted to your most illustrious Excellency, for whatever of good, useful, or agreeable may be found in this work; for, being in your Excellency's service, I have had facilities, by means of the leisure which you have been pleased to secure to me, and by the use of the many, nay, innumerable objects belonging to your Excellency, to which I have had access: for the collection, arrangement, and final presentation to the world, of all that seemed desirable for the completion of the work. And now, would it not be almost impiety as well as ingratitude, should I dedicate these lives to any other than yourself? or, if artists should attribute, whatever they may find of useful or pleasing in the work, to any one but to your Excellency? For not only was it by your help and favour that the book first received existence, and now returns to the light; but are not you alone, in imitation of our ancestors, sole father, lord, and protector, of these our arts? Most reasonable and righteous is it, therefore, that so many pictures and noble statues, with so many wondrous edifices of every kind, should be erected and executed by those in your service, and to your eternal and ever-during memory. But if we are all indebted to you for these and other causes,—as we all are most deeply,—how much more do not I owe you? I, who have ever received at your hands so many valued occasions (would that my head and hands were but equal to my wish and desire,) for giving proof of my slight abilities, which, whatever they may be, are very far from commensurate to the truly royal magnificence and greatness of your own mind. But what do I seek to accomplish? It were better I should remain silent than attempt that which would be wholly impossible, even to a much higher and nobler intellect,—how much more, then, to my most weak powers. Deign then, your most illustrious Excellency, to accept this my—or rather, indeed, your—book of the Lives of the Artists in Design, and, as doth the Father of all, looking first to the heart of the writer, and the good intentions of the work, be pleased graciously to accept, not what I would, or ought to offer, but what I am able to present.

Your most illustrious Excellency's

Most obliged servant,

GIORGIO VASARI.

Florence, 9th January, 1568.

TO THE ARTISTS IN DESIGN.

GIORGIO VASARI.

MOST DEAR AND EXCELLENT BROTHER ARTISTS,—the delight, as well as the honour and profit that I have derived from labouring as I have best been able in these most noble arts, has ever been so great, that I have not only felt an ardent wish to exalt, to celebrate, and to honour them by every means in my power, but have also been ever most affectionately disposed towards all who take similar pleasure in them, or who have distinguished themselves more happily in the pursuit of them than I, perchance, have been able to do. And from this, my good will and fulness of most sincere affection, it appears to me, that I have hitherto gathered the due and proper fruits, having been constantly beloved and honoured by all of you; and the intercourse between us having always been of a cordial intimacy, if I might not rather say of the most perfect brotherhood,—for we have mutually laid open to each other our various works,—I to you, and you to me,—assisting one another whenever the occasion presented itself, both with council and with aid. Wherefore, moved by this our affection, and much more by your excellent talents, but also by my own inclination, by nature, and by a most potent instinct and attraction, I have always felt deeply bound to gratify and serve you, in every manner, and by all means, that I have judged likely to contribute either to your enjoyment or advantage. To this end it was, that in the year 1550, I put forth the lives of those most renowned and esteemed among us, moved thereunto by a cause recounted elsewhere, and also (to declare the truth) by a generous indignation that so much talent should remain concealed for so long a time, and still continue buried. Nor does this my labour appear to have been unwelcome; on the contrary, it has been so well accepted, that,—besides the many things that have been said and written to me from many parts,—of the very large number that was printed of my book, there does not remain one single volume in the hands of the booksellers.

Accordingly, daily receiving requests from many friends, and knowing, too, with equal certainty, the unexpressed wishes of many others, I have once more addressed myself to my former labours, (although occupied in most important undertakings) with the intention, not only of adding the names of those who,

having passed in the interim to a better world, thus give me the opportunity of writing their lives at more length, but also of supplying what may have been wanting to the perfection of the first work. For I have had opportunities in the meanwhile of attaining a clearer comprehension respecting many things, and of re-examining others; not only by the favour of those my most illustrious lords (whom I serve), the refuge and protection of every subject of virtue; but likewise by the facilities which they have supplied of making new researches throughout Italy, and of seeing and examining many things which had not before come under my notice. Thus, it is not enough to say that I have corrected these lives; since they have received such large additions that many of them may be said to be written anew; while many, even of the older masters, which were not before included, have now been added to the number. Nor have any labour, cost, or pains appeared to me too great for the better restoration of the memory of those whom I so greatly honour, or for the discovering of their portraits, and the procuring them, to place before their lives. And, for the more perfect satisfaction of many friends, devoted lovers of art, though not within our ranks, I have brought into a compendious form the greater part of the works of those artists who are still living, but whose talents render them worthy to be held in constant remembrance; for that consideration which formerly restrained me, need have no influence here, if the matter be well weighed, since I propose to speak of nothing that is not good and worthy of praise. And it may be, that these my words shall serve as a spur, moving each to continue labouring worthily, and to seek to advance himself perpetually from good to better; insomuch, that he who shall write the remainder of this history, may be able to treat his subject with increased grandeur and majesty, as having to enumerate those more rare and perfect works, which, in the lapse of time, inspired by the longing for immortality, and worked out by the efforts of exalted minds, the future world shall behold, proceeding from your hands. Then the youth who pursue these studies, incited by the love of glory (when the love of gain has not so strong an influence) may perchance become inflamed by the example, and in their turn attain to excellence.

And that this book may be complete in all its parts, so that the reader shall not need to seek anything beyond it, I have added great part of the works of the most celebrated ancient masters, as well Greek as of other nations, the memory of whom has been preserved even to our own days by Pliny, and other writers; but for whose pens that memory must have been buried in eternal oblivion, as is the case with so many others. And perhaps this consideration also may increase our desire to labour truly; for, seeing the nobility and greatness of our art, and how, by all nations, but especially by the most exalted minds, and the most

potent rulers, it has ever been honoured and rewarded, we may all be the more influenced and impelled to adorn the world with works, infinite as to number and surpassing in their excellence,—whence, embellished by our labours, it may place us on that eminence which it has maintained those ever admirable and most celebrated spirits.

Accept these my labours, therefore, with a friendly mind ; whatsoever they may be, I have anxiously conducted the work to its close, for the glory of art, and to the honour of artists ; receive it then as a sure token and pledge of my heart, which is of nothing more desirous than of your greatness and glory. In the which, I being received by you into your Society (wherefore I am both thankful to you, and rejoiced no little as for mine own part), it appears to me that I always, in a certain sort, participate.

INTRODUCTION TO THE LIVES.

SUMMARY.

Origin of the Arts of Design, first known among the Chaldeans—The Arts among the Egyptians and Hebrews—Among the Greeks and Romans—Among the Etruscans—Of the decline of the Arts among the Romans—The decline of Architecture less rapid—The decline of Architecture accelerated by the departure of the Emperors from Rome—The invasion of the Roman Empire by Barbarians reduces the Arts of Design to ruin—The Arts suffered injury, from the indiscreet zeal of the early Christians—Still heavier injuries inflicted by the Emperor Constans II, and by the Saracens—Of the Arts under the Lombards, and of the Architecture called Gothic—Of some better buildings erected in Florence, Venice, and elsewhere—Architecture revives to a certain extent in Tuscany, and more especially at Pisa—In Lucca—Sculpture, Painting, and Mosaic, ceasing to imitate the Greeks,* begin to revive by means of the Italians—Ancient Art as distinguished from the old—Conclusion.

It is without doubt a fixed opinion, common to almost all writers, that the arts of sculpture and painting were first discovered by the nations of Egypt, although there are some who attribute the first rude attempts in marble, and the first statues and reliefs, to the Chaldeans, while they accord the invention of the pencil, and of colouring, to the Greeks. But I am myself convinced, that design, which is the foundation of both these arts, nay, rather the very soul of each, comprising and nourishing within itself all the essential parts of both, existed in its highest perfection from the first moment of creation, when the Most High having formed the great body of the world, and adorned the heavens with their resplendent lights, descended by his spirit, through the limpidity of the air, and penetrating the solid mass of earth, created man; and thus unveiled, with the beauties of creation, the first form of sculpture and of painting. For from this man, as from a true model, were copied by slow degrees (we may not venture to affirm the contrary), statues and sculptures: the difficulties of varied attitude,—the flowing lines

* That is, the Byzantine Greeks.

of contour—and in the first paintings, whatever these may have been, the softness, harmony, and that concord in discord, whence result light and shade. The first model, therefore, from which the first image of man arose, was a mass of earth; and not without significance, since the Divine Architect of time and nature, Himself all-perfect, designed to instruct us by the imperfection of the material, in the true method of attaining perfection, by repeatedly diminishing and adding to; as the best sculptors and painters are wont to do, for by perpetually taking from or adding to their models they conduct their work, from its first imperfect sketch, to that finish of perfection which they desire to attain. The Creator further adorned his model with the most vivid colours, and these same colours, being afterwards drawn by the painter from the mines of earth, enable him to imitate whatsoever object he may require for his picture. It is true, that we cannot with certainty declare what was accomplished in these arts and towards the imitation of so beautiful a model, by the men who lived before the deluge, although we are fully justified in believing that they produced works of every kind, both in sculpture and painting, since Belus, son of the proud Nimrod, about two hundred years after the deluge, caused the statue to be made, which, at a later period, gave birth to idolatry. His renowned daughter-in-law, moreover, Semiramis, queen of Babylon, when building that city, not only placed various figures of animals, drawn and coloured from nature, among the ornaments of her edifices, but added statues of herself and of her husband Ninus, with figures in bronze, representing her father-in-law, her mother-in-law, and the mother of the latter, calling them, as Diodorus relates, by the names of the Greeks, Jupiter, Juno, and Ops* (which as yet were not in use). And it was probably from these statues that the Chaldeans learned to form the images of their gods, since we know, that a hundred and fifty years later, Rachael daughter of Laban, when flying from Mesopotamia with Jacob, her husband, stole the idols of her father, as is plainly set forth in the book of Genesis.

Nor were the Chaldeans the only people who devoted

* Diodorus, l. ii, c. 9, mentions the golden statues of Jupiter, Juno, and Rhea, but not as portraits.

themselves to sculpture and painting ; the Egyptians also laboured with great zeal in these arts, as is proved by the wondrous sepulchre of that ancient monarch, Osimandyas, described at length by Diodorus, and, as may be clearly inferred from the severe law enacted by Moses at the departure from Egypt, namely, that no image whatever should be raised to God, under pain of death. And when this lawgiver, descending from the Mount, found the golden calf set up and voluntarily adored by his people, he not only broke and reduced it to powder, in his great indignation at the sight of divine honours paid to a mere animal, but commanded that many thousands of the guilty Israelites, who had committed that idolatry, should be slain by the hands of the Levites. But that the worship, and not the formation of statues, was the deadly crime thus deprecated, we read in the book of Exodus, where the art of design and statuary, not only in marble, but in all kinds of metals, was given by the mouth of God Himself to Bezaleel, of the tribe of Judah, and to Aholiab, of the tribe of Dan, who were appointed to make the two cherubim of gold, the candlesticks, the veil, and the fringes of the sacerdotal vestments ; with all the beautiful castings for the Tabernacle ; and these embellishments were executed for no other purpose than to induce the people to contemplate and admire them.

It was from the works seen before the deluge, then, that the pride of man acquired the art of constructing statues of all those to whom they desired to attribute immortal fame ; and the Greeks, who account for the origin of art in various methods, declare, according to Diodorus, that the Ethiopians constructed the first statues, affirming, that from them the Egyptians acquired the art, and that the Greeks derived it from the Egyptians. That sculpture and painting had attained their perfection in Homer's time, is rendered obvious by the manner in which that divine poet speaks of the shield of Achilles, and which he sets before our eyes with so much art, that it is rather sculptured and painted, than merely described. Lactantius Firmianus attributes the discovery to Prometheus, who moulded the human form of clay, after the example of the Almighty himself, and the art

* Homer does not mention the art of Painting, though its existence in his time must be inferred.

of sculpture is thus affirmed to have come from him. But according to Pliny, this art was carried into Egypt by the Lydian Gyges, who, standing near a fire, and observing his own shadow, instantly sketched himself on the wall with a piece of charcoal; and from that time, it was customary, as Pliny further says, to draw in outline only without colour, a method afterwards re-discovered, by less simple means, by Philocles, the Egyptian, as also by Cleanthes and Ardices of Corinth, and by Telephanes of Sicyon.

The Corinthian Cleophantes was the first among the Greeks who used colours, and Apollodorus was the first who handled the pencil; they were followed by Polygnotus of Thasos, by Zeuxis and Timagoras of Chalcis, with Pythias and Aglaophon, all widely renowned.* After these masters came the far-famed Apelles, so highly esteemed for his talents, as Lucian informs us, by Alexander the Great (that acute discriminator of worth and pretension), and so richly endowed by Heaven,—as almost all the best sculptors and painters ever have been. For not only have they been poets also, as we read of Pacuvius, but philosophers likewise, as in the case of Metrodorus, who, profound in philosophy as skilful in painting, and being deputed by the Athenians to Rome to adorn the triumph of Paulus Emilius, was retained by that commander to instruct his sons in philosophy.

We find, then, that the art of sculpture was zealously cultivated by the Greeks, among whom many excellent artists appeared; those great masters, the Athenian Phidias, with Praxiteles and Polycletus, were of the number, while Lysippus and Pyrgoteles, worked successfully in intaglio, and Pygmalion† produced admirable reliefs in ivory—nay, of him it was affirmed, that his prayers obtained life and soul for the statue of a virgin which he had formed. Painting was in like manner honoured, and those who practised it successfully were rewarded among the ancient Greeks and Romans; this is proved by their according the rights of citizenship, and the most exalted dignities, to such as attained high distinction in these arts, both of which flourished so greatly in

* There was no celebrated painter of the name of Pythias. Pausanias or Nicias may be meant.

† Fabulous.

Rome, that Fabius bequeathed fame to his posterity by subscribing his name to the pictures so admirably painted by him in the Temple of *Salus*, and calling himself Fabius Pictor. It was forbidden, by public decree, that slaves should exercise this art within the cities, and so much homage was paid by the nations to art and artists, that works of rare merit were sent to Rome and exhibited as something wonderful, among other trophies in the triumphal processions, while artists of extraordinary merit, if slaves, received their freedom, together with honours and rewards from the republics. Nay, so highly did the Romans honour the arts, that Marcellus, when he sacked the city of Syracuse, not only commanded his soldiers to respect a renowned artist residing therein, but, in attacking the above-named city, he was careful to refrain from setting fire to that part of it where a fine picture was preserved, and which he afterwards caused to be carried in triumph and with great pomp to Rome. And in course of time, when Rome, having well-nigh despoiled the whole world, had assembled the artists themselves, as well as their works, within her own walls, she was by this means rendered supereminently beautiful, deriving a much richer portion of her ornaments from foreign paintings and statues, than from those of native production. As, for example, from Rhodes, the capital of a not very extensive island, where more than three thousand statues* in bronze and marble were counted. Nor were the Athenians less amply provided; while the people of Olympia and Delphi had many more, and those possessed by Corinth were innumerable, all of great beauty and high value. Is it not also known that Nicomedes, king of Lycia, was so eager to possess a Venus from the hand of Praxiteles, that he expended nearly all the treasures of his people in the purchase of it? And did not Attalus the same thing? since, to gain possession of a picture of Bacchus, painted by Aristides, he made no scruple of paying upwards of six thousand sesterces†; and this picture was afterwards deposited in the temple of Ceres, with great pomp, by Lucius Mummius.

But, notwithstanding all the honours paid to the arts, we cannot yet affirm, with certainty, to whom they owe their

* Vasari says *thirty*, but Pliny says *three*.—*Hist. Nat.* xxxiv, 7, 17.

† Pliny says denarii (xxxv, 4, 8), but still the sum would amount to two hundred guineas only

origin; seeing that, as we have said before, they were found to exist among the Chaldeans from the earliest times, and that some ascribe their origin to the Ethiopians, while the Greeks attribute it to themselves. It might, perhaps, be not unreasonable to suppose that the arts existed, from times still more remote, among the Tuscans, as our Leon. Batista Alberti maintains, and to the soundness of this opinion the marvellous sepulchre of Porsenna, at Chiusi, bears no unimportant testimony; tiles in terra-cotta having been dug from the earth there, between the walls of the labyrinth, on which were figures in mezzo-relievo, so admirably executed, and in so good a manner, that all might perceive the arts to be far from their first attempts when these were formed; nay, rather, from the perfection of the work, it might be fairly inferred that they were nearer to their highest summit than to their origin. Additional proof of this may be daily seen in the relics of red and black vases, constantly found at Arezzo, which were executed, as the manner would lead one to judge, about those times, and which, adorned as they are with the most graceful little figures and scenes in intaglio and basso-relievo, as also with numerous little masks in medallions delicately finished, must have been executed by masters who, even in that early age, were profoundly skilled and perfectly well practised in those arts. We are further assured, by the statues discovered at Viterbo, in the beginning of the pontificate of Alexander VI, that sculpture was in high esteem, and no inconsiderable perfection, in Tuscany, for although we cannot precisely determine the period when they were executed, the conjecture that they are all of the most remote antiquity is yet highly probable and well supported; since, from the character of the figures, the mode of burial, and the style of the buildings, no less than from the inscriptions, in Tuscan letters, found on them, it is obvious that they were executed in most remote times, and at a period when all things, in these lands, were in a prosperous and powerful condition. But what need have we of further or clearer proof than we now possess? for have we not found, even in our own days—that is, in 1554—while excavating ditches and raising walls for the fortifications of Arezzo, that figure of bronze, representing the Chimæra of Bellerophon, from the execution of which we clearly perceive the high perfection in which that art ex-

isted among the Tuscans, even to the most remote antiquity.* The origin of this work is made manifest, not only by its Etruscan manner, but still more clearly by the letters inscribed on one of the paws, which, as they are but few, may be conjectured (for the Etruscan language is wholly unknown in these days) to record the name of the master and that of the figure: perhaps the date may be also given, as was usual in those times. The figure itself has been deposited, for its beauty and high antiquity, by the Lord Duke Cosmo, in the hall of the new rooms, lately added to his palace, and wherein certain passages from the life of Pope Leo X have been painted by myself. Many figures in bronze, besides the Chimæra, were discovered in the same place, all in the same manner, and now in the possession of my Lord the Duke. Upon the whole, then, as the state of art among the Greeks, Ethiopians, and Chaldeans, is equally dubious as among ourselves—nay, perhaps even more so—and as, at best, we have but the guidance of conjecture in matters of this kind, although this is not so entirely destitute of foundation as to be in danger of departing very materially from the truth, so I do not believe that I wandered far from the true solution, when I suggested above that the origin of these arts was Nature herself—the first image or model, the most beautiful fabric of the world—and the master, that divine light infused into us by special grace, and which has made us not only superior to all other animals, but has exalted us, if it be permitted so to speak, to the similitude of God Himself. This is my belief, and I think that every man who shall maturely consider the question, will be of my opinion. And if it has been seen in our times—as I hope to demonstrate presently by various examples—that simple children, rudely reared in the woods, have begun to practise the arts of design with no other model than those beautiful pictures and sculptures furnished by Nature, and no other teaching than their own genius—how much more easily may we believe that the first of mankind, in whom nature and intellect were all the more perfect in proportion as they were less removed from their first origin and divine parentage,—that these men, I say, having Nature for their guide, and the unsullied purity of their fresh intelligence for

* It is now in the Gallery of the Uffizzi in Florence. This Chimæra is commonly represented with the head of a lion and the body of a goat; it exists in many varieties.

their master, with the beautiful model of the world for an exemplar, should have given birth to these most noble arts, and from a small beginning, ameliorating them by slow degrees, should have conducted them finally to perfection? I do not intend to deny that there must have been one who made the first commencement, for I know perfectly well that the first principle must have proceeded from some given time, and from some one person; neither will I deny the possibility that one may have assisted another, thus teaching and opening the way to design, to colour, and to relief: for I know that our art is altogether imitation, of Nature principally, but also, for him who cannot soar so high, of the works of such as he esteems better masters than himself. But what I maintain is, that to claim the positive determination of who this man or these men were, is a perilous thing, nor is it strictly needful that we should know it, since all may see the true source and origin whence the arts have received their birth. The life and fame of the artist is in his works; but of these works, the first, produced by the earliest artists, were totally lost, as, by degrees, were the second, and perhaps the third, being destroyed by time, which consumes all things; and as there was then no writer to record the history of these productions, they could not be made known to posterity, at least by this method: and the artists, as well as their works, remained unknown. Thus, when writers began to preserve the memory of persons and events preceding their own times, they could say nothing of those concerning whom no facts had descended to them; so that the first artists, in their enumeration, would necessarily be those whose memory had been the last to become obscured. In like manner, Homer is commonly said to be the first poet, not because there were none who preceded him—for that there were such, we see clearly from his own works, although they may not have been equal to himself—but because all memory of those earlier poets, whatever they may have been, had been lost for two thousand years. But to cease the discussion of this question, which is rendered too obscure by its extreme antiquity, let us proceed to matters of which we have better knowledge, the perfection of the arts, namely, their decay and restoration, or rather second birth, of which we can speak on much better grounds *

* For a more complete dissertation on the subjects here only touched upon by Vasari, see Rumohr, *Italianische Forschungen*, I. L.

The rise of art in Rome must have taken place at a late epoch, if it be true, as we find asserted, that among her first statues was the bronze figure of Ceres, formed from the spoils of Spurius Cassius, who was deliberately put to death by his own father, for having aspired to become king. And although the arts of sculpture and painting continued to be practised to the close of the reign of the twelve Cæsars, yet they did not maintain themselves in that degree of excellence and perfection which they had previously displayed; so that, in all the buildings erected by the emperors, one after another, the arts may be gradually seen to decline, until all perfection of the art of design was ultimately lost. To the truth of this assertion, the works in sculpture and architecture, executed in Rome under Constantine, bear ample testimony, more particularly the triumphal arch, raised to him by the Roman people, near the Colosseum, where we perceive that, for the want of good masters, they not only availed themselves of sculptures executed in the time of Trajan, but also of the spoils brought to Rome from other parts of the empire. The observer who remarks that the sacrificial processions on the medallions, sculptured in mezz-relievo, with the captives, the larger reliefs, the columns, cornices, and other ornaments, formed of spoils and executed in earlier times, are well done, will also perceive that the works executed by the sculptors of the day, to fill up the spaces remaining unoccupied, are extremely rude. The same may be said of the small historical representations beneath the medallions and of the basement, where certain victories are represented, which, as well as the river-gods between the arches, are so rudely done, that we are justified in assuming the art of sculpture to have even then commenced its decline, although the Goths, and other barbarous and foreign nations, by whom Italy was ravaged, and all the nobler arts destroyed, had not then made their incursions. It is true that architecture suffered less during those times than the other arts, as may be inferred from the bath erected by Constantine at the entrance to the principal portico of the Lateran; for besides the columns of porphyry, capitals in marble, and the double bases, taken from different localities, all very finely executed, the whole arrangement of the building is also excellent; while the stuccoes, on the contrary, with the Mosaic and other incrustations,

executed by the masters of that day, are by no means equal to the ornaments, taken for the most part from heathen temples, and employed in the construction of the same bath. It is said, that Constantine proceeded in like manner with the temple which he built in the garden of *Æquitius*, and which he endowed and gave to the Christian priests. The magnificent church of San Giovanni Laterano, erected by the same emperor, is an example of a similar kind, proving that sculpture had already declined greatly in his day: the figures of the Saviour and of the twelve Apostles, which he caused to be made in silver for this building, were in a very inferior style, without art, and with very little merit in design. Whoever will diligently examine the medals of Constantine moreover, with his statue and other works executed by the sculptors of his time, and now in the capitol, will see clearly that they are far from exhibiting the perfection displayed by the medals and statues of earlier emperors,—all which demonstrates clearly, that sculpture had greatly declined in Italy long before the coming of the Goths.

Architecture remained, as has been said, if not in its perfection, still in a much better state; nor will this occasion surprise, for since almost all the more important edifices were erected from the spoils of earlier buildings, it was not difficult for the architects, in raising the new fabrics, to imitate the old, which they had always before their eyes; and this they could do more easily than the sculptors, who, the art being wanting, were deprived of this advantage of imitating the noble works of the ancients. Of the decadence of sculpture, the church of the Prince of Apostles on the Vatican gives us clear proof; for the riches of this building proceed solely from columns, capitals, bases, architraves, cornices, doors, and other ornaments and incrustations, all taken from different localities, and from the edifices so magnificently constructed in earlier times. The same thing may be said of the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, built by Constantine at the entreaty of his mother Helena. Of that of San Lorenzo, without the walls of Rome, and of St. Agnes, erected by the same emperor at the request of Constantia, his daughter.* And who is now ignorant of the fact that the

* This tradition has been set aside by Bottari, in vol. iii of his *Sculture e Pitture e Sagre estratti dai Chiese di Roma*. 1737.

Font,* used at the baptism of this princess and her sister was wholly adorned with the works of earlier times?—the porphyry urn with its beautiful engraved figures, the marble candelabra admirably sculptured in rich foliage, with boys in low-relief, which are truly beautiful. In fine, we perceive from these and many other indications, that sculpture had already fallen to decay in the time of Constantine, and with it the other noble arts. Or if anything was yet wanting to their ultimate ruin, this was amply supplied by the departure of Constantine from Rome, when he resolved to transfer the seat of empire to Byzantium; for he then not only took all the best sculptors, and other artists of the time, whatever they may have been, with him into Greece, but he also despoiled the city of innumerable statues, and many other of the finest works of sculpture.

After the departure of Constantine, the Cæsars, whom he left in Italy, continued building in Rome and elsewhere, and did their best for the execution of such works as they constructed; but, as we see, not only sculpture, but painting and architecture, fell constantly from bad to worse, and thus, perhaps, because human affairs, when they begin to decline, never cease to sink, until they have reached the lowest depths of deterioration. And accordingly, notwithstanding the architects of the time of Pope Liberius made great efforts to produce an important work in the erection of the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, they did not succeed happily in all parts, for although that church—which was also constructed for the most part of spoils—is of tolerably fair proportions, yet it cannot be denied that the ornaments in stucco and painting (to say nothing of other parts) placed around the building above the columns, betray extreme poverty of design; or that many other portions of that vast church prove the imperfection of the arts at the period of its erection. Many years later, when the Christians suffered persecution under Julian the Apostate, a church was built on the Cœlian Mount to the martyrs San Giovanni and San Paolo, and the style of this erection is so much worse than that of Santa Maria Maggiore, as to prove clearly that the art was at that time little less than totally lost. The fullest testimony is further borne to this fact by the edifices erected in Tuscany at the same period. And omit-

ting the mention of many others, the church built beynd the walls of Arezzo,* in honour of St. Donatus, bishop of that city, who suffered martyrdom, together with the monk Hilarin, under this Julian the Apostate, was in no respect of better architecture than those before mentioned. Nor is this to be attributed to any other cause than the want of better masters in those times; since this octagonal church, as may be still seen in our own day, built from the spoils of the Theatre, the Colosseum, and other edifices, which had been erected in Arezzo before that city was converted to the faith of Christ, was constructed without any restriction as to the cost, which was very great; the church was, besides, further adorned with columns of granite, porphyry, and varicoloured marbles, which had belonged to the antique buildings above named. And, for my own part, I make no doubt but that the people of Arezzo—to judge from the expense to which we see that they went for this church—would have produced something marvellous in that work, if they had been able to procure better architects; for we perceive, by what they have done, that they spared nothing to render it as rich and in as good style as they possibly could make it; and since architecture had lost less of its perfection than the other arts, as we have said more than once, there is exhibited a certain degree of beauty in this building. The church of Santa Maria in Grado, was at the same time enlarged, in honour of St. Hilarian, who had been long a resident in that church, when he received with St. Donatus the palm of martyrdom.

But as fortune, when she has raised either persons or things to the summit of her wheel, very frequently casts them to the lowest point, whether in repentance or for her sport, so it chanced that, after these things, the barbarous nations of the world arose, in divers places, in rebellion against the Romans; whence there ensued, in no long time, not only the decline of that great empire, but the utter ruin of the whole, and more especially of Rome herself, when all the best artists,

* This church, called the *Duomo Vecchio*, was not built in the time of Julian the apostate,—that is, the fourth century,—but in the eleventh, by Alberto, Bishop of Arezzo. It was destroyed, by the orders of Cosmo I, and in the lifetime of Vasari himself, to make way for the fortifications of the city. See *Memorie Ant. Ital.* vol. iv, p. 428, also *Rondinelli, Stato antico e moderno di Arezzo*, 1755. *Ed. Flor.* 1767

sculptors, painters, and architects, were in like manner totally ruined, being submerged and buried, together with the arts themselves, beneath the miserable slaughters and ruins of that much renowned city. Painting and sculpture were the first to suffer, as arts ministering rather to pleasure than utility ; while architecture, being requisite to the comfort and safety of life, was still maintained, although not in its earlier excellence. Indeed, had it not been that sculpture and painting still placed before the eyes of the existing generation, the representations of those whom they were accustomed to honour, and to whom they gave an immortality, the very memory, both of one and the other, would have been soon extinguished. Of these, some were commemorated by statues, and by inscriptions, which abounded in and on the different public and private buildings, as theatres, baths, aqueducts, temples, obelisks, colossal figures, pyramids, arches, reservoirs, and public treasuries, and lastly, in the sepulchres themselves, the great part of which were destroyed by those unbridled barbarians who had nothing of humanity but the name and image. Conspicuous among these were the Visigoths, who, having made Alaric their king, invaded Italy and assaulted Rome, which they twice sacked without restraint of any kind. The same thing was done by the Vandals, who came from Africa, under Genseric, their king ; and he, not content with the booty and prey that he took, or with the cruelties that he practised, carried the people away as slaves, to their extreme misery. Among these captives was Eudoxia, widow of the Emperor Valentinian, who had been slain, no long time previously, by his own soldiers. For all the best having long before departed to Byzantium with the Emperor Constantine, those remaining had in great part degenerated from the ancient valour of Rome ; neither was order or decency any longer to be found among them. Every virtue, nay, all true men, had departed together ; laws, name, customs, the very language, all were lost ; and amidst these calamities, all acting together, and each effecting its own share of the mischief, every exalted mind had sunk in the general degradation, every noble spirit become debased.

But infinitely more ruinous than all other enemies to the arts above named, was the fervent zeal of the new Christian religion, which, after long and sanguinary combats, had finally

overcome and annihilated the ancient creeds of the pagan world, by the frequency of miracles exhibited, and by the earnest sincerity of the means adopted; and ardently devoted, with all diligence, to the extirpation of error, nay, to the removal of even the slightest temptation to heresy, it not only destroyed all the wondrous statues, paintings, sculptures, mosaics, and other ornaments of the false pagan deities, but at the same time extinguished the very memory, in casting down the honours, of numberless excellent ancients, to whom statues and other monuments had been erected, in public places, for their virtues, by the most virtuous times of antiquity. Nay, more than this, to build the churches of the Christian faith, this zeal not only destroyed the most renowned temples of the heathens, but, for the richer ornament of St. Peter's,* and in addition to the many spoils previously bestowed on that building, the tomb of Adrian, now called the castle of St. Angelo, was deprived of its marble columns, to employ them for this church, many other buildings being in like manner despoiled, and which we now see wholly devastated. And although the Christian religion did not effect this from hatred to these works of art, but solely for the purpose of abasing and bringing into contempt the gods of the Gentiles, yet the result of this too ardent zeal did not fail to bring such total ruin over the noble arts, that their very form and existence was lost. Next, and that nothing might be wanting to the completion of these misfortunes, the rage of Totila was aroused against Rome, and having first destroyed her walls, he devastated her most noble and beautiful edifices, giving the whole city to fire and the sword, after having driven forth all the inhabitants, so that, during eighteen days, no living soul was to be found within the city; paintings, statues, mosaics, and all other embellishments, were so entirely wasted and destroyed by these means, that all were deprived, I do not say of their beauty and majesty only, but of their very form and being. The lower rooms of palaces and other edifices being adorned with pictures, statues, and various ornaments, all these were submerged in the fall of the buildings above them, and thence it is that, in our day, so many admirable works have been recovered: for

* St. Paul's.

the immediate successors of those times, believing all to be totally ruined, planted their vines on the site, when these chambers remained buried in the earth; the rooms thus buried were named "grottoes" by the moderns who discovered them, while the paintings found in them were called "grotesque."

The Ostrogoths being exterminated by Narses, the ruins of Rome were again inhabited, however miserably, when a hundred years after came Constans II, emperor of Constantinople, who, though amicably received by the Romans, yet despoiled and carried away all that, more by chance than by the good will of those who had devastated her, had remained to the wretched city of Rome. It is true that he did not enjoy his prey, for, being driven by a tempest to Sicily, he was there deservedly slain by his own people, leaving his spoils, his empire, and his life, the prey of fortune. But she, not yet content with the miseries of Rome, and to the end that the unhappy city might never regain her ravaged treasures, led an army of Saracens to the conquest of Sicily, and these foes transported not only the wealth of the Sicilians, but the spoils of Rome herself, to Alexandria, to the great shame and loss of Italy and all Christendom. Thus, whatever had escaped ruin from the pontiffs, and more particularly from St Gregory,* (who is said to have decreed banishment against all statues and other ornaments remaining in the buildings) was finally destroyed by the hands of this most wicked Greek. No trace, no vestige of excellence in art, now remained; the men who followed immediately on these unhappy times, proceeded in a rude and uncultivated manner in all things, but more especially in painting and sculpture; yet, impelled by nature, and refined, to a certain degree, by the air they breathed, they set themselves to work, not according to the rules of art, which they no longer possessed, but each according to the quality of his own talent.

The arts of design—being reduced to this state during and after the domination of the Lombards in Italy—continued to deteriorate in all that was attempted, so that nothing could

* The memory of Pope Gregory the Great has been vindicated from this reproach, by Carlo Fea, in his dissertation, *Delle Rovine di Roma*; in Winckelmann, *Opere*, vol. xi, p. 321, of the Prato edition. See also Plattner, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, part 1, p. 240; and Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

be worse, or evince less knowledge of art, than the works of that period ; and we have proof of this, among other things, in certain figures which are over the door of the portico of St. Peter's, at Rome ; they are in the Greek manner, and represent certain holy fathers who had disputed for the Christian Church before some of the councils. Many works, of a similar manner, might be adduced in support of this assertion ; examples may be seen in the city of Ravenna and in the whole Exarchate, some especially in the church of Santa Maria Rotonda, outside Ravenna, executed soon after the Lombards were driven from Italy. But I will not omit to mention that there is one thing most extraordinary and well worthy of notice in that church*—the cupola, namely, which covers it. This is ten braccia† in diameter, and serves as roof and crown to the fabric ; it is formed of one single stone, and is so large and unwieldy (the weight being more than 200,000 lbs) that one cannot but marvel at the means by which it was raised to that height. But to return to our subject. It is to the masters of those times that we owe the fantastic images and absurd figures still to be seen in many old works. And a similar inferiority is perceptible in architecture, for it was necessary to build ; but all good methods and correct forms being lost by the death of good artists and the destruction of their works, those who devoted themselves to that employment were in no condition to give either correct proportion or grace of any kind to their designs. Then arose new architects, and they, after the manner of their barbarous nations, erected the buildings in that style which we now call Gothic,‡ and raising edifices that, to us moderns, are rather to the discredit than glory of the builders, until at a later period there appeared better artists, who returned, in some measure, to the purer style of the antique ; and this may be seen in most of the old (but not antique) churches throughout Italy, which were built in the manner just alluded to by these last-named artists. The palace of Theodoric, king

* Commonly called the Tomb of Theodoric. See Schorn in Thiersch's *Travels in Italy*, vol. i, p. 394.

† The braccio (pl. braccia) may be taken at twenty-one inches English, but varies greatly in different parts of Italy.

‡ Vasari is here clearly in error, or is not sufficiently explicit. "Gothic", or the pointed architecture of the north, was not thoroughly developed until the thirteenth century. The "Romanesque", or round-arch styles, prevailed in Italy in all the earlier centuries.

of Italy, in Ravenna, with one in Pavia and another in Modena, may serve as examples, being still in a barbarous manner, and rather vast and rich than well constructed or of good architecture. The same may be said of the church of San Stefano, in Rimini; of that of San Martino, in Ravenna; and of the temple of St. John the Evangelist, built in the latter city by Galla Placidia, about the year of our Lord 438. San Vitale erected, in 547; the abbey of Classis; and, in brief, many other monasteries and churches, built after the domination of the Lombards, are instances of the same kind, all being vast and rich, as has been said before, but of extremely rude architecture. Many of the abbeys erected to St. Benedict, in France, are in this manner; as is the church and monastery of Monte Casino, with the church of St. John the Baptist at Monza, built by that Theodelinda, queen of the Goths, to whom St. Gregory wrote his *Dialogues*. In this church the queen above named caused passages from the history of the Lombards to be painted, and from these paintings we learn that this people shaved the back part of the head, but retained long tufts of hair in front, and dyed themselves to the chin. Their vestments were ample folds of linen, as was usual with the Angles and Saxons; they wore mantles of divers colours, with shoes open along the whole length of the foot, and bound across the instep with sandals. The church of San Giovanni, in Pavia, built by Gondiberta, daughter of Theodelinda, resembled those named above, as did that of San Salvatore in the same city, erected by Aribert, brother of the said queen, who succeeded Rodoald, husband of Gondiberta, in the kingdom, with the church of St. Ambrose, at Pavia, built by Grimoald, king of the Lombards, who drove Bertrid, son of Aribert, from his throne.* Bertrid, also, when restored to his kingdom after the death of Grimoald, erected a convent for nuns, called the new convent, in Pavia, to the honour of Our Lady and of St. Agatha, the queen likewise building one without the walls, which she dedicated to the "Virgin Mary in Pertica." Cuni-

* Vasari, like D'Agincourt, in our own time, sought the monuments of Lombard dominion in the country still called Lombardy; although the churches erected by the Lombard kings, more especially those of Pavia, were entirely rebuilt in the twelfth and following centuries. For more extended information on this point, see Rumohr, *ut supra*.

bert, son of Bertrid, in like manner, erected a monastery and church to St. George, called di Coronate, on the spot where he had gained a great victory over Alahi. Nor was the church in anywise dissimilar, that Luitprand, king of the Lombards, and contemporary of Pepin, father of Charlemagne, constructed in Pavia, and which is called San Piero in Ciel-dauro; one built to San Pietro Clivate, in the diocese of Milan, by Desiderius, who succeeded Astolphus, was in the same manner; as were the monastery of San Vincenzo, in Milan, and the church of Santa Julia, in Brescia; all buildings erected at enormous cost but in a rude and irregular manner.

In Florence, meanwhile, the practice of architecture began to display some little improvement, and the Church of Sant' Apostolo, built by Charlemagne, was in a very beautiful manner, although small: the shafts of the columns, though formed of separate pieces, are extremely graceful and well-proportioned; the capitals, likewise, with the arches and vaulting of the two small naves, furnish proof that some good artist had still remained in Tuscany, or had once again arisen in the land. In fine, the architecture of this church, is such, that Filippo di Ser Brunellesco did not disdain to use it as his model in building the Church of Santo Spirito, and that of San Lorenzo, in the same city. A similar progress may be remarked in the Church of St. Mark, at Venice, (to say nothing of San Giorgio Maggiore, built by Giovanni Morosini, in the year 978,) which was commenced under the Doge Giustiniano and Giovanni Particiaco, next to San Teodosio, when the body of the Evangelist was sent from Alexandria to Venice. But both the palace of the Doge, and the church itself, having received great injury from numerous fires, the latter was ultimately rebuilt in the the year 973, on the old foundations, in the Greek style, and after the manner that we now see; this work was one of great cost, and was carried forward under the advice and direction of many architects, in the time of the Doge Domenico Selvo, who collected the marble columns for the building from whatever place he could lay hands on them, and wheresoever they were to be found. The edifice constantly proceeded, after the designs, as it is said, of several masters, who were all Greeks, till the year 1140, when Messer Piero Polani was Doge. The seven abbeys which Count Ugo,

Marquis of Brandenburg, caused to be erected in Tuscany, were built during the same period, and in the same Greek manner, as may be seen in the abbey of Florence, in that of Settimo, and the others. All these buildings, as well as the vestiges of those that are ruined, bear testimony to the fact, that architecture still maintained itself in life, though grievously degenerated and departing widely from the excellent manner of the antique. And of this we find further proof in many old palaces, constructed in Florence after the ruin of Fiesole, in the Tuscan fashion, but in a very barbarous and ill-proportioned manner, as witness those doors and windows of immoderate length, and the aspect of those acute pieces* in the vaulting of their arches, which were peculiar to the foreign architects of those times.

In the year 1013, we nevertheless perceive, that the art had regained somewhat of her ancient vigour; and this we infer, from the rebuilding of that most beautiful church San Miniato sul Monte, constructed in the time of Messer Alibrando, citizen and bishop of Florence; for to say nothing of the marble ornaments by which it is embellished, both within and without, the façade gives us clear proof that the Tuscan architects here made efforts to imitate the fine proportions and pure taste of the antique in columns, arches, cornices, doors, and windows, correcting and improving their perceptions by the study of that most ancient temple, the church of San Giovanni, in their own city. At the same period, painting, which had been little less than totally extinguished, was seen to be slowly regaining life, as may be proved by the mosaic executed in the principal chapel of this same church of San Miniato.†

From this commencement, then, the arts of design began to make progress in Tuscany by slow degrees, advancing gradually towards a better state of things as we see from the first steps taken by the Pisans towards the construction of their cathedral, in 1016;‡ for in those days it was a great

* *Quarti Acuti*, perhaps the zigzag, introduced into Italy about the twelfth century.

† The Mosaic in the apsis of San Miniato is not of the eleventh, but the end of the thirteenth century (1297), as we learn from an inscription on the frieze.—*Florentine Edition*, 1846

‡ The cathedral of Pisa was not commenced in 1016, but in 1063, as appears from an inscription on the façade.

undertaking to erect a church of such a character, having five naves, and being almost entirely covered with marble both within and without. The edifice was constructed after the designs, and under the directions of, Buschetto, a Greek, of Dulichium,* an architect of rare excellence for those times; the Pisans devoted an infinite amount of spoils to its erection and adornment; these were brought by them in their fleets from the most distant regions, (they being then at the very summit of their greatness), as is made clearly manifest by the columns, capitals, bases, cornices, and other stones of every kind to be seen there; and as some of these were small, others large, and others again of a middle size, great judgment must have been exercised by the architect, and much skill displayed, seeing that the whole fabric is nevertheless well-arranged, both within and without. To say nothing of other parts, and speaking only of the principal façade, Buschetto effected the gradual diminution of its summit with great ingenuity, employing a vast number of columns, and enriching the whole with antique statues and varied sculptures. The principal doors of the same façade were adorned in like manner, and between these doors, near that of the Carroccio namely, Buschetto himself was afterwards laid in an honourable tomb, bearing three sepulchral inscriptions, one of which, in Latin verses, I subjoin here, when it will be seen to be in nowise dissimilar to other attempts of the same period:—

Quod vix mille boum possent Juga Juncta movere
 Et quod vix potuit per mare ferre ratis,
 Buschetti nisu, quod erat mirabile visu
 Dena puellarum turba levavit onus.

And now, since I have before named the church of Sant Apostolo in Florence, I will not omit to mention, that on a marble stone of this building, and at one side of the high altar, the following words may be read:—

“VIII v. Die VI Aprilis in resurrectione Domini Karolus Francorum Rex a Roma revertens, ingressus Florentiam cum magno gaudio et tripudio susceptus, civium copiam torqueis aureis decoravit, et in Pentecostem fundavit ecclesiam Sanctorum Apostolorum; in altari inclusa est lamina plumbea, in qua descripta apparet præfata fundatio et consecratio facta per Archiepiscopum Turpinum testibus Rolando et Uliverio.†

* For the question as to whether Buschetto were a Greek or an Italian, the reader is referred to Cicognora and Rumohr, Note, *Germ. Trans.*

† In this inscription, says Rumohr, the credulity of Vasari appears to

The building of the cathedral of Pisa, above described, awoke great desire in the minds of many throughout Italy, but more especially in Tuscany, for the undertaking of noble enterprises; and the church of San Paolo was commenced in the city of Pistoja, in the year 1032, the Beato* Atto, bishop of that city, being present, as we read in a contract made at the time. Many other edifices were erected at that period from the same cause, but to name them here would detain us too long. I will, nevertheless, not omit to mention, that in the year 1060, the round church of San Giovanni was built in Pisa opposite to the cathedral, and in the same piazza with that church † Respecting this building a fact is related which would seem incredible, were it not recorded in an old book of the works of the cathedral, namely, that the columns of this same San Giovanni, with the pilasters and arches, were erected in fifteen days, and no more. In the same book, which any one may examine who shall desire to do so, we read that a tax of one *danaio* per hearth was laid on the people for this building; but we are not told whether the coin was of gold or of copper. There were 34,000 fires at this time in Pisa, as may be gathered from the same book. The work was certainly a very great one, of excessive cost, and difficult to execute, the vaulted roof of the Tribune more particularly, this having the form of a pear and being covered with lead. The external walls are nearly hidden by the abundance of columns and carvings of various kinds, and in the frieze of the central door is the figure of Jesus Christ with his twelve apostles, in mezzo-rilievo, executed in the Greek manner.

At the same time, that is, towards the year 1061, the people of Lucca, in rivalry of the Pisans, began their church of San Martino, after the design of certain scholars of Bus-

have been imposed on by some one of his learned friends, who seems to have trusted that he would receive Turpin, Roland, and Oliver as historical personages.

* The "Beato" of the Catholic hierarchy is a person of highly sanctified character, but who has not received all the honours of canonization, and is in so much of inferior grade to the Saint.—E. F.

† The Baptistery was not founded in 1060, but 1153, as may be seen on a pilaster at the right of the entrance, where is the following inscription. "MCLIII—mense aug. fondata fuit hæc ecclesia." On the opposite side are the following words: "Deotisalvi magister hujus operis."—*Ed. Flor.*

chetto,* there being then no other architects in Tuscany. To the façade of this church a marble portico was added with many ornaments and sculpture. Stories in memory of Pope Alexander II, of which erection, and of himself, Alexander amply discourses, describing all fully in nine Latin verses; nay, we have the same engraved, with other ancient letters, on the wall under the portico and between the doors. In the above-named façade are various figures, and under the portico several stories in marble, executed in mezzo-relievo. They represent the life of St. Martin, and are in the Greek manner; but the best, which are over one of the doors, were executed 170 years later by Niccola Pisano, and finished in 1233, as shall be related in the proper place. The intendants of the church, when these works were commenced, were Abellenato and Aliprando, as we learn from certain letters engraved in the marble in the same place; these figures, from the hand of Niccola Pisano, show to what extent the art of sculpture was ameliorated by him. The greater part of the buildings erected in Italy at this time, nay, we may almost say, the whole of them, were similar to this; little or no improvement was perceptible in architecture from those days down to 1250; all had remained within the same limits, and continued to be executed in the same rude manner, of which numerous examples are still to be seen. But of these I will not now speak further, proposing to allude to them occasionally hereafter, as opportunity shall present itself.

In like manner, the best works in painting and sculpture, remaining buried under the ruins of Italy, were concealed during the same period, and continued wholly unknown to the rude men reared amidst the more modern usages of art, and by whom no other sculptures or pictures were produced, than such as were executed by the remnant of old Greek artists. They formed images of earth and stone, or painted mon-

* Rumohr remarks that he cannot comprehend why Vasari should thus particularize San Martino, (a church of fine Gothic architecture of the thirteenth century, and which cannot have been built by these imaginary scholars of Buschetto,) when there are so many noble monuments of architecture, from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, in Lucca; as, for example, the churches of San Frediano, San Michele, and Santa Maria Bianca.

† For some of these churches, see Gally Knight's *Ecclesiastical Architecture in Italy*.

strous figures, of which they traced the rude outline only in colour. These artists—the best as being the only ones—were conducted into Italy, whither they carried sculpture and painting, as well as mosaic, in such manner as they were themselves acquainted with them: these they taught, in their own coarse and rude style, to the Italians, who practised them, after such fashion, as I have said, and will further relate, down to a certain period. The men of those times, unaccustomed to works of greater perfection than those thus set before their eyes, admired them accordingly, and, barbarous as they were, yet imitated them as the most excellent models. It was only by slow degrees that those who came after, being aided in some places by the subtlety of the air around them, could begin to raise themselves from these depths; when, towards 1250, Heaven, moved to pity by the noble spirits which the Tuscan soil was producing every day, restored them to their primitive condition. It is true that those who lived in the times succeeding the ruin of Rome, had seen remnants of arches, colossi, statues, pillars, storied columns, and other works of art, not wholly destroyed by the fires and other devastations; yet they had not known how to avail themselves of this aid, nor had they derived any benefit from it, until the time specified above. When the minds then awakened, becoming capable of distinguishing the good from the worthless, and abandoning old methods, returned to the imitation of the antique, with all the force of their genius, and all the power of their industry.

But that my readers may the better comprehend what it is that I call “old”, and what “antique”, I add that the antique are works executed before the time of Constantine, in Corinth, Athens, Rome, and other far-famed cities, down to the times of Nero, Vespasian, Trajan, Adrian, and Antonine; “old” are such as were executed from the days of St. Silvester, downwards by a certain residue of the Greeks, whose profession was rather that of dyeing than painting. For the greater part of the excellent earlier artists being extirpated in those times of war, there remained, as I have said, nothing to these Greeks (“old”, but not “antique”) save only the first rude outlines on a

ground of colour, as is made sufficiently manifest by a crowd of mosaics executed throughout Italy by these Greeks, and which may be seen in any old church of whatsoever city you please, through all the land. The cathedral of Pisa and St. Mark of Venice, and other places, will furnish examples. Thus, in this manner, they executed many pictures; figures with senseless eyes, outstretched hands, standing on the points of their feet, similar to those that may still be seen in San Miniato, outside Florence, between the doors which lead to the sacristy and the convent. In the church of Santo Spirito, also, in the same city, the entire wall of the cloister on the side towards the church is covered with these works. They are to be found in Arezzo, also, in the churches of San Giuliano, San Bartolommeo, and others: and in the historical scenes around the old church of San Pietro, in Rome, between the windows,—things that have more of the monster in their lineaments than of the object they should represent. In sculpture they produced works of a similar style and in equal plenty; some of them, in basso-relievo, may still be seen over the gate of San Michele, in the Piazza Padella of Florence; they are in the church of Ogni Santi, and other places, frequently serving as ornaments to the doors of churches, where they sometimes act as corbels to support the canopy, but are withal so coarse and hideous, so deformed and ill-executed, that it seems impossible to imagine any thing worse.

Thus much* I have thought it advisable to say respecting the first commencement of sculpture and painting, and may perhaps have spoken at greater length than was here needful; but this I have done, not so much because I was carried on by my love of art, as because I desire to be useful and serviceable to the whole body of artists, for they, having here seen the manner in which art proceeded from small beginnings, until she attained the highest summit, and next how she was precipitated from that exalted position into the deepest debasement; and considering that it is the nature of art,

* For more accurate and fuller details respecting art, from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, see Lanza, *History of Painting*; D'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art d'après les Monuments*; and Rumohr, *Italische Forschungen*.

as of human existence, to receive birth, to progress, to become old, and to die, may thus more perfectly comprehend and follow the progress of her second birth to the high perfection which she has once more attained in these our days. I have further thought, that if even it should chance at any time, which may God forbid, that by the neglect of men, the malice of time, or the will of heaven, which but rarely suffers human things to remain long without change, the arts should once again fall into their former decay, these my labours, both what has been said and what yet remains to be said, should they be found worthy of a more happy fortune, may avail to keep those arts in life, or may at least serve as an incentive to exalted minds to provide them with more efficient aids and support, so that, by my own good intentions, and the help of such friends, the arts may abound in those facilities, of which, if it be permitted to speak the truth freely, they have ever been destitute even to this day. But it is now time to come to the life of Giovanni Cunnabue, who, as he first commenced the new mode of designing and painting, so it is just that he should also commence these lives, wherein I shall do my utmost to observe the order of the manner, rather than that of the time. In describing the forms and features of the artists, I shall be very brief, since their portraits, which I have collected at great cost and with much labour, will show what the appearance of each artist was in a better manner than could ever be done by words. And if the portraits of some are wanting, that is not my fault, but because they were not to be found. Again, if these likenesses should appear to some persons to be dissimilar to other portraits with which they are acquainted, let them consider that the likeness of a man in his eighteenth or twentieth year will never resemble one taken fifteen or twenty years later; to this may be added, that drawn portraits are never so exact in resemblance as those coloured, besides which, engravers, who know little of design, always injure the faces from inability to manage those minutiae, on which it is that the perfect resemblance of the portrait depends, thus depriving the work of that perfection which is rarely if ever preserved in likenesses cut in wood. But enough; the labour, expense, and industry, which I have bestowed in this matter will be manifest to all those who,

while reading it, shall perceive whence I have, as I best could, drawn my materials.*

* Vasari informs us, in the *Life of Marc Antonio Raimondi*, that these portraits, which first appeared in the edition of the Giunti, were drawn by himself and his pupils, and engraved on wood by Messer Cristofano, of Venice, by some called Coriolano. In a letter to Borghini, dated 1566, (Gaye, *Carteggio medito d'Artisti*, iii, 227,) Vasari speaks of his own portrait, which he had taken by means of a mirror, and given to this same Cristofano to engrave. Bottari supposed this master **Cristofano** to have been a German.

LIVES OF THE MOST EMINENT PAINTERS, SCULPTORS, AND ARCHITECTS.

PART FIRST.

CIMABUE, PAINTER, OF FLORENCE.

[1240 — 1302.]

THE overwhelming flood of evils by which unhappy Italy had been submerged and devastated, had not only destroyed whatever could properly be called buildings, but, a still more deplorable consequence, had totally exterminated the artists themselves,* when, by the will of God, in the year 1240, Giovanni Cimabue, of the noble family of that name,† was born, in the city of Florence, to give the first light to the art of painting. This youth, as he grew up, being considered by his father and others to give proof of an acute judgment and a clear understanding, was sent to Santa Maria Novella to study letters under a relation, who was then master in grammar to the novices of that convent. But Cimabue, instead of devoting himself to letters, consumed the whole day in drawing men, horses, houses, and other various fancies, on his books and different papers,—an occupation to which he felt himself impelled by nature; and this natural inclination was favoured by fortune, for the governors of the city had invited certain Greek painters to Florence, for the purpose of restoring the art of painting, which had not merely degenerated, but was altogether lost. These artists, among other works, began to paint the chapel of the Gondi, situate next the principal chapel, in Santa Maria Novella,‡ the roof and walls of which are now almost entirely destroyed by time,

* An extravagant exaggeration. But Vasari himself, recalling to mind the different sculptors, architects, and painters, who were exercising their art when Cimabue was born, has virtually retracted these expressions, against which many writers have protested. See Lanzi, *History of Painting*. London. 1847.

† Called also Gualtieri. See Baldinucci, vol. i.

‡ For the various opinions respecting these Greek or Byzantine works, see Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.*, Lanzi, *History of Painting*, etc.

—and Cimabue, often escaping from the school, and having already made a commencement in the art he was so fond of, would stand watching those masters at their work, the day through. Judging from these circumstances, his father, as well as the artists themselves, concluded him to be well-endowed for painting, and thought that much might be hoped from his future efforts, if he were devoted to that art. Giovanni was accordingly, to his no small satisfaction, placed with those masters. From this time he laboured incessantly, and was so far aided by his natural powers, that he soon greatly surpassed his teachers both in design and colouring. For these masters, caring little for the progress of art, had executed their works as we now see them, not in the excellent manner of the ancient Greeks, but in the rude modern style of their own day. Wherefore, though Cimabue imitated his Greek instructors, he very much improved the art, relieving it greatly from their uncouth manner, and doing honour to his country by the name that he acquired, and by the works which he performed. Of this we have evidence in Florence, from the pictures which he painted there, as, for example, the front of the altar of Santa Cecilia,* and a picture of the Virgin, in Santa Croce, which was, and is still, attached to one of the pilasters on the right of the choir.† After this he painted a small picture of St. Francis,‡ in panel, on a gold ground, drawing it, a new thing in those times, from nature,§ with such means as he could obtain, and placing around it the whole history of the saint in twenty small pictures, full of minute figures, on a ground of gold.

* This picture was removed from the church of Santa Cecilia to that of San Stefano, and finally to the Gallery of the Uffizi, in Florence.—Florentine edition of 1845.

† Mentioned also by Cinelli, who says that it was removed from the place in which Vasari saw it, when the church was newly decorated, not is it now known whither it has been conveyed.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

‡ The Roman edition of 1759, tells us that this picture was still in good preservation, in the chapel of St. Francis, in the church of Santa Croce. Lanzi does not consider it to be the work of Cimabue. See *History of Painting*.

§ Here we are not to understand that Cimabue painted from the saint himself, who had then been dead many years, but from some living model. Della Valle, speaking on this subject, remarks that, in Assisi, Giunta Pisano also painted the Frate Elia from nature; and this may be literally true, since the Frate Elia was a contemporary of Giunta Pisano.

Having afterwards undertaken to paint a large picture in the abbey of the Santa Trinita in Florence, for the monks of Vallombrosa, he made great efforts to justify the high opinion already formed of him, and evinced improved powers of invention in that work, and displayed a fine manner in the attitudes of the Virgin, whom he depicted with the child in her arms, and with numerous angels, in the act of worship, around her; on a gold ground. The picture being finished, was placed by the monks over the high-altar of the church, whence, being afterwards removed to give place to that work of Alexis Baldovinetti,* which remains there to this day, it was placed in a smaller chapel of the south aisle of the same church.

Cimabue next painted in fresco at the hospital of the Porcellana,† at the corner of the Via Nuova, which leads into the Borgo Ogni Santi. On the front of this building, which has the principal door in the centre, he painted the Virgin receiving the annunciation from the angel, on one side, and Jesus Christ, with Cleophas, and Luke, on the other; all figures of the size of life. In this work he departed still more decidedly from the dry formal manner of his instructors, giving more life and movement to the draperies, vestments, and other accessories, and rendering all more flexible and natural than was common to the manner of those Greeks, whose works were full of hard lines and sharp angles, as well in mosaic as in painting. And this rude, unskilful, and common-place manner, the Greeks had acquired, not so much from study or of settled purpose, as from having servilely followed certain fixed rules and habits, transmitted through a long series of years, by one painter to another down to those times, while none ever thought of the amelioration of his design, the embellishment of his colouring, or the improvement of his invention. This work being completed, Cimabue was again summoned by the same prior, who had employed him for the works of Santa

* The picture of Baldovinetti was in its turn removed, to make way for Dandini's painting of the Trinity. The work of Cimabue is now in the Academy of the Fine Arts in Florence.

† So called from a prefect of that name, who governed the Hospital in the fourteenth century. It is almost needless to say that this painting is destroyed.

Croce, and he now painted for him a colossal crucifix on wood, which is still to be seen in that church.* The execution of this crucifix gave great satisfaction to the prior, who caused the artist to accompany him to his convent of San Francesco in Pisa, where Cimabue painted a picture of San Francesco. This was considered by the Pisans to be a work of extraordinary merit, having more beauty of expression in the head, and more grace in the draperies, than had ever been seen in the Greek manner up to that time, not only in Pisa, but in Italy.

Cimabue afterwards painted for the same church a large picture of the Virgin, with the Infant in her arms, and with angels around her,—this also was on a gold ground, it was soon afterwards removed from the position it had first occupied to make way for the marble altar which now stands there, and was placed within the church, near the door, and on the left hand; for this work Cimabue obtained high praise, and was largely rewarded by the Pisans. In the same city of Pisa, he also painted, at the request of the then abbot of San Paolo in Ripa d'Arno, a small picture of St. Agnes, on panel, with the whole story of her life around her, in small figures; this picture is now over the altar of the Virgin in the above-named church.† The name of Cimabue becoming widely known by these labours, he was invited to Assisi, a city of Umbria, where, in company with certain Greek masters, he painted a portion of the vaulted roof in the lower church of San Francesco, together with the life of Jesus Christ and that of St. Francis, on the walls of the same church. In these works he greatly surpassed those Greek masters,‡ and encouraged by this, he began alone to paint the upper church in fresco. In the apsis of the church,

* This Crucifix is now placed in the corridor leading from the church of Santa Croce to the chapel of the Pazzi, and is tolerably well preserved.—Schorn.

† All the pictures painted by Cimabue in Pisa have perished; but we know that the large picture of the Virgin, etc., was taken to Paris, where it has remained. There are still two paintings by Cimabue in the Louvre—the Virgin with Angels, and the Virgin with the Infant Jesus.

‡ Cimabue here merits the praise, not of surpassing those Greek masters only, but also of improving on the manner of his instructor Giunta Pisano —Della Valle

beyond the choir, he painted certain passages from the history of the Virgin, in four compartments,—her death, when her soul is borne by Christ to Heaven upon a throne of clouds,—and her coronation, when he places the crown on her head in the midst of a choir of angels; numerous saints, male and female, standing below; works now nearly obliterated by time and dust. In the vaults of the roof, which are five, Cimabue depicted various historical scenes in like manner. In the first, over the choir, he placed the four Evangelists, larger than life,* and so well done, that even in our days they are admitted to possess much merit, the freshness of colouring in the flesh-tints proving that painting in fresco was, thanks to the labours of Cimabue, beginning to make important advances. The second vault he adorned with golden stars on a ground of ultramarine. In the third he painted, in medallions, Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mother, St. John the Baptist, and St. Francis, that is, a figure in each medallion, and a medallion in each bay of the vault. Between this and the fifth vault, he painted the fourth, also in stars of gold on a ground of ultramarine, like the second. In the fifth he placed the four Doctors of the Church, and beside each of the Doctors stood a brother of one of the four principal religious orders; without doubt, a most laborious work, and executed with extreme diligence.† When the vaults were completed, Cimabue next painted the upper part of the wall of the north aisle, also in fresco, through the whole length of the church. Near the high altar, and in the space between the windows entirely up to the roof, he painted eight historical pictures from the Old Testament, beginning with the early chapters of Genesis, and taking the most prominent events in due order. Around the windows, and to the point where they terminate in the gallery‡ which encircles the interior of the building, he depicted the remaining portions of the Old Testament in eight other historical scenes. Opposite to these pictures, and also in sixteen compartments, he painted the lives of the Virgin and of Jesus Christ; while on the end façade, below, over

* Of these figures no trace now remains.—Schorn.

† The paintings of the third and fifth vault are still well preserved.—Schorn.

‡ Triforium.

the principal door, and around the rose window, he placed the ascension of the Virgin in heaven, together with the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles.* This work, truly great and rich, and most admirably executed, must, in my opinion, have caused the utmost astonishment in the world of that day, more especially as the art of painting had been for so long a time in complete darkness. To myself, who saw it for the second time in the year 1563, it appeared most beautiful, more particularly when I considered that obscurity of art from the shades of which Cimabue had found means to elicit so much light. But of all these paintings (a thing which merits consideration), those of the vaults being less exposed to dust and other accidents, are in much better preservation than any of the others.† Having completed these works, Cimabue began to paint the lower part of the walls, namely from the windows downwards, and made some progress therein, but being recalled to Florence by his private affairs, he did not continue this work, and it was finished, as will be seen in its due place, by Giotto, many years after.

Having thus returned to Florence, Cimabue next worked in the cloister of Santo Spirito. The entire side next the church is painted by other masters, in the Greek manner; but three arches, containing events from the life of Christ, are by his own hand, and certainly display much power of design.‡ About the same time, he sent some of his works, executed in Florence, to Empoli, where they are still preserved with great veneration in the parochial church of

* Della Valle attributes only a part of these paintings to Cimabue. They are now all greatly injured, and become almost indistinguishable. The Reconciliation of Joseph with his Brethren, near the door on the north side, is the only one still remaining in tolerably good preservation. — Schorn.

† Writers are far from agreeing as regards the paintings of this church, and their authors. Thus Father Angeli, *Storia della Basilica D'Assisi*, attributes the Assumption of the Virgin with Saints beneath, to Giunta Pisano, although Vasari praises it as the work of Cimabue. D'Agincourt also enumerates it among his plates (No. 102) with those assigned to Giunta. See also Rosini, *Storia della Pittura Italiana*, vol. i, p. 110. Rumohr asserts that Vasari had no authority whatever for stating that Cimabue painted in the upper church of San Francesco D'Assisi. See *Ital. Forsch.*, vol. ii, sec. 2.

‡ These paintings of Cimabue, as well as those of the other masters, are entirely destroyed.

that place.* He afterwards painted the picture of the Virgin, for the church of Santa Maria Novella, where it is suspended on high, between the chapel of the Rucellai family and that of the Bardi, of Vernio.† This picture is of larger size than any figure that had been painted down to those times; and the angels surrounding it, make it evident that, although Cimabue still retained the Greek manner, he was nevertheless gradually approaching the mode of outline and general method of modern times. Thus it happened that this work was an object of so much admiration to the people of that day—they having then never seen anything better—that it was carried in solemn procession, with the sound of trumpets and other festal demonstrations, from the house of Cimabue to the church, he himself being highly rewarded and honoured for it. It is further reported, and may be read in certain records of old painters, that, whilst Cimabue was painting this picture, in a garden near the gate of San Pietro, King Charles‡ the Elder, of Anjou, passed through Florence, and the authorities of the city, among other marks of respect, conducted him to see the picture of Cimabue. When this work was thus shewn to the king, it had not before been seen by any one; wherefore all the men and women of Florence hastened in great crowds to admire it, making all possible demonstrations of delight. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood, rejoicing in this occurrence, ever afterwards called that place Borgo Allegri; and this name it has ever

* Some remains of ancient paintings are still to be seen in this Chapter-House, but none of them appear to be of the time or manner of Cimabue.—Florentine edition of 1846.

† This picture, still in very fair preservation, is in the chapel of the Rucellai family; and whoever will examine it carefully, comparing it, not only with works produced before the time of Cimabue, but also with those painted after him by the Florentine masters, preceding Giotto, will perceive that the praises of Vasari are justified in every particular.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

‡ Brother of St. Louis, and crowned King of Sicily by Clement IV, in the year 1266. According to Vasari, who gives 1240 as the year of Cimabue's birth, the latter must then have been but twenty-six years old, although he had already completed so many great works. The doubtful character of this anecdote is manifest, but the painting is still in the church of Santa Maria Novella. The heads of the Virgin, of the Child, and of the Angels, are all fine, but the hands are badly drawn. The throne and ground are covered with gold—Schorn. See also Bumohr, vol. ii, p. 31.

since retained, although in process of time it became enclosed within the walls of the city.*

In San Francesco of Pisa—where Cimabue painted some other pictures, as has been already remarked—may be seen a painting in distemper, by his hand; it is in the cloister, near the door which leads into the church, and is a small picture representing Christ on the Cross, with numerous angels around him; they are weeping, and supporting with their hands certain words, which are written round the head of Christ, and which they direct towards the ear of the Virgin, who stands, also weeping, on the right hand; while on the left is John the Evangelist, towards whom they likewise direct a portion of the scroll, and whose expression is one of deep grief. The words addressed to the Virgin are, “Mulier ecce filius tuus”, and those to St. John, “Ecce mater tua”. A third sentence, supported by another angel, placed somewhat apart, is as follows: “Ex illâ horâ accepit eam discipulus in suam”. Hence we perceive that Cimabue originated the invention of lending the aid of words to art, for the better expression of the meaning,—certainly a new and peculiar expedient.

By these and other works,† Cimabue had now acquired a great name, as well as large profits, and was appointed—together with Arnolfo Lapi, an artist then highly renowned in architecture—to superintend the building of Santa Maria del Fiore, in Florence. But at length, and when he had lived sixty years, he departed to another life, in the year 1300,‡ having achieved little less than the resurrection of painting from the dead. He left many disciples, and, among others, Giotto, who afterwards became a most eminent

* This name of Borgo Allegri is derived, according to Cinelli, from the family of *Allegri*.—*Ed. Flor.*

† Bottari tells us that in addition to these works, and others previously mentioned by Vasari, there still remain a Madonna (restored) in the convent of San Paolino, in Florence; a second in that of Ognissanti; a Crucifix, in the monastery of San Jacopo di Ripoli, etc. etc. This Crucifix, if, indeed, it be by Cimabue, may still be seen in the monastery. Morelli affirms that he also painted in the church of the Carmine, in Padua; and that, when this church was burnt, a Head of St. John, by his hand, was rescued, and preserved, as a precious relic, in the house of Alessandro Cappella.—Maselli. Schorn.

‡ From a document cited by Ciampi, it appears that Cimabue was executing a St. John, in mosaic, for the Duomo of Pisa, in 1302; and, as he left this figure unfinished, it may be inferred that he did not long sur-

painter, and long dwelt in the house inhabited by his master, in the Via del Cocomero. Cimabue was entombed in Santa Maria del Fiore, the following epitaph being composed on him by one of the Nini :

“Credidit ut Cimabos picturæ castra tenere
Sic tenuit, vivens, nunc tenet astra poli.”

I will not omit to observe, that if the greatness of Giotto, his disciple, had not diminished the glory of Cimabue, his fame would have risen still higher, as Dante remarks in his *Commedia*, where, alluding, in the eleventh canto of the *Purgatorio*, to this inscription on the tomb,* he says :

“Credette Cimabue nella pittura
Tener lo campo, ed ora ha Giotto il grido,
Sì che la fama di colui s’ oscura.”

Alluding to these verses, a commentator of Dante, who wrote while Giotto was still living—ten or twelve years after the death of Dante himself ; that is, about the year 1334—has the following remarks. He is speaking of Cimabue, and these are his precise words : “Cimabue, of Florence, a painter of the time of our author, knew more of the noble art than any other man ; but he was so arrogant and proud withal, that if any one discovered a fault in his work, or if he perceived one himself (as will often happen to the artist, who fails from the defects in the material that he uses, or from insufficiency of the instrument with which he works), he would instantly destroy that work, however costly it might be. Giotto, of that same city of Florence, was, and is, the most eminent of painters ; and his works bear testimony for him in Rome, in Naples, at Avignon, Florence, Padua, and many other parts of the world.”† This commentary is now in the hands of the Rev. Don Vincenzo Borghini, prior of the Innocents, a man not only illustrious for elevation of mind, for goodness, and for learning, but also a lover of, and so well

vive that year. He died at Florence, and was buried in the church of Santa Maria del Fiore.

* The contrary is the fact, since the epitaph must have been written subsequently to those lines of Dante.

† This Commentary is that known to the learned under the title of the “Anonimo”. It was first published in Pisa by Alessandro Torii, 1827-30.—*Ed. Flor*

versed in all the nobler arts, that he has merited to be elected, as by our lord the Duke Cosmo he judiciously has been, to the office of ducal representative (vice-president) in our Academy of Design. But to return to Cimabue: Giotto certainly did obscure his fame, as a great light diminishes the splendour of a lesser one; so that, although Cimabue may be considered, perhaps, the first cause of the restoration of the art of painting, yet Giotto, his disciple, impelled by laudable ambition, and well aided by heaven and nature, was the man who, attaining to superior elevation of thought, threw open the gates of the true way to those who afterwards exalted the art to that perfection and greatness which it displays in our age; when, accustomed as men are, daily, to see the prodigies and miracles, nay, the impossibilities, now performed by artists, they have arrived at such a point that they no longer marvel at anything accomplished by men, even though it be more divine than human. Fortunate, indeed, are they who now labour, however meritoriously, if they do not incur blame instead of praise; nay, if they can even escape disgrace.

The portrait of Cimabue may be seen in the chapter of Santa Maria Novella.* It is by Simon of Siena, and is in his picture of the Church Militant and Triumphant. This portrait is in profile, the face meagre, the beard short, reddish, and pointed; the head enveloped in a hood, after the manner of that day, which is folded gracefully beneath the chin, and closely wraps the throat. The figure beside Cimabue is Simon of Siena, author of the work, who has painted himself by means of two mirrors, placed opposite each other, and which have enabled him to give his head in profile. The soldier in armour, standing between them, is supposed to be Count Guido Novelli, then Signore of Poppi. Of Cimabue there remains still to say, that, in the commencement of a book wherein I have collected drawings by the hand of every artist who has followed him to these days,† there are some

* From this portrait Vasari took the head of Cimabue, which he placed before the life of that artist in his second edition.

† Baldinucci relates, in the life of Passignano, that five volumes of drawings were sold for several thousand crowns to certain merchants, by the Cav. Gaddi, these volumes being the celebrated book so frequently mentioned by Vasari in these "Lives." Some thousands of drawings by the most eminent masters were afterwards collected by Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici, and among these were many which had

few little things done by him in miniature, from which, although they may now seem rather crude than otherwise, we may yet perceive how greatly the art of design was improved by his labours.

ARNOLFO DI LAPO, ARCHITECT, OF FLORENCE.

[1232. 1310.]

HAVING spoken, in my Preface to these Lives, of certain edifices, old, but not antique,* of which I did not name the architects, because they were not known to me, I will now enumerate, in this introduction to the life of Arnolfo, some few other buildings, erected in his time or shortly before it, of which the authors are also unknown, and will afterwards speak of such as were built during his lifetime, and the architects of which are either known or can be ascertained from the mode of the building, and from different notices, writings, and inscriptions, left by them in the works they constructed. Nor will such discourse be out of place; for although these buildings are neither beautiful nor in a good style, but

belonged to the biographer of Arezzo (Vasari) Baldinucci further says, in his "Address to the Reader," and in his letters to the Marquis Vincenzo Capponi, that he had himself advised Cardinal Leopoldo to arrange the large mass of drawings collected, in chronological order, and had even been entrusted with this labour by the Cardinal, and afterwards by Cosmo III; but Giovanni Cinelli, in his bitter "Critica," not only refuses the merit of proposing this arrangement to Baldinucci, but denies that he superintended it, and gives all the credit of that work to the Count Carlo Cesare Malvasia, of Bologna, who was assisted by the councils of Volterrano, of Lippi, and of the Cardinal himself. The greater part of the collection was sent to the Gallery of the Uffizj, in the year 1700, where the vast number of drawings would now make it difficult to distinguish those collected by Vasari. It is true, that this series, lately arranged anew, commences with "*certain little things done in miniature*" on parchment, which are attributed to Cimabue, and may be those here alluded to by Vasari. Many other drawings belonging to Vasari became the property of Crozat, who published a part of them.—*Ed. Flor.*

† A distinction, which Vasari has made towards the end of his "Introduction to the Lives," where he explains what he means by "old," and what by "antique," see ante, page 31.

merely vast and rich, they are nevertheless worthy of some consideration.

There existed, then, at the time of Lapo, and of Arnolfo, his son, many buildings of great importance, both in Italy and other countries, of which I have not been able to discover the architects. Among these are the abbey of Monreale, in Sicily;* the Piscopio (or Episcopate of the Greek rite), in Naples;† the Certosa of Pavia;‡ the Duomo of Milan;§ the churches San Pietro || and San Petronio, ¶ in Bologna; with many others, erected at incredible expense, throughout Italy. All which I have well examined, with many works in sculpture of the same times, more particularly in Ravenna, without being able to find any memorial whatever of the masters,—nay, often uncertain as to the age in which they were constructed,—so that I cannot but marvel at the simplicity and indifference to glory exhibited by the men of that period. But to return to our subject. After the buildings just enumerated, others were erected in a nobler spirit, and the architects of which endeavoured at least to produce something better, if they did not attain their end. The first of these masters was Buono,** whose family, name, and country, are alike unknown, he having written his baptismal name only in the few memorials which he has left of his works. This artist was a sculptor as well as architect; he built many palaces and churches, in Ravenna, about the year 1152; and these, with certain works of sculpture, also executed by him, having brought him into notice, he was invited to Naples,

* Founded in 1177 by William II, called “the Good,” one of the first buildings in Europe in which the pointed arch was used. See D’Agincourt, pl. 36, also Hittorff, *Architecture Moderne de la Sicile*, and Gally Knight’s *Saracenic and Norman Remains in Sicily*.

† The present cathedral of Naples, San Jannario, was commenced in 1280 by Charles I of Anjou.—Schorn.

‡ The Certosa or Charter-house of Pavia was built in the fourteenth century, by Giacopo Campione, at the command of Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, first duke of Milan.—Schorn.

§ This cathedral, also founded by Giovanni Galeazzo, was completed by Napoleon.

|| San Pietro was erected in the tenth century and restored in the eighteenth, under Benedict XIV.

¶ San Petronio was commenced in the year 1390, the architect was Master Harduin.—Schorn.

** For Buono and other artists here mentioned, see Cicognara, *Storia della Scultura*.

where he founded the Castel dell' Uovo and Castel Capuano, which were afterwards completed by others, as will be related hereafter. While Domenico Morosini was Doge of Venice, Buono founded the Campanile of San Marco, in that city, with great judgment and foresight, having so ably constructed the foundations, and fixed the piles, that this tower has never sunk, even by a hair's breadth, as many other buildings, constructed in Venice before his time, were, and still are, found to do. And it is from him, perhaps, that the Venetians received the art of founding the very rich and beautiful edifices which they are now daily causing to be magnificently erected in that most noble city. It is true that this tower has nothing particularly meritorious in itself, whether in the manner of construction or the decorations. There is nothing in it, in short, that deserves high praise, its solidity excepted; it was finished under the pontiffs Anastasius IV and Adrian IV, in the year 1154. Buono was also the architect of the church of Sant' Andrea of Pistoia; the marble architrave over the door was sculptured by his hand; it comprises many figures in the Gothic manner, and bears his name, with the date of the work, namely 1156. Being then invited to Florence, Buono gave the designs for enlarging the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, which was then without the city and held in high veneration, as having been consecrated many years previously by Pope Pelagius. With respect to size and style, this is a very tolerable specimen of a church of that day.

Buono was next invited to Arezzo by the people of that city, and constructed the ancient palace of its governors, the lords of Arezzo, a building in the Gothic manner, with a bell-tower by the side of it.* The whole edifice, which was sufficiently handsome of its kind, was demolished in the year 1533, because it was too near to the fortifications of the city. The art now began to make visible progress; being aided by the efforts of a certain Guglielmo,† whom I believe to have

* This palace, "Il Palazzo de' Signori," of which there yet remains a small fragment between the Duomo and the Citadel, was not founded until the year 1232, and could not therefore have been built by Buono, whom Vasari places a full century earlier.—*Ed. Leghorn.*

† Della Valle considers this Guglielmo to be a Pisan, principally because a Pisan artist of that name took part in the construction of the

been a German, and many buildings were erected at great cost and in a somewhat better style. In the year 1174, this William, assisted by the sculptor Bonanno, is said to have founded the campanile of the Duomo in Pisa, where the following inscription may still be seen :—

A D. MCLXXIV CAMPANILE HOC FVIT FVNDATUM MENSE AUGUSTI.

But these two architects, having little experience of the requisites to a good foundation on the soil of Pisa, did not sufficiently secure their piles, so that the tower sunk before it had attained half its height, and inclined over the weaker side, leaving six braccia and a half out of the direct line, according to the declension of the foundation. This declination is not much observed below, but is very obvious in the upper part, and has caused many to marvel that the campanile has not fallen, or at least exhibited rents. But this tower has the form of an empty well, being circular both without and within ; the stones are so placed that its fall is well nigh impossible, and it is, besides, supported by an outwork of masonry, three braccia high, which has been obviously added to the foundations, since the sinking of the tower, for its more effectual support.* I am persuaded that if the form of this campanile had been square, it would not now be standing, since the corner-stones would have pressed the sides so forcibly outwards, as is frequently seen to happen, that it must have fallen. And if the Garisenda tower of Bologna, which is square, declines from the perpendicular and yet stands, that happens because it is much lighter, the inclination being much less, and not being loaded with so heavy a mass as that of the Pisan tower.† This campanile of Pisa is not admired for the beauty of its design or construction, but solely on account of its eccentricity of form, and because no one who looks at it can fail to marvel that it should keep its place. In the year

cathedral of Orvieto, but in Dempster he is called Wilhelm of Innspruck. See Cicognara, ii, 117.—Schorn.

* This *out work*, which Vasari states to have been added, after the sinking of the tower, for its support, was raised about the year 1537, as Morrona discovered from the books of the work. By excavations made in the year 1838, it was proved that the tower stands without aid from this addition, and that the extent of its declination, is seven braccia and two thirds, nearly fourteen feet. English.—*Ed Flor.* 1846.

† The centre of gravity falls of course within the base, in both cases.

1180, and while the campanile was in course of construction, the same Bonanno executed the principal door of the cathedral of Pisa; it is of bronze, and bears the following inscription:—"Ego Bonannus Pis. mea arte hanc portam uno anno perfecti tempore Benedicti operari."*

The art now made continual progress, as may be seen at San Giovanni in Laterano, in Rome, the walls of which were formed from the spoils of ancient buildings, during the pontificates of Lucius III and Urban III (when this latter pontiff crowned the Emperor Frederick). Many small chapels of this basilica have considerable merit of design, and are well deserving of notice. Among other circumstances of this building, it may be remarked that its vaults were formed of small tubes,† with compartments of stucco, to the end that the walls might not be too heavily burthened,—a very judicious contrivance of those times; the cornices and other parts of the church also proving that artists then contributed effectually in their efforts towards the amelioration of their art.

Innocent III caused two palaces to be erected, about this time, on the Vatican hill, and from what can be seen of them, they appear to have been of good style; but as these buildings were destroyed by other pontiffs, and particularly by Nicholas V, who demolished and rebuilt the greater part of them, I will say no more respecting them than that a portion of them may still be seen in the great Round Tower,‡ and in the old sacristy of St. Peter's. The above-named pontiff, Innocent III, who reigned nineteen years, and greatly delighted in architecture, caused many buildings to be erected in Rome, particularly the tower of Conti, so called from his own name, he being of that family. The tower was constructed after the designs of Marchionne of Arezzo, a sculptor and architect, by whom the capitular church of Arezzo was completed, together with its campanile, in the year of Pope Innocent's death; the front of this edifice was adorned with

* This door was destroyed by fire in the year 1596.—Martini, *Theatrum Basilicæ Pisanæ*.

† Probably of burnt clay, as are those of the dome of the church of San Vitale, in Ravenna.

‡ This tower is still to be seen behind the Vatican, in the wall of the pontifical gardens.—*Ed. Flor*

three orders of columns, placed one above the other, and varied, not only in the forms of the capitals and bases, but also in the shafts of the columns, some being thick, some being slender; some in couples, others in groups of four; some have the form of vines, while others represent supporting figures, variously sculptured. Animals of many kinds are also made to support the weight of some among these columns, which they bear on their backs, the whole presenting the strangest and most extravagant fantasies that can be imagined, not only widely deviating from the pure taste of the antique, but even offending against all rules of just proportion. Yet, notwithstanding these defects, whoever considers the whole work, will perceive that the artist made strenuous efforts towards the amelioration of his art, and probably thought that he had found the true method in that wondrous variety. Over the door of the church, the same master sculptured a rude figure of God the Father, surrounded by angels, of a rather large size, in mezzo-rilievo; and, together with these, he placed the twelve months of the year, his own name, in round letters, as was then the custom, being sculptured beneath, with the date 1216.* Marchionne is also reported to have built the ancient edifice of the hospital and church of the Santo Spirito, in the Borgo Vecchio at Rome, for the same pontiff Innocent III; some remains of this hospital may yet be seen, and the ancient church was standing, in its primitive form, even in our own days, but it has been restored, in the modern taste, and with improved designs, by Pope Paul III, of the house of Farnese.

In the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, also in Rome, the same architect built the marble chapel† which encloses the manger of the Nativity, and in which he placed the portrait of Pope Honorius III, taken from life, whose tomb he had also constructed with ornaments in a very good style, and totally unlike the manner then prevalent throughout Italy ‡ About the same time Marchionne completed the lateral door

* This inscription has caused Vasari to conclude the whole façade and campanile to be the work of Marchionne; but these, as well as the greater part of the church, are of a much later period, namely 1300 — See Rondinelli, *Descrizione d'Arezzo*, and the *Annali Aretini*.—Ed. Flor.

† Afterwards rebuilt by Pope Sixtus V.

‡ For the details of this subject, see D'Agincourt and Cicognara.

of San Pietro, in Bologna, which was, in truth, a very great work for those times, and for the variety of sculptures which it exhibits; as, for example, its colossal lions supporting columns, with men and other animals also bearing enormous burthens. Above the door he placed the twelve months, each accompanied by its attendant zodiacal sign, with many other fancies, all in high relief, a work which, in those days, must have been considered marvellous.*

It was about this time that the order of Friars Minors of St. Francis was founded, and this order, being confirmed by Pope Innocent III in 1206, extended itself in such a manner, not only in Italy but in all other parts of the world, (devotion to the saint increasing together with the number of the friars,) that there was scarcely any city of importance which did not build churches and convents for them, at a vast amount of cost, and each according to its means. These things being so, the Frate Elia, two years before the death of St. Francis, and while the Saint was preaching abroad, as General of the Order, leaving Frate Elia prior in Assisi,—this Elia commenced the building of a church to the honour of the Virgin; but St. Francis dying in the mean time, all Christendom came flocking to visit the body of him who in life and in death, was known to be so much the friend of God, when every man, making an offering to the holy place according to his ability, large sums were collected, and it was decreed that the church, commenced by the Frate Elia, should be continued on a much more extended and magnificent scale. There was then a great scarcity of good architects, and as the work to be done required an excellent artist, having to be built upon a very high hill, at the foot of which flows a torrent called the Tescio, a certain Maestro Jacopo,† a German, was invited to Arezzo, after much deliberation, as the best who was then to be found. This Jacopo, having received the commands of the fathers, who were then holding

* This door is no longer to be seen. For the lions and columns, see Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen*, vol. ii, p. 155, Note

† What Vasari says of this Jacopo, with the prevalent opinion that he was taken into Italy by Frederick II, would make it probable, says Cicognara, that those are right, who maintain the pointed Gothic manner to have been immediately derived from Germany, were it not that we have earlier examples—in the abbey of Subiaco, for instance.—*Ed Flor.*

a general chapter of their order respecting this matter in Assisi, then carefully examined the site, and designed the plan of a very beautiful church and convent. The model presented three ranges of buildings, placed one above the other: the lowermost subterranean; the two others forming two churches, of which the first was to serve as a vestibule, with a spacious portico and colonnade around it; the second was set apart for the sanctuary, the entrance to this last being by a very convenient range of steps, ascending to the principal chapel, and these, being divided into two flights, encircled the chapel, that the upper church might be attained the more commodiously. To this temple Maestro Jacopo gave the form of the letter T, the length being equal to five times the breadth, and the roof being raised on bold groined arches, supported by massive piers; after this model he constructed the whole of this truly grand edifice, observing the same order throughout every part, excepting that, instead of pointed, he raised round arches on the upper supports between the apsis and the principal chapel, as considered of greater strength. Before the principal chapel of the lower church was placed the altar, beneath which, when completed, the body of St. Francis was laid with great solemnity; and, since the actual sepulchre, in which the body of the glorious saint reposes, was never to be approached by the foot of man, the first, that is the subterranean church, had its doors walled up, and around the above-named altar was placed a very large iron grating, richly adorned with marbles and mosaic, which permitted the tomb beneath to be seen*. Two sacristies were erected beside the building, with a campanile, the height of which was equal to five times its diameter; a very high pyramid of eight sides surmounted the tower, but this, being in danger of falling, was removed. The whole work was, by the genius

* The history of this *invisible* church—blindly believed by all, and transmitted from age to age, down to our own days—was ultimately disproved, when, diligent search being made for the remains of St. Francis, in the year 1818, it was found that this said church had never existed, and that the body of the holy patriarch had been buried in a tomb partly hewn from the rock, but afterwards closed in with very thick walls, under the high altar of the lower church. See *Memorie storiche del ritrovamento delle sacre spoglie di San Francesco D'Assisi*, Assisi, 1824.—Ed. Flor. 1846.

of Maestro Jacopo the German, and the attentive care of Frate Elia, completed within the space of four years only. After the death of Elia, and to the end that this vast building might never be destroyed by time, twelve enormous towers were erected around the lower church, in each of which a spiral staircase was constructed, ascending from the ground to the summit of the edifice. In the course of time, also, many chapels, and other rich embellishments of various kinds, have been added; but of these I need say no more, having sufficiently dwelt on this building, and also because all may visit and admire the splendour and beauty which have been added to this commencement of Maestro Jacopo by many high pontiffs, cardinals, princes, and other great personages of Europe.

And now, to return to Maestro Jacopo; he acquired so much renown, by this construction, throughout all Italy, that he was invited to Florence by the governors of that city, where he was received with great joy. But the Florentines, according to a custom prevalent in that day, and still practised, of abbreviating names, did not call him Jacopo,* but Lapo, a name by which he was known for the remainder of his life, which he passed with all his family in Florence. It is true that he proceeded, at different times, to various parts of Tuscany, for the erection of numerous edifices, such as the Palazzo di Poppi in Casentino, (which he built for that Count, who had had the beautiful Gualdrada for his wife, with Casentino for her dowry,) the cathedral of Arezzo,† and the Palazzo Vecchio of the Signori of Pietramala. His abode was, nevertheless, always in Florence, where, in the year 1218, he laid the foundations of the Ponte Carraja, then called the New Bridge; these he completed in two years, and

* Della Valle considers this assertion sufficient to throw doubt on the whole story. He affirms that Lapo was born in Florence, and had studied his art, from youth up, under Niccola Pisano — Schorn. See also Lanzi, *History of Painting*, vol i, p. 49.

† Schorn, quoting the Leghorn edition, remarks, that if Jacopo was the architect of the cathedral of Arezzo, he must have designed it very shortly before his death. But the Florentine edition of Vasari (1846), following Maselli, informs us that the building in question was partly restored from its foundation by "this Jacopo or Lapo" in 1218; continued by the Aretime architect Margaritone in 1275; and completed under the celebrated Bishop Guglielmino degli Ubertini, but by what architect is not known. See also Brizi, *Guida d'Arezzo*, and Rondinelli, *Descrizione d'Arezzo*

the bridge was shortly afterwards finished in wood, as was then the custom. In 1221, he gave plans for the church of San Salvatore del Vescovado, which was commenced under his superintendence, as also those for San Michele in the Piazza Padella,* where many fragments of sculpture, after the manner of those days, may still be seen. He next gave plans for the drainage of the city, raised the Piazza of San Giovanni, and erected the bridge which bears the name of the Milanese, Messer Rubaconte da Mandella, from having been finished in his time. Finally, he invented that most useful method of paving the streets with stone, they having previously been covered with bricks only; he prepared the model for the palace, now of the Podesta,† but then of the Anziani (Elders), and sent to the abbey of Monreale, in Sicily, the designs for a sepulchral monument to the Emperor Frederick, for which he had received the commands of Manfred. These works completed, Maestro Jacopo died, leaving Arnolfo, his son, heir to his talents, no less than to his fortune.‡

Arnolfo, by whose labours architecture made equal progress with that of painting under the influence of Cimabue, was born in the year 1232, and was thirty years old when his father died. He had already attained high repute, having not only acquired from his father whatever the latter could teach, but also studied the art of design under Cimabue, for the purpose of employing it in sculpture. He was now considered the best architect in Tuscany, and the Florentines confided to him the construction of the outer circle of their city walls, which were founded in 1284; they also erected the Loggia of Or San Michele, their corn market, after his plans, covering it with a simple roof, and building

* Of the first of these churches, there remains only a part of the façade belonging to the ancient building. The second, now St. Michael of the Antinori, was rebuilt, after the design of Nigetti, in the seventeenth century.—Schorn.

† Now the palace of the Bargello.

‡ That Arnolfo was neither a son of Lapo, who was but his fellow disciple, nor yet of the German architect Jacopo (who appears to have been a different person from Lapo the sculptor), has long been known, from various authorities. The father of Arnolfo was called Cambio, and was of Colle, in the Val d'Elsa. See Baldinucci; Del Migliore, *Firenze Illustrata*; Cicognara, *Storia della Scultura*; Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen*; and Gaye, *Carteggio Inedito d'Artisti*.

the piers of brick. In that year, when the cliff of the Magnoli, undermined by water, sank down on the side of San Giorgio, above Santa Lucia, on the Via de' Bardi, the Florentines issued a decree, to the effect that no building should be thenceforward erected on that place, which they declared to be rendered perilous by the cause above stated; herein they followed the counsels of Arnolfo, and his judgment has proved to be correct by the ruin in our day of many magnificent houses and other buildings. In the year 1285, Arnolfo founded the Loggia and piazza of the Priori, he rebuilt the principal chapel of the Badia (abbey) of Florence, with one on each side of it, restoring the church and choir, which had been constructed on a much smaller scale by Count Ugo, the founder of that abbey.* For Cardinal Giovanni degli Orsini, the pope's legate in Tuscany, Arnolfo erected the campanile of the above-mentioned church, a work highly appreciated in those times, and deservedly so; but the stone-work of this tower was not completed until the year 1330. In the year 1294, the church of Santa Croce, belonging to the Friars Minors, was founded after the designs of Arnolfo, when he gave so ample an extent to the nave and side aisles of this building, that the excessive width rendered it impossible to bring the arches within the roof; he therefore, with much judgment, raised arches from pier to pier, and on these he constructed the roofs, from which he conducted the water by stone gutters, built on the arches, giving them such a degree of inclination that the roofs were secured from all injury from damp. The novelty and ingenuity of this contrivance was equal to its utility, and well deserves the consideration of our day. At a later period, Arnolfo gave the plans for the first cloisters to the old convent of this church, and soon afterwards superintended the removal of the various arches and tombs,† in stone and marble, by which the external walls of the church of San Giovanni were surrounded, placing a part of them behind the campanile, and on the façade of the Canonical Palace, near the oratory of San Zenobio; he then covered the eight walls of the above-named church of San

* The old church was demolished in 1625, and was rebuilt in the form of the Greek Cross.—Schorn.

† These ancient monuments are mentioned by Boccaccio, *Decam.* *Gior* vi, Nov. 9.—*Ibid.*

Giovanni with black marble from Prato, removing the stones which had been suffered to remain between those old marbles.* About the same time, the Florentines desired to erect certain buildings in the upper Valdarno, above the fortress of San Giovanni and Castel Franco, for the greater convenience of the inhabitants and the more commodious supply of their markets; they entrusted the design of these works also to Arnolfo, in the year 1295, when he so completely satisfied them on this, as he had done on other occasions, that he was elected a citizen of Florence.

All these undertakings being completed, the Florentines resolved, as Giovanni Villani relates in his History,† to construct a cathedral church in their city, determining to give it such extent and magnificence that nothing superior or more beautiful should remain to be desired from the power or industry of man. Arnolfo then prepared the plans and executed the model of that temple, which can never be sufficiently extolled, the church of Santa Maria del Fiore, directing that the external walls should be encrusted with polished marbles, rich cornices, pilasters, columns, carved foliage, figures and other ornaments, with which we now see it brought, if not entirely, yet in a great measure to completion. But what was most of all wonderful in that work, was the fact, that he incorporated the church of Santa Reparata, besides other small churches and houses, which stood around it, in his edifice, yet, in arranging the design of his ground plan (which is most beautiful), he proceeded with so much care and judgment, making the excavations wide and deep, and filling them with excellent materials, such as flint and lime, and a foundation of immense stones, that they have proved equal, as we still see, to the perfect support of that enormous construction, the cupola, which Filippo di Ser Brunellesco erected upon them, and which Arnolfo had probably not even thought of placing thereon: nay, from the fame acquired by these constructions, the place is still called “Lungo-i-Fondamenti.”

The foundation of this edifice was celebrated with much solemnity, the first stone being laid on the birthday of the

* For a long discussion as to the part which Arnolfo took in these works, see Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.*; *Antologiu di Firenze*, v. 1.

† Book viii, chap. 7.

Virgin, in the year 1298, by the Cardinal legate of the Pope, in the presence, not only of many bishops and of all the clergy, but also of the Podestà, the captains, priors, and other magistrates of the city, together with the whole assembled people of Florence; the church receiving the name of "Santa Maria del Fiore." But as the cost of this fabric was expected to be very great, as it was indeed found to be, a tax of four deniers the pound was levied by the Chamber of the Commune on all merchandize exported from the city, together with a poll-tax of two soldi per head, the Pope and legate also granting large indulgences to whomsoever should offer contributions towards the building. Nor must I omit to say, that in addition to the ample foundations, fifteen braccia* deep, strong buttresses were added to each angle of the eight sides, and from these supports it was that Brunellesco derived courage to lay a greater weight on the walls, perhaps, than that Arnolfo had calculated on. The two first side doors of Santa Maria del Fiore were commenced in marble, and it is said that Arnolfo caused fig-leaves to be cut in the frieze, these leaves belonging to his arms and those of his father Lapo, from which it may be inferred, that the family of the Lapi, now among the nobles of Florence, descends from him. Others declare, moreover, that Filippo di Ser Brunellesco was also a descendant of Arnolfo: but to have done with conjecture,—for many believe the Lapi family to come from Figaruolo, a castle situated at the mouth of the Po,—let us return to our Arnolfo, of whom it may be affirmed, that for the grandeur of this work, he has well merited infinite praise and an eternal name. The walls of the building were almost entirely covered externally with marbles of various colours, and within with Florentine granite, even to the most minute corners of the edifice. And that all may know the exact extent of this marvellous fabric, I add the measurements. Its length, from the door to the chapel of San Zenobio, is 260 braccia, and the breadth across the transepts 166, that of the nave and side aisles 66; the height of the central nave is 72 braccia, that of the side aisles 48; the external circumference is 1280 braccia; the height of the cupola, from the pavement to the base of the lantern 154 braccia; the

* The braccio of Florence is one foot eleven inches, English measure.

lantern is 36 braccia high, exclusive of the ball, which is four braccia, and the cross eight, making the whole height of the cupola, from the ground to the top of the cross, 202 braccia. Arnolfo, being now considered, as he was, a most excellent architect, had so completely acquired the confidence of the Florentines, that no work of importance was undertaken without his advice ; thus, having finished in that same year the foundations of the outer-wall of the city, which he had commenced as above related, together with the towers of the gates, all of which he nearly completed, he next planned and commenced the Palazzo de' Signori, the design of which is similar to that of Casentino, built by his father, Lapo, for the Counts of Poppi. But however grand and magnificent the design of Arnolfo, he was not permitted to give his work that perfection which his art and judgment had destined for it. For it had chanced that the houses of those Ghibelline rebels, the Uberti, who had roused the people of Florence to insurrection, had been razed to the ground, and the site of them levelled ; nor would the governor of that day permit Arnolfo to sink the foundations of his edifice on the ground of those rebel Uberti, notwithstanding all the reasons that he alleged. Nay, the stupid obstinacy of these men would not even suffer him to place his building on the square, rather preferring that he should demolish the church of San Piero Scheraggio, of which the north aisle was taken down accordingly, than permit him to work freely in the midst of the space before him, as his plans required. They insisted, moreover, that the tower of Foraboschi, called "Torre della Vacca", fifty braccia high, which was used for the great bell, should be united to and comprised within the palace, together with certain houses purchased by the commune for this edifice. These things considered, we cannot wonder if the foundations of the palace be proved awry and out of square ; Arnolfo having been compelled to bring the tower into the centre of the building : and in order to strengthen the latter edifice, he was obliged to surround it with the walls of the palace, which were found to be still in excellent preservation on being examined, in 1551, by the painter and architect, Giorgio Vasari, when he restored the palace by the command of the Duke Cosmo. Arnolfo, having thus rendered the tower secure by the excellence of his

workmanship, it was not difficult for the masters who succeeded him, to erect upon it the lofty campanile that we now see there,—he not having been able to do more in the remaining two years of his life than complete the palace, which has since received, from time to time, those improvements which render it the noble and majestic edifice we now behold.

After having accomplished all these things, and many others, no less useful than beautiful, Arnolfo died, in the year 1300,* and in the seventy-first of his age; he departed exactly at the time when Giovanni Villani began to write the Universal History of his own times; and since he not only founded Santa Maria del Fiore, but also erected the apsis with the three principal arches, (those under the cupola,) to his great glory, he well deserved the inscription to his memory afterwards placed on that side of the church which is opposite to the campanile; these verses were engraved on marble in round letters:—

“Annis millenis centum bis octo nogenis
 Venit legatus Roma bonitate dotatus
 Qui lapidem fixit fundo simul et benedixit
 Præsule Francisco, gestante pontificatum
 Istud ab Arnolpho templum fuit ædificatum
 Hoc opus insigne decorans Florentia digne.
 Reginae cœli construxit mente fideli
 Quam, tu Virgo pia, semper defende, Maria.”

We have thus written the life of Arnolfo as briefly as possible; and if his works are far from approaching the perfection attained in our day, he yet well deserves to be held in grateful remembrance, since, being himself in the midst of so much darkness, he yet showed to those who came after him the true path towards perfection.† The portrait of Arnolfo by the hand of Giotto, may be seen in Santa Croce, beside the principal chapel; it is in the figure of one of two men who are speaking together in the foreground of a painting, which represents monks lamenting the death of St.

* 1310, See *Necrologio di Santa Reparata*.

† Among the meritorious and well-authenticated works of Arnolfo, may be reckoned the tomb of Cardinal Braye, in the church of San Domenico, at Orvieto. In this work, he displayed equal power as an architect, sculptor, and mosaic worker.

Francis.* In the chapter-house of Santa Maria Novella, a painting of the church of Santa Maria del Fiore may also be seen; it was taken from the model in wood of Arnolfo by Simon of Siena, and represents the exterior, together with the cupola. From this painting, it is obvious that Arnolfo had proposed to raise the dome immediately over the piers and above the first cornice, at that point, namely, where Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, desiring to render the building less heavy, interposed the whole space wherein we now see the windows, before adding the dome. And this fact would be even more clearly obvious, if the model of Arnolfo himself, as well as those of Brunellesco, and others,† had not been lost by the carelessness of the persons who directed the works of Santa Maria del Fiore in succeeding years.

NICCOLA AND GIOVANNI, SCULPTORS AND ARCHITECTS OF PISA.

[NICCOLA BORN BETWEEN 1205 AND 1207, DIED 1278.
GIOVANNI BORN —, DIED 1320.]

HAVING treated of Design and Painting in the life of Cimabue, and of Architecture in that of Arnolfo Lapi, we will now consider the art of Sculpture in the lives of Niccola and Giovanni of Pisa, and also the most important edifices erected by these artists. Their works, whether in sculpture or architecture, are, as not only great and magnificent, but thoroughly expressed, well worthy of commemoration, they having, in a great measure, liberated both these branches of art from the rude and tasteless old Greek manner, and having displayed much greater power of invention in their compositions, as well as more grace of attitude in their figures.

Niccola Pisano first worked under certain Greek ‡ sculptors, who were executing the figures, and other ornaments in sculpture, of the Duomo of Pisa and the chapel of San Gio-

* This historical work is among the many that have disappeared from the church.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

+ The monument of Pope Honorius III, in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, is said by Vasari himself to have been commenced by Arnolfo, but left unfinished.

‡ Della Valle and other Italian writers maintain that Niccola acquired his art from Pisan, and not Greek masters.

vanni: among the many spoils of marbles brought by the armaments of Pisa to their city, were several antique sarcophagi, now in the Campo Santo of that town: one of these, on which the Chase of Meleager and the Calydonian boar was cut with great truth and beauty, surpassed all the others; the nude, as well as draped figures, being perfect in design, and executed with great skill. This sarcophagus having been placed, for its beauty, by the Pisans, in that façade of the cathedral which is opposite to San Rocco, and beside the principal door of that front, was used as a tomb for the mother of the Countess Matilda, if we may credit the following words, inscribed on the marble:—

"A.D. MCXVI. Kal Aug obit D Matilda felicitis memorie comitissa, quæ pro anima gentilis suæ D. Beatrice comitissæ venerabilis in hac tumba honorabili quiescentis in multis partibus munice hanc dotavit ecclesiam, quarum animæ requiescant in pace." Then, "A.D. MCCCIII sub dignissimo operario Burgundio Tadi occasione graduum fiendum per ipsum circa ecclesiam supradicta tumba superius notata transla a fuit, nunc de sedibus primis in ecclesiam, nunc de ecclesia in hanc locum, ut cernitis, excellentem."

Niccola was attracted by the excellence of this work, in which he greatly delighted, and which he studied diligently, with the many other valuable sculptures of the relics around him, imitating the admirable manner of these works with so much success, that no long time had elapsed before he was esteemed the best sculptor of his time. In those days, no sculptor of great eminence, beside Arnolfo,* existed in Tuscany, with the exception of Fuccio, a Florentine architect and sculptor, who built the church of Santa Maria sopra Arno, in Florence, in the year 1229, placing his name over one of the doors of the building. This artist also executed the tomb of the Queen of Cyprus, in the church of San Francesco at Assisi, a monument in marble, adorned with many figures, and particularly with the portrait of the queen herself, seated on a lion, to typify the force of mind of this princess; who left large sums of money, at her death, for the completion of the fabric. But Niccola, having proved himself a much better master than Fuccio, was invited to Bologna in the year 1225, where he was entrusted with the execution of

* From this mode of expression, it might seem that Arnolfo had rather preceded Niccola, than been his disciple, as was the fact.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

a tomb, in marble, to San Domenico, of Calahorra, founder of the order of Preaching Friars, who had then but recently died. Concerting his measures, therefore, with those who had the direction of the matter, Niccola constructed the tomb, with the many figures still to be seen on it, finishing the whole in the year 1231, to the great extension of his fame, the work being then considered one of extraordinary merit, and superior to any thing of the kind that had been seen. He also prepared plans for the rebuilding of the church* and of the greater part of the convent. When Niccola returned to Tuscany, he found that Fuccio, having left Florence, had gone to Rome, at the time when the Emperor Frederick was crowned by Pope Honorius,† and from Rome to Naples with that monarch. In Naples, Fuccio completed the Castel Capuano, now called the Vicaria, wherein all the law-courts of the kingdom are held. He also finished the Castel dell' Uovo; founded the towers, and built the gate, which commands the Volturno, for the city of Capua; laid out a chase, for the sport of fowling, near Gravina; and a second, for hunting in winter, at Melfi; besides many other labours, which are omitted for the sake of brevity. Niccola, meanwhile, remained in Florence, occupied not only in sculpture, but with architecture also; in the buildings which were then in course of construction, and not without merit of design, in all parts of Italy, but particularly in Tuscany. He gave no small aid, at this time, towards the construction of the abbey of Settimo, which had not received its completion, from the executors of Count Ugo of Brandenburg, like the other six founded by the same noble, as mentioned above (page 27). For although we find engraved on the campanile of this abbey the words "Guglielm me fecit", yet we know certainly, from its style, that it was constructed under the direction of Niccola, who built the old palace of the Anziani, in Pisa, at the same time. This latter edifice has been demolished, in our own days, by Duke Cosmo, for the purpose of erecting on its site, while retaining a portion of the old building, the magnificent palace and convent of the new order of the Knights of St. Stephen, built after the plans

* That of San Domenico, namely.

† This took place in 1221; which shews the confusion of dates and events into which Vasari has fallen in this life of Niccola.—*Ed. Flor.*

and models of the Aretine painter and architect, Giorgio Vasari, who has endeavoured to do his best with those old walls, accommodating to them, as much as possible, the new. Many other palaces and churches were constructed in Pisa by Niccola, who was the first, the good method of building having been lost, to found buildings at Pisa on arches raised upon piers, which, in their turn, were supported by piles; for, where this was not practised, the whole edifice was frequently ruined by the sinking of the foundations, whereas the piles rendered all entirely secure, as experience fully demonstrates. The church of San Michele in Borgo, belonging to the monks of Camaldoli, was also built by Niccola; but his most ingenious, most beautiful, and most extraordinary architectural work, was the campanile of San Niccola, of Pisa, near the convent of the Augustine Friars. Externally this building has eight sides, but its form within is circular, with a spiral staircase ascending to the summit; within the stairs a free space is left, in the manner of a well, while on every fourth stair are placed columns, supporting arches, which follow the spiral line. The roof of the staircase being supported on these arches, the ascent is of such sort that the spectator at the foot sees all who go up; those who are ascending see those remaining below; while he who stands in the mid-way can see both those above and those below. This remarkable invention was afterwards applied, with many improvements of proportion and richer ornament, by Bramante, in Rome, to the Belvedere of Pope Julius II, and by Antonio di San Gallo, in Orvieto, for Pope Clement VII, as will be related in the proper place. But to return to Niccola: he was no less excellent in sculpture than in architecture; and on the façade of the church of San Martino, in Lucca, he executed a Deposition of Christ from the Cross, half-relief in marble, which is full of admirable figures, finished with extreme care, the marble being entirely perforated, and the whole completed in a manner which gave hope, to those who were previously pursuing this art with weary steps, that a master was now about to arise, from whose aid and example they might look for greater facilities to their future progress than had yet been enjoyed. This work is under the portico, and above the side-door, on the left hand of him who enters the church. In the year 1240, the plans

for the church of San Jacopo di Pistoja were prepared by Niccola, who employed certain Tuscan artists to decorate the apse in mosaic. This apse, admired in those days as a work of great expense and difficulty, awakens more compassion or ridicule than admiration in our own times, and the rather as the defects then prevailing were manifest not in Tuscany only, but through all Italy, where many buildings and other works, executed without design or method, because of the little knowledge to which men had then attained in the art of design, serve only to prove the poverty of their invention, and to show us what unmeasured riches were badly expended by the people of those times, for lack of masters capable of worthily executing the works confided to them.

In this state of things, Niccola perpetually increased his fame by the works he performed, both in sculpture and architecture, acquiring a better name than any of the sculptors or architects then working in Romagna; his right to which may be seen in Sant' Ippolito and San Giovanni of Faenza, in the cathedral of Ravenna, in San Francesco, in the houses of the Traversari, and in the church of Porto, as well as in Rimini, where the town-hall, the palaces of the Malatesta family, and other edifices, are all in a much ruder manner than the old buildings erected at the same period in Tuscany. And what is here said of Romagna, may be affirmed with equal truth respecting a part of Lombardy. One needs only to examine the cathedral of Ferrara, and such other buildings as were erected by the Marquis Azzo, to be convinced of this truth, and to perceive how inferior these attempts are to the Santo* of Padua, built after the designs of Niccola,—or to the church of the Frari in Venice, both magnificent and deservedly celebrated works. Many artists of Niccola's day, incited by a laudable ambition, devoted themselves to the study of sculpture with more zeal than they had previously done, more particularly in Milan, where many Lombards and Germans had assembled for the construction of the cathedral, but who were afterwards dispersed by the hostilities that arose between the Milanese and the Emperor Frederick, when these artists were distributed over all Italy, where much emulation arising among them, they produced

* The church of St. Anthony of Padua, so called, *par excellence*, St. Anthony being the protector of that city.

some works of considerable merit, as well in sculpture as architecture. The same thing occurred in Florence, after the works of Arnolfo and Niccola had appeared; the latter, while the little church of the Misericordia on the Piazza of San Giovanni was in progress of erection after his plans, was further occupied with a group in marble, representing the Virgin, between St. Dominick, and another saint, which may still be seen on the façade of the church.*

It was in the time of Niccola that the Florentines began to demolish the numerous towers, built of old. in a most barbarous style, in all parts of the city, that the people might suffer less in the contests perpetually arising between the Guelfs and Ghibelines, or perhaps for the greater security of the state itself. But the tower called Guardamorto,† appeared to them to present extreme difficulty in its demolition, the walls being of such thickness that they would not yield to the pickaxe, the height also being very great. This tower stood on the Piazza San Giovanni, and Niccola cut through one of its sides at the foot of the building, and supported it meanwhile by wooden props, of a braccio and a half high; to these supports he then set fire, and when they were consumed, the tower fell of itself into almost total ruin. This was considered so ingenious, and so useful a method, that it has since become in a manner customary; for when it is found needful to destroy an edifice, the work is readily done by these means. Niccola was present when the first foundation of the cathedral of Siena was laid, and drew the plan of the church of San Giovanui in the same city.‡ Having then returned to Florence, in the same year that the Guelfs recovered the city, he there designed the church of the Holy Trinity, with the convent of the Nuns of Fienza, since destroyed to make way for the citadel. He was then recalled to Naples, but un-

* The old Misericordia is here meant, now a part of the Bigallo. The Madonna we still see there is in a very good manner, but not from the hand of Niccola: it is attributed, and probably with more truth, to Andrea Pisano.—Maselli.

+ So called, because it was customary to watch or guard the dead, who were to be buried in the church of San Giovanni, for a certain number of hours, in a room of this tower.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

‡ A manifest error, since the cathedral of Siena was founded at least a century before Niccola was born.—Schorn.

willing to abandon his labours in Tuscany, he sent thither his disciple, Maglione, in his stead. Maglione was a sculptor as well as architect; he built the church of San Lorenzo of Naples, in the time of Conradin,—finished a part of the Episcopal Palace,—and erected several sepulchral monuments,—works, in all of which he closely imitated the manner of his master Niccola.

Niccola was meanwhile invited by the people of Volterra, in the year 1254, when that city was subjugated by the Florentines, to enlarge their cathedral, which was very small; the form of this building was extremely irregular, but Niccola rectified that fault, and greatly increased the magnificence of the cathedral. He then returned to Pisa, and constructed the marble pulpit of San Giovanni, to which he gave the utmost diligence and attention, desiring to leave to his country a memorial of himself in this work, on which, among other subjects he represented the Universal Judgment, composed of numerous figures, which, if not perfectly well designed, are at least executed with infinite care and patience, as may still be seen. Then, as Niccola thought, with justice, that he had completed a meritorious work, he inscribed beneath it the following verses :—

“Anno milleno bis centum bisque tunc
Hoc opus insigne sculpsit Nicola Pisanus.”
[Laudetur digne tam bene docta manus.]*

The people of Siena, moved by the fame of this work, which was greatly admired, not by the Pisans only, but by all who beheld it, offered Niccola the construction of that pulpit in their cathedral from which the holy Gospel is wont to be sung. On this, Niccola represented various passages from the life of Christ, redounding greatly to his honour, especially the figures, which, with great difficulty, he has well-nigh detached from the marble. This was executed while Guglielmo Mariscotti was Prætor.† The designs for the church and convent of San Domenico, in Arezzo, were also made by Niccola for the Signori of Pietramala, by whom

* This line, omitted by Vasari, is required to make the inscription complete.

† There are documents to show that this pulpit was begun by Niccola, in 1266, he was assisted by Arnolfo and Lapo, his disciples, and probably by Giovanni, his son. See Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.*

both were erected. At the entreaty of the Bishop Ubertini, he restored the capitular church of Cortona, and founded the church of Santa Margherita for the friars of St. Francis, on the most elevated point of that city.

By all these labours, the fame of Niccola was continually extended, and in the year 1267, he was invited by Pope Clement IV to Viterbo, where, with many others, he restored the church and convent of the Preaching Friars. From Viterbo he proceeded to Naples to king Charles I, who, having routed and slain Conradin, on the plain of Tagliacozzo, had determined to erect a very rich church and abbey on the spot, wherein should be buried the great number of men killed in that battle, and where he had commanded that masses for their souls should be performed night and day, by many monks. And in respect of this building, King Charles was so well satisfied with the work of Niccola, that he paid the artist great honours, and rewarded him largely. Returning from Naples into Tuscany, Niccola made some stay at Orvieto, where he assisted in the building of the church of Santa Maria. He there worked in company with certain Germans, and executed several figures in high relief, with their assistance, for the façade of that church. There were two historical scenes in particular, representing the Universal Judgment, Paradise, and Hell; and as he did his utmost to give beauty to the souls of the blessed who were restored to their bodies in Paradise, so, in the figures of the devils, employed in tormenting the souls of the condemned in Hell, he produced the strangest forms that can be conceived. In this work he surpassed, not only the Germans with whom he was associated, but even himself, to his great glory; and as there were large numbers of figures, and he had given proof of extraordinary patience in this production, it has been praised even to our own times by those whose judgment in sculpture does not extend beyond these circumstances.*

Among other children, Niccola had a son called Giovanni, who, being constantly with his father, attained early proficiency under his care, both in sculpture and architecture,

* Cicognara has shewn that these reliefs are subsequent to Niccola. See *Storia della Scultura*.

so that in a few years he not only became equal to his instructor, but in some respects surpassed him; wherefore, becoming old, Niccola retired to Pisa, leaving the management of all their labours to his son. Pope Urban IV expired about this time in Perugia, and Giovanni was summoned to that city, to construct the sepulchral monument of that pontiff. This work, executed in marble, was demolished, together with the tomb of Pope Martin IV, when the people of Perugia enlarged their cathedral, so that there remain now but a few relics, scattered over different parts of the church. About the same time, the Perugians, profiting by the skill and industry of a Friar of the Silvestrini, had conducted an abundant water-course into their city, by means of leaden pipes, from the hill of Pacciano, two miles distant; they now therefore confided the erection of the fountain to Giovanni Pisano,* with all the ornaments, whether in marble or bronze. Giovanni therefore commenced the work, and constructed a range of three basins, placed one above the other: the first is of marble, raised on twelve steps, each having twelve sides; the second, also of marble, reposes on columns, rising from the centre of the first; and the third, which is of bronze, is supported on three figures, and has griffins, also of bronze, in the midst of it, which pour the water forth on all sides. Then, as Giovanni considered himself to have worked successfully in this fountain, he inscribed his name upon it. About the year 1560, as the arches and conduits of the aqueduct, which had cost seventy thousand gold ducats, had become much injured,—nay, were in a great part ruined,—Vincenzio Danti, a sculptor and architect of Perugia, did himself no small credit by most ingeniously reconducting the water to the said fountain in its original course, yet without rebuilding the arches, which would have been an excessively costly work.†

This undertaking being completed, Giovanni resolved to leave Perugia and return to Pisa, being desirous of seeing his father, now become old, and also indisposed; but, passing through Florence, he was compelled to delay some time

* See the learned "Letters" of Annibale Mariotti.—Perugia, 1788.

† The sculptured ornaments of this fountain have been restored within the last few years.—Schorn.

there for the purpose of assisting, with other architects, at the mills on the river Arno, which were then in course of construction, at San Gregorio, near the Piazza de' Mozzi. At length, having received intelligence of his father's death, he departed for Pisa, where, in consideration of his talents, he was received with great honour by all the city, every one rejoicing that, although Niccola had passed away, yet Giovanni remained to them, the heir to his virtues, as well as to his abilities. Nor were the Pisans disappointed in their expectations when the occasion for putting them to the proof presented itself; for, resolving to make certain changes in the small, but richly-adorned church of Santa Maria della Spina, the charge of these was entrusted to Giovanni, who, with the aid of his disciples, brought the decorations of that oratory to the perfection which we still see. This work, so far as we can judge of it, must have been considered wonderful in those times, and the rather as, in one of the figures, Giovanni had produced the portrait of his father, in the best manner that he could accomplish.

The people of Pisa, seeing the success of Giovanni in this work, and having long thought—nay, even spoken—of making a general burying-ground for the noble, as well as the plebeian classes of their city, that too many might not be laid in the cathedral, or from some other cause, resolved to confide to Giovanni the construction of the Campo Santo, which is situate on the piazza of the Duomo, towards the walls; this he completed from good plans and with great judgment, giving it that extent, and enriching it with those ornaments, which we now see; and as the cost of this work was not restricted, he caused the roof to be covered with lead. The following inscription, graven on marble, was placed on the principal door:—

A. D. MCCLXXVIII, tempore Domini Friderigi archiepiscopi Pisani, et Domini Tarlati potestatis, operario Orlando Sardella, Johanne Magistro ædificante.

This undertaking being completed, Giovanni went, in the same year 1283,* to Naples, where he built the Castel Nuovo for Charles I. To give space for this erection, and for the necessary defences, he was compelled to demolish several houses, and particularly a convent of the friars of St. Fran-

* Five years afterwards, according to the inscription.

cis, which was afterwards reconstructed on a larger scale, and with increased magnificence, near the castle, receiving the name of Santa Maria "della Nuova". When these buildings had been commenced, and had made a certain degree of progress, Giovanni left Naples to return into Tuscany; but, having reached Siena, he was not suffered to go farther, being called on to give a plan for the façade of the cathedral of that city, which was then constructed, after that model, with extreme splendour and magnificence.* In the year 1286, the people of Arezzo were building their cathedral, from the designs of Margaritone, an architect of that city, when Giovanni was summoned thither from Siena, by Guglielmino, Bishop of Arezzo, for whom he executed the table of the high altar, in marble: this he covered with figures, foliage, and other ornaments, in relief. The whole work was divided into compartments by fine mosaics, and enamels on plates of silver, fixed into the marble with great nicety and care. In the centre is a figure of the Virgin, with the infant in her arms; on the one side stands St. Gregory the pontiff (whose face is the likeness of Pope Honorius, IV); and on the other is the figure of St. Donatus, bishop and protector of the city, whose remains, with those of Sant' Antilla and other saints, repose beneath that altar. And since the altar itself stands apart from the walls, Giovanni adorned the sides with small figures in basso-relievo, representing passages from the life of St. Donatus; and the crown of the whole work is a series of tabernacles filled with marble figures in high relief, all of exquisite workmanship. On the breast of the above-named Madonna, is an ornament of gold in form of a casket, which is said to have contained jewels of great value; but during the wars, these were carried off, as were also various small figures placed around, and on the summit of the whole; by soldiers, as is believed, who do not often show respect even to the most holy sacrament itself. On this altar,† according to records still remaining, the people of Arezzo spent thirty thousand florins of gold; nor does this seem improbable, since the work was the most rare and precious that

* For a dissertation respecting the date, &c., of this cathedral, see Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.*

† This altar still remains in the cathedral, but is much delapidated.

the art of those days could produce, insomuch that Frederick Barbarossa,* returning from Rome, where he had been crowned, and passing through Arezzo many years after its completion, commended, nay, admired it infinitely: and certainly with good reason; for, to speak of nothing more, the various portions of this work, formed of innumerable morsels, are so nicely conjoined, and fixed together with so much exactitude, that any one who is not well practised in matters of art may readily suppose the whole to be of one piece. In the same church, Giovanni constructed the chapel of the Ubertini, a most illustrious family, still possessing several lordships, but formerly the masters of many more. This he likewise enriched with numerous decorations in marble; but these have been covered over by various ornaments in stone, erected on that site, by Giorgio Vasari, in the year 1535, for the support of an organ.† of extraordinary beauty and excellence, which has been placed in that chapel.

Giovanni Pisano also gave the designs for the church of Santa Maria de' Servi, which has been destroyed, with many palaces belonging to the noblest families of the city, for the causes before mentioned. And here I will not omit to note that Giovanni employed the services of certain Germans for the altar above described, who assisted him, more in the hope of improvement than for gain; these artists became so expert under his instructions, that, having departed to Rome on the completion of the work, they were employed in many of the sculptures of St. Peter's by Boniface VIII, as well as in architecture, when that pontiff was building Civita Castellana. They were, besides, despatched by the same pope to Santa Maria d'Orvieto, where they executed many figures, in marble, for the façade of that church, which were tolerably well done for those times. But among those who assisted Giovanni Pisano in the works of the cathedral of Arezzo, Agostino and Agnolo, sculptors and architects of Siena, were the most distinguished, and far surpassed all others, as will be related at the proper time. We now return to Giovanni, who repaired to Florence on leaving Orvieto, partly to view

* It is obvious that Vasari here means Henry VII, and not Fred. Barbarossa.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

† On the altar under this organ the arms of the Ubertini family may still be seen.—*Ed. Bottari*, 1759.

the building then constructing by Arnolfo (Santa Maria del Fiore), but also to visit Giotto, of whom he had heard great things related while on his travels. But he had scarcely arrived in Florence, before he was appointed, by the Intendants of the fabric, to execute the Madonna, which stands between two angels, over that door of the church which leads into the canonical palace; a work which was then greatly commended.* He afterwards erected the small baptismal font of San Giovanni, adorning it with passages from the life of that saint, in mezzo-rilievo † Then, proceeding to Bologna, he directed the construction of the principal chapel in the church of San Domenico, where he was also commissioned, by Teodorico Borgognoni, of Lucca, the Bishop, a friar of the Dominican order, to execute an altar in marble; and in the year 1298 he completed the marble table in which are seen the Virgin with eight other figures, all of very tolerable workmanship ‡

In the year 1300, § Niccola da Prato, cardinal legate, being despatched by the pope to Florence, in the hope of appeasing the dissensions of the Florentines, employed Giovanni to build a convent for nuns in Prato, which he caused to be called the Convent of San Niccola, after his own name; in the same district he restored the convent of San Domenico, with another of the same name in Pistoja, and on both these buildings the arms of the aforesaid cardinal may still be found. Then the people of Pistoja, holding the name of Niccola, the father of Giovanni, in high respect, for the many excellent works that he had produced in their city, caused Giovanni to construct a marble pulpit for their church of Sant' Andrea, similar to that which Niccola had executed for the cathedral of Siena, and in which he was to compete with one erected shortly before by a German, in the church of St. John the Evangelist, which had been highly praised || This work Giovanni com-

* This beautiful and well-preserved work may still be seen in the place thus described by Vasari.—*Ed Flor.* 1846.

† The present baptismal font cannot be the work either of Giovanni, or of Andrea Pisano, as Del Mighiore supposes, the inscription around it declaring it to have been executed in 1370, when Gio. had been dead fifty years, and And. twenty five.—*Ed Flor.* 1816.

‡ This work has been lost —*Ibid*

§ Schorn says 1303.

|| This pulpit of St. Andrew, at Pistoja, is precisely in the same

pleted in four years, representing passages from the life of Jesus Christ, in five compartments, on five of its sides, with a Universal Judgment on the sixth, giving his utmost care to the execution, in the hope of equalling, or perhaps of surpassing, that of Orvieto, then so much lauded. And as it appeared to him that he had produced a great and beautiful work, which was true, the age considered, he inscribed the following verses around the pulpit, above the columns supporting it, on the architrave:—

“Hoc opus sculpsit Joannes, qui res non egit inanes
Nicolai natus . . . meliora beatus.
Quem genuit Pisa, doctum super omnia visa.”

About the same time, and in the same city, Giovanni constructed the holy water font for the church of St. John the Baptist. This is in marble, supported by three figures—Temperance, Prudence, and Justice—and the work being then considered very beautiful, was placed in the centre of the church as something remarkable.* Moreover, before he departed from Pistoja, Giovanni gave the plans for the campanile of St. Jacopo, the principal church of that city, although the church itself had not then been commenced. This tower, which stands on the Piazza di San Jacopo, and beside the church, bears the date 1301.

Pope Benedict IX† dying soon after this in Perugia, Giovanni Pisano was invited to that city, where he constructed a marble tomb for the lately departed pontiff, in the old church of San Domenico of the Preaching Friars. The figure of Pope Benedict, taken from nature, and in his pontifical habits, is extended on the sarcophagus, between two angels, which support a canopy; the Virgin stands above, with a saint on each side of her; many other ornaments also, in marble, are cut around the monument. In the new church of the Preaching Friars, Giovanni likewise erected a tomb, that of Messer Niccolò Guidalotti, bishop of Recanati, a native of Perugia, who was founder of the new college, called the Sapienza, in that city. In this same new church, which had been founded by manner with those constructed by Niccolò Pisano for Pisa and Siena, in white marble that is, and with six sides, all highly enriched.

* Now in a very grievous condition, yet, not so completely ruined, says Cicognara, as some writers have said. It is no longer in the centre of the church, but near the side door.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

† Vasari here means Benedict XI

others, it may be further remarked, that Giovanni directed the works of the central nave, and this part of the building was much more securely built than the remainder of the church, which has sunk on one side from the defects of its foundations, and now, from having been so insecurely based, is in danger of ruin. And, of a truth, whoever undertakes a building, or other work of importance, should seek advice from the best informed, and not from those who know but little, lest, when all is done, he should have to repent, with shame and loss, of having been ill directed where most he needed counsel.

Having completed his labours in Perugia, Giovanni resolved to proceed to Rome, that he might profit, as his father had done, by the study of the few antiquities then to be seen there; but being prevented by good reasons, he refrained from carrying this resolution into effect, and the rather as he heard that the Papal Court had just gone to Avignon. He returned, therefore, to Pisa, where Nello di Giovanni Falconi, master of the Duomo, commissioned him to build the principal pulpit of the cathedral,—that fixed to the choir, namely, on the right hand of the spectator as he approaches the high altar. Having commenced this work, and the many figures, in full relief, three braccia high, which were to serve for its decoration, he brought it, by slow degrees, to the form it now bears. This pulpit is based partly upon the above-mentioned figures, partly on columns supported by lions; on the sides are represented certain passages from the life of Jesus. It is truly deplorable that so much care, industry, and cost, were not accompanied by some merit of design; that it should fall so far short of perfection, as to have neither invention, nor grace, nor any approach to good style, such as would be assured, in our times, to works of much less expense and labour. It awakened no little admiration, nevertheless, in the men of those times, accustomed to see only the rudest attempts. This work was finished in the year 1320,* as appears from certain verses engraved around the said pulpit, and which proceed thus:—

“Laudo Deum verum, per quem sunt optima rerum
Qui dedit has puras homini formare figuras;
Hoc opus his annis Domini sculpsere Johannis

* 1311, according to the inscription.

*Arte manus sola quondam natiq̃ue Nicole
Causis undenis tercentum milleq̃ue plevis."*

There are, besides, thirteen other lines which I do not give here, that the reader may be the less wearied, and likewise because these suffice to show, not only that this pulpit is from the hand of Giovanni, but also that the men of those times were uniform in their shortcomings. A Virgin in marble, placed over the principal door of the Duomo, between the figures of St. John the Baptist and another saint, is also by Giovanni Pisano, and the figure kneeling at the feet of the Virgin is said to represent Pietro Gambacorti, master of the works. However this may be, on the pedestal of the Virgin are engraved the following words:—

*"Sub Petri cura hæc pia fuit sculpta figura
Nicolì nato sculptore Johanne vocato."*

In like manner, over the side door, opposite to the campanile, stands a Virgin in marble, from the hand of Giovanni; on one side of her there is a woman kneeling, with two children. This group represents Pisa. On the other side of the Madonna is the Emperor Henry.* On the pedestal of the Virgin are the words—"Ave gratia plena, Dominus tecum"; and near them the following verses:—

*"Nobilis arte manus sculpsit Johannes Pisanus.
Sculpsit sub Burgundio Tadi Benigno."*

Around the pedestal of the group representing Pisa,

"Virginis ancilla sum Pisa quieta sub illa."

And on that of the Emperor,

"Imperat. Henricus qui Christo fertur amicus."

In the old parochial church of Prato, under the altar of the principal chapel, the girdle of the Virgin had been preserved during a long series of years. This relic had been brought to his native place by Michele da Prato, when he returned from the Holy Land in the year 1141, and by him it was consigned to the care of Uberto, dean of the Chapter, who deposited it in the above-named sanctuary, where it has ever been held in high veneration. But in the year 1312, a native of Prato,—a man of very bad

* Da Morrona saw the relics of these sculptures lying mingled with earth and stones, but they were afterwards gathered together and placed in the Campo Santo of Pisa.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

character, a sort of Ser Ciappelletto,* so to speak,—aid a plan for the abstraction of the holy girdle. This being discovered, the criminal suffered death for his sacrilege, at the hands of justice. But the people of Prato, alarmed for the safety of the girdle, resolved to build a strong and suitable receptacle for its better security. They accordingly summoned Giovanni, who was then getting old, and, by his counsels, they built a chapel in the principal church, wherein they deposited the girdle. They also greatly enlarged the church, from the designs of the same artist, covering the outside with black and white marble, as they did also with the campanile, which may be still seen † At length, having now become very old, Giovanni Pisano expired in the year 1320, after having produced many works, both in sculpture and architecture, over and above those here enumerated. And, of a truth, we owe much gratitude both to himself and his father Niccola, seeing that, in times wholly destitute of any good ideas in design, and from the midst of profound darkness, they cast no small light on all pertaining to art; for that age, therefore, they were truly excellent. Giovanni was honourably interred in the Campo Santo, and in the same tomb with his father. He left many scholars who gained considerable repute after his death; but Lino, a sculptor and architect of Siena, was more particularly distinguished among them. He built the chapel wherein are deposited the remains of San Ranieri, in the Duomo of Pisa, and which is richly decorated in marble. Lino also erected the baptismal font of the same cathedral, inscribing his name among its ornaments.

Nor is it any cause of wonder that Niccola and Giovanni should have executed so large a number of works;‡ for, beside that both lived to a good old age, they were, at that time, the first masters in Europe, and there were few undertak-

* For Ser Ciappelletto, of Prato, and his mischievous pranks, see the first story in the *Decameron* of Boccaccio.—*Ed. Bottari.*

† Giovanni also worked in ivory, as we gather from a document dated June 8, 1299, by which he binds himself to execute certain figures in that material. A very beautiful group of the Virgin and Child, now preserved in the sanctuary of the cathedral of Pisa, is also believed to be by his hand.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846

‡ The Canon Celano, in his *Notizie di Napoli*, p. 77, affirms that the cathedral of Naples was built by Charles I. after the designs of Niccola Pisano.—*Leclanché*

ings of importance in which they did not take part, as may be proved from numerous inscriptions in addition to those above cited. While speaking of these two sculptors and architects, I have alluded, on various occasions, to the works of art preserved in Pisa. I will, therefore, not omit to mention, that on the steps in front of the new hospital there may be seen a vase, placed on a column of porphyry, supported by a lion, and on the pedestal of the whole are engraved the following words:—

“This is the talent which the Emperor Caesar gave to the people of Pisa, to the intent that by this they should regulate the tribute which they paid him. The said talent was placed on this column and lion in the time of Giovanni Rosso, master of the works of Santa Maria Maggiore, in Pisa, on the second day of March A.D. MCCCXIII.”

ANDREA TAFI,* PAINTER, OF FLORENCE.

[1213—1294]

As the works of Cimabue awakened no small admiration in the men of his time, who were accustomed to the Greek manner only (he having certainly given better design and form to the art of painting), so the works in Mosaic of Andrea Tafi, who belonged to the same period, were also greatly admired, and himself considered an excellent, nay, a divine* artist, on their account; people not supposing that better could be produced in that art, because nothing better had come under their notice.† But Andrea, certainly not considering himself to be the most excellent artist in the world, and reflecting on the durability of works in Mosaic, left Florence and betook himself to Venice, where certain Greek painters were then working in Mosaic in the church of St. Mark. Forming a close intimacy with these artists, Andrea Tafi so contrived, that by promises, money,

* For some valuable details respecting Andrea Tafi, see Lanzi. *History of Painting*, vol. 1, p. 49, et seq.

+ All the commentators on Vasari, widely as they differ on other points, agree in the expression of their astonishment, that he should permit himself these remarks; but although the Byzantine glass mosaics were familiar in Sicily and the South, and at Venice, it does not follow that the art was much known, or practised, at Florence.

and entreaties, he at length prevailed on one of them, **Maestro Apollonius**, a Greek painter, to accompany him to Florence, where Andrea learned from him to fuse the glass, and prepare the cement used in mosaic. And with Apollonius, Andrea Tafi now undertook the decoration of the tribune of San Giovanni,—the upper part, namely, whereon are depicted the Powers, Thrones, and Dominions. In the same place, when he had become more expert, as will be shown hereafter, Andrea executed the figure of Christ, which stands above the principal chapel. But having mentioned San Giovanni, I will not omit to add that this ancient sanctuary is encrusted, both within and without, with marbles of the Corinthian order; and not only are all its parts exactly proportioned and finely executed, but the doors and windows, also, are admirably distributed and arranged. Each façade is embellished by two columns of granite eleven braccia high, forming three compartments, over which are the architraves, supported by those columns, whereon the whole weight of the double-vaulted roof is thrown. This roof has been much praised, by modern architects, as a very extraordinary work; and with justice; for from this, Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, Donatello, and other artists of their times, perceived how much might be done in this art, and all derived great benefit from that work, and from the church of Sant' Apostolo, in Florence, a building erected in so good a manner that it makes a near approach to the true beauty of the antique, having all its columns, as I have said above, formed of pieces proportioned and fixed with such care, that much may be learnt by studying this edifice in all its parts. I could say much more concerning the excellent architecture of this church, but will add only that the architects deviated widely from the true path when they reconstructed the marble façade of the church of San Miniato sul Monte, without the city of Florence. This was done on the investiture of the beatified San Giovanni Gualberto, a citizen of Florence, and founder of the order of the Monks of Vallombrosa; but neither that nor many other works, afterwards executed, were by any means equal to those above named.* And the same may be

* Vasari here seems to contradict the praises which he has justly given to the architecture of this church in the "Introduction to the Lives," p. 27.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

said of sculpture, since all that was done in Italy, by the masters of that time, betrays extreme rudeness, as we have already observed in the introduction to these lives. The truth of this remark may be proved in many places, and particularly in Pistoja, in the church of San Bartolommeo, belonging to the Canons Regular, where may be seen a pulpit most rudely sculptured, by Guido of Como; the subjects represented are early scenes from the life of Christ, with the following words, engraved by the artist himself, in the year 1199:—

“Sculptor laudatur quod doctus in arte probatur
Guido de Como me cunctis carmine promo.”

But to return to the baptistery of San Giovanni. I say nothing of its origin, because Giovanni Villani, and others, have written respecting it; and having before observed that the improved architecture of our own times is due to that building, I will only add that, so far as we can now judge, the tribune was constructed at a later period, and that, at the time when Alexis Baldovinetti, succeeding the Florentine painter Lippo, restored the Mosaic, it was perceived that the surface had formerly been coloured in red, the designs being executed immediately on the stucco.

Andrea Tafi, then, and the Greek Apollonius, when they decorated this tribune in Mosaic, divided it into compartments, which, contracted at their commencement, under the lantern, became gradually more extended as they approached their termination at the cornice, the upper part being divided into circles, each representing historical scenes. In the first are all the servants and ministers of the Divine will, namely, the Angels, Archangels, Cherubim, Seraphim, Powers, Thrones, and Dominions. In the second, also in Mosaic, after the Greek manner, are depicted the principal works of God, from the creation of light to the deluge. In the circle beneath this, which descends with increased space to the eight sides of the tribune, the history of Joseph and his twelve brothers is represented. Beneath the circles are other compartments, all of equal size, and representing the life of Christ, in Mosaic, from the Annunciation to the moment of his Ascension into Heaven. Under the three friezes is the life of St John the Baptist, commencing with the angel appearing to Zacharias, and proceeding to the decapitation of the saint, and his burial.

by his disciples. To these delineations, being, as they are, extremely rude, without art or design, and having nothing in them but the Greek manner of those days, I cannot give positive praise, yet they merit some commendation, when we consider the manner prevailing in those times, with the imperfect state in which the art of painting then was; the work is, besides, carefully done, every piece of the Mosaic being well and firmly fixed. Moreover, the latter portions of this work are better, or, to speak more precisely, less badly done than the earlier parts, although the whole, if compared with works of the present day, is better calculated to excite ridicule than admiration or pleasure. Andrea ultimately, and to his great credit, produced the Christ, seven braccia high, which is still to be seen above the principal chapel of the same building: this he completed alone, and without the aid of Apollonius. These works rendered him famous throughout Italy: he was reputed an excellent artist in his own country, and was highly honoured and rewarded. The good fortune of Andrea was really great—to be born in an age which, doing all things in the rudest manner, could value so highly the works of an artist who really merited so little, not to say nothing.* The same thing occurred to Brother Jacopo da Turrita,† of the order of St. Francis, for he, having executed the Mosaics of the small choir,‡ behind the altar of the same church of St. John, received very rich rewards, although the work was by no means commendable; he was even despatched to Rome

* This is one of those passages of his “Lives” in which Vasari betrays the taste prevailing in his time, with his own prejudiced and contradictory manner of judging the works of art which he calls “old,” in contradistinction to “antique.” But in our days the contempt of the academicians for the works of the elder masters is no longer acceded to; even the first attempts of the reviving arts are respected and studied, since all are beginning to perceive, that in the most essential qualities of art,—thought and feeling,—even the works of those times are better calculated to awaken admiration and reverence than ridicule.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

† See Lanzi, *History of Painting*, vol. i, p. 49, et seq.

‡ The small choir, which Vasari here calls “Scarsella,” was added to the building in the year 1200, and bears the name of the author of the mosaics, in the following verses, with the date 1225 —

“Sancti Francisci frater fuit hoc operatus
Jacobus in tali præ cunctis arte probatus.”

This is the Jacopo da Turrita of Vasari.—See further, Lanzi, *History of Painting*, ut supra.

as an excellent master, where he was employed in the chapel of the high altar of San Giovanni Laterano, as well as in that of Santa Maria Maggiore. He was also invited to Pisa, where he commenced the Evangelists, and other works, still to be seen in the apse of the choir of that cathedral; they are in his usual manner, and he was assisted in their execution by Andrea Tafi and Gaddi Gaddo; these mosaics were afterwards completed by Vicino, Jacopo having left them in a very unfinished state. The works of these masters continued for some time to be held in esteem; but when the productions of Giotto came to be compared with those of Andrea, Cimabue, and the rest, as will be related at the proper place, people began to form a better judgment of art, perceiving the difference between the first manner of Cimabue and that of Giotto, in the figures of the one and of the other, as well as in those of their scholars and imitators. Commencing from this point, artists then began, by degrees, to follow the guidance of the better masters, and happily surpassing each other more and more from day to day, they have thus brought the arts from such mean condition to the summit of that perfection to which we now see them exalted. Andrea Tafi lived to the age of eighty-one, and died before Cimabue, in the year 1294. The fame and honour acquired by Andrea from his mosaics—he having first brought the art, in its improved manner, into Tuscany, and taught it to the Florentine artists—induced Gaddo Gaddi, Giotto, and others, to give it their attention, and to execute those admirable works, in that branch of art, by which they have gained themselves everlasting name and renown. There was not wanting one who magnified the merits of Andrea, after his death, by the following inscription:—

“ Qui giace Andrea, ch’opre leggiadre e belle
 Fece in tutta Toscana, ed ora è ito
 A far vago lo regno delle stelle.”*

Among the scholars of Andrea was Buonomico Buffal-macco, who, while still very young, played him many a mischievous trick;† to him he presented the portrait of Pope

* Here lies Andrea, who enriched all Tuscany with graceful and beautiful works, and is now gone to adorn the region of the stars.

† See the 19th “Novella” of Sarchetti, from which Baldinucci gives a mutilated history of these pranks in his life of Buffalmacco.—*Ed. Flor.*

Celestine IV, who was a Milanese, with that of Pope Innocent IV, both of which were afterwards introduced by Buffalmacco into the paintings executed by him for the church of San Paolo, on the bank of the Arno. Antonio d'Andrea Tafi was also a disciple, and perhaps the son, of Andrea. He was a tolerably good painter, but I have not been able to discover any work by his hand; I find him named only in the old book of the company of artists in design.*

Among the old masters, then, Andrea Tafi merits considerable praise, because, although he acquired the rudiments of mosaic from those artists whom he conducted from Venice to Florence, yet he made important improvements in the art, conjoining the various pieces with extreme care, and executing his work as level as a painting (a matter of the highest importance in Mosaic), so that he laid open the true path to the artists who succeeded him, and to Giotto more especially, as will be seen in the life of that artist, but also to all those who, from his time to ours, have devoted themselves to that branch of painting. Thus it may be affirmed, with truth, that the wonderful works in Mosaic, now being executed in St. Mark's, at Venice, and in other places, are indebted to Andrea Tafi for the first beginning.†

GADDO GADDI, PAINTER, OF FLORENCE.

[1239—1312.]

THE Florentine painter, Gaddo, of this same time, still pursuing the Greek manner, displayed more knowledge of design in his works, which he finished with extreme care, than can be found in those of Andrea Tafi, and other painters who preceded him. This may, perhaps, be attributed to his friend-

* In the book of the Company of St. Luke, now in the possession of Sig. G. Masselli, we find *Antonio di Andrea Tafi*, 1348 — *Ed. Flor.*

† All the commentators of Vasari protest against this assertion. The Byzantine mosaic workers were deservedly celebrated, not only in Europe, but in Asia and Africa, centuries before Andrea was born. The ornamental mosaics of the middle ages are yet unrivalled in their class.

ship for, and close intercourse with, Cimabue, for they being intimately connected, either by the conformity of their tastes or by the goodness of their hearts, the frequent conversations which they held together gave birth to many great and beautiful ideas, when the difficulties of their art were amicably discussed between them. And such discussions were to them the more easy and efficient, as they were assisted by the subtilty of the Florentine air, which is wont to produce fine and ingenious spirits,* and which perpetually freed them from that remnant of spleen and coarseness, of which Nature cannot always divest itself, even though aided by the emulation and precepts which good artists have excited in, and furnished to, each other, through all ages. It is, moreover, obvious, that every operation concerted between men conferring together, must arrive the more readily at perfection if discussed in a spirit of amity, unimpeded by restraint, a state of things but too rarely presented. In the sciences, in like manner, those who study them, conferring together on their various difficulties, enlighten the obscurities of their path, and render advance clear and easy, so that the greatest praise is secured by their efforts. But there are those, on the contrary, who, making profession of friendly intimacy, and assuming the guise of truth and affection, yet, through envy and malice, falsify their ideas, whereby the arts are prevented from reaching the perfection which they might attain if all inventive minds were bound in that brotherly affection which truly did unite Gaddo Gaddi to Cimabue, as also Andrea Tafi to Gaddo Gaddi. Gaddo was associated with himself, by Andrea, in the labour of completing the mosaic of San Giovanni, where he made such progress that he afterwards executed, alone, the Prophets, still to be seen around that church, in the divisions beneath the windows, and these being from his own hand, and in a much improved manner, procured him great reputation. Encouraged by this success, and resolving to work alone in future, Gaddo carefully studied the Greek manner, together with that of Cimabue, and in a

* Bottari, in the Roman edition of Vasari 1759, remarks, that Florence is frequently compared with Athens, as touching the advantages here attributed to its air.

short time, having attained great excellence in the art, he was entrusted by the superintendents of Santa Maria del Fiore with the decoration of the semicircular space within the building, above the principal door of the church. He there executed the Coronation of the Virgin in mosaic; and when this work was completed, it was declared by all the masters, foreign as well as native, to be the most beautiful mosaic that had yet been seen in Italy, evincing more judgment, better design, and greater care, than any work of the kind then to be found in the country.* The fame of this mosaic quickly spreading, Gaddo was invited to Rome, by Clement V, in the year 1308—which was the year after the church and palaces of the Lateran had been destroyed by fire—where he completed certain Mosaics for that pontiff, which had been left unfinished by Fra Jacopo da Turrita.

Gaddo afterwards executed other works, also in Mosaic, for the principal chapel of San Pietro, and for other parts of the church, but more particularly for the façade whereon he executed the colossal representation of God the Father, with many figures.† He also assisted to complete some of the mosaics on the façade of Santa Maria Maggiore,‡ ameliorating the manner a little, and departing somewhat from that Greek style, which in itself had nothing meritorious.

Returned to Tuscany, Gaddo was commissioned by the Tarlati, lords of Pietramala, to execute some Mosaics for the old cathedral of Arezzo, which stands without the city; these were the decorations of a vaulted roof, erected wholly of tufa, over the middle part of the church, to replace one of stone, which had fallen, by its own weight, in the time of the Bishop Gentile, of Urbino,§ when that prelate erected a roof of brick-work in its place. From Arezzo, Gaddo repaired to Pisa, where he executed a figure of the Virgin ascending into heaven, in a recess over the Chapel dell' Incoronata, in the cathedral of that city; above the Virgin, was a figure of Christ

* Still in very fine preservation.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1846.

† This work has perished.—*Ibid.*

‡ These mosaics are still in good preservation.—*Ibid.*

§ Gentile de Becchi da Urbino, Bishop of Arezzo, was the tutor of Lorenzo de' Medici.—*Ibid.* See *Life of Lorenzo* translated by Roscoe. London, 1848.

awaiting her and she has a rich throne prepared for her seat,—a work of great merit for those times, and finished with so much care, that it has remained, even to our own days,* in excellent preservation. This done, Gaddo returned to Florence, intending to take repose from his labours; he, accordingly, employed himself only in the preparation of small pictures in mosaic, of which some were composed entirely of egg-shells, finished with incredible industry and patience,† as may be seen, among others, in a few still remaining in the church of San Giovanni in Florence. We read, also, that two of these mosaics were made for King Robert, but nothing more is known of them, and this shall suffice as to the mosaics of Gaddo Gaddi. He executed, also, many easel-pictures, and, among others, that in Santa Maria Novella, on the screen of the Minerbetti Chapel, with many more which were sent into various parts of Tuscany.‡ Labouring thus, sometimes in mosaic and sometimes in painting, Gaddo produced many good works in both branches of art, and these will always suffice to maintain his reputation. I could here say much more of this master; but as the manner of the painters of those times cannot often be made available for the benefit of artists in our own, I pass it over in silence, proposing to speak at more length in the lives of those who, having improved the arts, may serve, in some sort, as our examples.

Gaddo lived seventy-three years, and died in 1312. He was honourably interred, by his son Taddeo, in the church of Santa Croce; and although he had other children, Taddeo alone, who was the godson of Giotto, devoted himself to painting, having acquired the first principles from his father, and completed his studies under Giotto. Beside Taddeo, his son, Gaddo had, as observed, another disciple—Vicino, a painter of Pisa—who executed some very good mosaics for the

* It is preserved even to these days; but it represents the Madonna only, seated on a throne, and surrounded by angels.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

† One of these little mosaics, made in the manner described, by Vasari, is still to be seen in the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence; it represents the Saviour, a front view: the right hand on the breast, the left holding an open book in Greek, the whole design and character of the work being also Greek. It is formed of egg-shells, united with incredible care and patience, as Vasari well observes.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

‡ All the pictures of Gaddi, which were in *Tempera*, are now lost.

choir of the cathedral of Pisa, as is shown by the following words, still to be seen there:—

“Tempore Domini Joannis Rossi operarii istius ecclesiæ, Vicinus pictor incepit et perfect hanc imaginem B. Mariæ, sed Magistatus et Evangelistæ, per alios incepit, ipse complevit et perfect A.D. 1321, de mense Septembris. Benedictum sit nomen Domini Dei nostri Jesu Cristi. Amen.”*

The portrait of Gaddo, from the hand of Taddeo, his son, will be found in the same church of Santa Croce; it is in the chapel of the Baronecelli family, and makes part of a painting which represents the marriage of the Virgin; beside him stands Andrea Tafi.] In our book, of which I have previously spoken, is a drawing, by Gaddo, in miniature, and after the manner of Cimabue; from this we may see the extent of his merit in design.

And now, as I find, in an old book from which I have taken these few particulars of Gaddo Gaddi, that there is also mention of the erection of Santa Maria Novella, the church of the Preaching Friars in Florence, I will not omit to relate by whom, and when, this truly magnificent and highly venerated edifice was erected. It is said, then, that the Beato Domenico, being in Bologna, received a grant of the estate of Ripoli, without the city of Florence, and sent twelve monks to take possession, under the guidance of the Beato Giovanni da Salerno; these brothers afterwards fixed themselves in Florence, in the convent and church of San Pancrazio; but when Domenico himself returned to Florence, they departed thence at his desire, and repaired to the church of San Paolo, where they next took up their abode. Ultimately, however, the district of Santa Maria Novella was made over to the aforesaid Beato Giovanni, with all its appurtenances, the monks being put in possession by the papal legate, and by the bishop of the city, on the last day of October, in the year 1221. Then, the church being small, and

* The name of this painter should be Vincino, according to professor Ciampi.—*Ed. Flor.*

† These portraits are the two figures standing on the left of the spectator, and near to a woman clothed in blue; it was from these heads that Vasari took the portraits which he has placed before the lives of these artists.—*Ed. Flor.*

looking westward, with its entrance on the Piazza Vecchia, the brothers, whose numbers had greatly increased, and who enjoyed high repute in the city, began to think of enlarging both the church and convent. Having, accordingly, collected a very large sum of money, and finding many friends in the city who promised them every kind of aid, they commenced the building of the new church on St. Luke's day in the year 1278. The first stone of the foundation was laid with great solemnity by Cardinal Latino degli Orsini, legate to the Florentines from Pope Nicholas III. Fra Giovanni, a Florentine, and Fra Ristoro da Campi, lay-brothers of the order, were the architects of the building. It was by these monks also that the bridge of the Cannaja and that of the Trinita were restored, after their destruction by the flood of the first of October, 1269.* The greater part of the site on which this church and convent were erected, was given to the brotherhood by the heirs of Messer Jacopo, cavaliere di Tornabuoni. The cost, as has been said, was partly defrayed by alms, and partly by money furnished by different persons who lent a liberal hand to the work. Among these was more particularly distinguished the Frate Aldobrandini Cavalcanti, who was then bishop of Orvieto,† and who lies entombed over the gate of the Virgin. It is said that, in addition to other acts of service, this prelate procured, by his industry, all the labour and materials required for the church. The building was finished when Fra Jacopo Passavanti was prior of the convent;‡ and a marble monument was erected to Fra Jacopo, in front of the principal chapel. This church was consecrated by Pope Martin V, in the year 1420, as we learn from an inscription on marble, placed on one of the pilasters of the principal chapel, and which runs as follows:—

"A.D. 1420, die septima Septembris, Dominus Martinus divina providentia Papa V. personahter hanc ecclesiam consecravit, et magnas indulgentias contulit visitantibus eandem."

Of all which, and much beside, there are accounts in a chro-

* Vasari says 1264, but the correct date of this memorable inundation is given by Villani, book vii, chap. 34.

† Vasari here wrote Arezzo for Orvieto.

‡ Some of the commentators will have Vasari to be in error here also; they affirm that Jacopo Passavanti was not prior, but director of the works at the completion of the edifice.

nicle of the erection of this church, now in the possession of the fathers of Santa Maria Novella, as well as in the history of Villani.* I was unwilling to omit these few details respecting this church and convent, because they are among the principal and most beautiful of Florence; and also, because there are found in them, as will be shown hereafter, many excellent works of the most renowned artists that have lived in earlier times.†

MARGARITONE, PAINTER, SCULPTOR, AND ARCHITECT OF AREZZO.

[1236—1313.]

AMONG the other old painters, in whom the praises justly accorded to Cimabue, and Giotto, his disciple, for those advances in art which were rendering their names illustrious through all Italy, awakened alarm for their own reputation, was a certain Margaritone, of Arezzo,‡ a painter, who, with the others that had held the first place in art during that unhappy age, now perceived that the works of these masters must well-nigh extinguish his fame. This Margaritone being in high estimation among the painters who then worked in the Greek manner, executed many pictures in distemper, at Arezzo, as also many others in fresco, having nearly covered the church of San Clemente with numerous paintings in that manner, at great cost of time and labour. This church was an abbey of the order of Camaldolites, and has been totally

* Passavanti wrote the *Specchio di vera Penitenza*, and is highly praised by Bottari, as one of the purest and most elegant writers of which the Italian language can boast.—*Ed. Rom.* 1759

† In the first edition of Vasari, by Torrentino, the following passage relating to Gaddo will be found, page 137: "For the purpose of retaining him in Florence, and in the hope of having heirs of his excellence, the Florentines gave him a wife of noble race." The inscription on his tomb is to the following effect.—

"Hic manibus talis fuerat, quod forsitan Apelles
Cessisset quamvis Græcia sic tumeat."

This inscription has given rise to the Italian proverb, "*Bugiardo come un epitaffio*" (Mendacious as an epitaph).—Bottari. Della Valle.

‡ See Lanzi, *History of Painting*, vol. i, p. 37

destroyed, together with many other buildings and a strong fortress called San Chimenti, by Duke Cosmo de' Medici, who demolished not only those edifices, but many others* situated around the whole circuit of the city ; for the duke determined to replace the old walls, restored by Guido Pietramalesco, formerly bishop and lord of Arezzo, by others much stronger, and furnished with bastions and curtains, stronger and less extended than the others, to the end that they might not require so large a force to maintain them. In these frescoes of Margaritone, in San Clemente, were numerous figures, both small and great, and though in the Greek manner, they were admitted to evince much judgment, as well as love of art, as may be inferred from such works of this master as still remain in Arezzo, more particularly from a picture now in San Francesco, with a modern frame. It is in the chapel of the Conception, and one part of it is a Madonna, held in high veneration by the brotherhood. In the same church, and also in the Greek manner, Margaritone executed a large crucifix, now placed in that chapel, in which is the superintendents' room ; he made besides many more of these crucifixes for that city.† For the nuns of Santa Margarita this artist executed a work now in the transept of their church ; this is on panel covered with canvas, it represents passages from the life of the Virgin, and that of St. John the Baptist, and comprises many small figures, of better manner than those of larger size, designed with more grace and finished with greater delicacy ; and this work deserves consideration, not only because the little figures are so carefully done that they look like miniatures, but also for the extraordinary fact, that a picture on canvas should have continued in such good preservation during 300 years.‡ Margaritone executed an endless number of pictures

* Among them the Duomo Vecchio, mentioned in the life of Arnolfo, with the churches of Santa Giustina and San Matteo, referred to in the life of Giovanni da Ponte.

+ The Madonna and crucifix here described are still in existence.—*Ed Flor.* 1846.

‡ This work, which all the commentators declare to be lost, we believe ourselves to have recognized among the pictures collected in Florence by the Signors Francesco Lombardi and Ugo Baldi ; it is one of the most characteristic and important of the pictures of Margaritone still remaining.—*Ed Flor.* 1846.

for different quarters of the city: and one, for the convent of the Friars de' Zoccoli,* at Sargiano, a St. Francis, a portrait, and on which he has placed his name, as being a work which, according to his own opinion, he had executed more successfully than common. Having afterwards completed a large crucifix in wood, painted in the Greek manner, he sent it to Florence to Messer Farinata degli Uberti, a most illustrious citizen, who, among many other great and excellent deeds, had liberated his country from imminent danger and ruin. This crucifix is now in Santa Croce, between the chapel of the Peruzzi family, and that of the Giugni. In San Domenico d'Arezzo, a church and convent built by the lords of Pietramala, in 1275, as the inscriptions prove, Margaritone executed many works before returning to Rome, where he had previously been in high favour with Pope Urban IV, and where, by command of that Pontiff, he executed some frescoes in the portico of St. Peter's, which, though in the Greek manner then prevailing, were very tolerable for those times. Margaritone also painted a picture of St. Francis, at Ganghereto, a small town above the Terra Nuova in Valdarno,† and afterwards, possessing an elevated mind, he betook himself to sculpture, and that with so much diligence, that he succeeded better than he had done in painting: for, although his first efforts in sculpture were in the Greek manner, as we perceive from four figures in wood, which make part of a Deposition from the Cross, in the Church of San Francesco, with other figures in high relief, placed over the baptismal font in the Chapel of St. Francis, he nevertheless acquired a better manner when he had seen the works of Arnolfo in Florence, with those of the other eminent sculptors of the time. And having returned to Arezzo in the year 1275, with the court of Pope Gregory, who passed through Florence, on his way from Avignon to Rome, he had an opportunity of making himself better known; for that pontiff dying at Arezzo, after bestowing thirty thousand crowns on the commune, for the completion of the episcopal palace commenced by Maestro

* An order of Franciscans who wear wooden shoes. This picture is still in existence, and the inscription is as follows:—"MARGARIT. DE ARETIO PINXEBAT."

† This painting is still preserved in the Church of San Francesco, but has been retouched by a later hand.—*Ed Flor.*, 1846.

Lapo, still but little advanced, the people of Arezzo resolved to erect a tomb in marble to his memory, in the episcopate itself, and confided the execution of the work to Margaritone. To this he devoted himself with great diligence, and completed it so successfully—including portraits of Gregory taken from nature, both in painting and marble, among its ornaments—that it was considered the best work he had yet produced.* The chapel of San Gregorio was also dedicated to the memory of this pontiff by the people of Arezzo; and there, too, Margaritone executed a painting. He next undertook the erection of the episcopal buildings, in which he made considerable advance, abiding by the plans of Lapo; but he did not bring the work to completion, the war between the Florentines and Arezzo being renewed in the year 1289, by the fault of Guglielmino degli Ubertini, bishop and lord of Arezzo, who was aided by the Tarlati of Pietramala, and the Pazzi of the Valdarno, when the money left by the Pope for the expenses of the episcopal edifice was all expended; while an evil end befel the leaders, who were routed and slain at Campaldino. It is true that the people of Arezzo then allotted the amount of a toll levied on the surrounding districts as a perpetual revenue for this work, which has continued to be exacted to the present time, and is likely to continue so still. But to return to Margaritone. He appears to have been the first—judging from what we see in his works in painting—who considered the precautions required by him who paints on wood, to the end that the joinings should hold firmly, and that no clefts and fissures should become apparent after the completion of the painting. It was his custom to cover the whole surface with canvas, which he secured by means of a strong glue, made from the boiled shreds of parchment; over this canvas, he next applied a layer of gypsum, as may be seen in his pictures, as well as in those of others; on the gypsum, which was mixed with the glue above described, he then formed diadems and other ornaments in relief. He was also the inventor of grounding in *bol-armoniac*, whereon he laid leaf-gold, which he discovered the means of fixing and burnishing.†

* The painted portrait is almost entirely effaced; that in marble, with the other sculptures of the tomb, are still in good condition, two of the figures have been engraved for the great work of Cicognara.—*Ed. Flor*

† Most of the commentators agree in declaring, that these methods were all practised before the time of Margaritone.

All these methods, having never been seen before, may yet be perceived in his works, more particularly in the capitular church of Arezzo, on the front of the altar, where are passages from the life of San Donato, as well as in the churches of St. Agnes and St. Nicholas in the same city.*

Many of the works which Margaritone produced in his native city were sent to other places ; some of these are at Rome, in the churches of San Giovanni and San Pietro ; some at Pisa, in the church of Santa Caterina, where, on an altar in the transept, † is a picture of St. Catherine, with various passages of her life represented by small figures, together with a little picture of St. Francis, also containing many figures representing many passages of his life, on a gold ground. In the upper church of San Francesco d'Assisi is further to be seen a crucifix by this artist, painted in the Greek manner, on a beam which crosses the church,—all of which were highly valued in those days, although no longer esteemed in art, except for their antiquity, and as possessing merit for a period when art had not acquired the elevation to which it has now attained. Margaritone also gave his attention to architecture ; and although I have not specified any of the buildings constructed after his designs, because they are not of importance, yet I will not omit to add, that by what I am able to discover, it was he who gave the design and plans for the palace of the governors in the city of Ancona, built in 1270, after the Greek manner ; and, what is more, the sculptured ornaments of the eight windows in the principal front, are by his hand. These decorations consist of two columns in the middle of each window, supporting two small arches, above which are historical scenes in mezzo-relievo, which occupy the space from the two little arches to the top of the window. These reliefs represent events of the Old Testament, cut in a sort of stone peculiar to that district. Beneath the

* These works are lost, with the exception of a small Madonna in St. Agnes.

† The Italian commentators, Bottari and Della Valle, explain the word "tramezzo," as here used by Vasari, to mean a *beam crossing the church* between the choir and the nave ; but this explanation renders many passages unintelligible ; for how are chapels and altars, so frequently described as being "in the tramezzo," to find place on a beam ? Vasari may have meant the *road-loft* by this tramezzo. Schorn translates it the transept : or it may be the screen of the choir.

windows are certain letters inscribed on the façade, the purport of which is rather divined than ascertained, for they are neither well formed nor clearly written ; but we gather from them the date of the building, and under whose government it was erected.* The design of the church of San Ciriaco, in Ancona, was also given by Margaritone. He died at the age of seventy-seven, afflicted and disgusted—as it is said—that he had lived to see the changes by which all honours were transferred to new artists. He was buried in the Duomo Vecchio, without the city of Arezzo, in a tomb of Travertine, which has been destroyed in our own days by the demolition of that church. The following epitaph was written for him :

“ Hic jacet ille bonus pictura Margaritonus,
Cui requiem Dominus tradat ubique pius.”

The portrait of Margaritone was also in the Duomo Vecchio, in a picture of the Adoration of the Magi, by Spinello, and was copied by myself before the church was destroyed.†

GIOTTO, PAINTER, SCULPTOR, AND ARCHITECT, OF FLORENCE.

[1275—1336.]

THE gratitude which the masters in painting owe to Nature—who is ever the truest model of him who, possessing the power to select the brightest parts from her best and loveliest features, employs himself unweariedly in the reproduction of these beauties—this gratitude, I say, is due, in my judgment, to the Florentine painter. Giotto, seeing that he alone—although born amidst incapable artists, and at a time when all good methods in art had long been entombed beneath the

* This building has suffered so many changes, that few traces of its primitive character now remain. Many commentators declare, that Vasari has not been just to Margaritone in his estimate of that artist's merits as an architect.

† This took place in 1561, thirteen years, that is, before the death of Vasari.—Giu Montani.

ruins of war—yet, by the favour of Heaven, he, I say, alone succeeded in resuscitating art, and restoring her to a path that may be called the true one. And it was in truth a great marvel, that from so rude and inapt an age, Giotto should have had strength to elicit so much, that the art of design, of which the men of those days had little, if any, knowledge, was, by his means, effectually recalled into life.* The birth of this great man took place in the hamlet of Vespignano, fourteen miles from the city of Florence, in the year 1276. His father's name was Bondone, a simple husbandman, who reared the child, to whom he had given the name of Giotto, with such decency as his condition permitted. The boy was early remarked for extreme vivacity in all his childish proceedings, and for extraordinary promptitude of intelligence; so that he became endeared, not only to his father, but to all who knew him in the village and around it. When he was about ten years old, Bondone gave him a few sheep to watch, and with these he wandered about the vicinity—now here and now there. But, induced by Nature herself to the arts of design, he was perpetually drawing on the stones, the earth, or the sand, some natural object that came before him, or some fantasy that presented itself to his thoughts. It chanced one day that the affairs of Cimabue took him from Florence to Vespignano, when he perceived the young Giotto, who, while his sheep fed around him, was occupied in drawing one of them from the life, with a stone slightly pointed, upon a smooth clean piece of rock,—and that without any teaching whatever, but such as Nature herself had imparted. Halting in astonishment, Cimabue inquired of the boy if he would accompany him to his home, and the child replied, he would go willingly, if his father were content to permit it. Cimabue therefore requesting the consent of Bondone, the latter granted it readily, and suffered the artist to conduct his son to Florence, where, in a short time, instructed by Cimabue and aided by Nature, the boy not only equalled his master in his own manner, but became so good an imitator of Nature, that he totally banished the rude Greek manner,—restoring art to the better path adhered to in modern

* For the sum of all that the many commentators have given us in *extenso*, as to the claims of Giotto, see *Lanzi, History of Painting*, vol. 1, book 1. See also *Rumohr, Ital. Forsch.* Part ii, No 10.

times, and introducing the custom of accurately drawing living persons from nature, which had not been used for more than two hundred years. Or, if some had attempted it, as said above, it was not by any means with the success of Giotto. Among the portraits by this artist, and which still remain, is one of his contemporary and intimate friend, Dante Alighieri, who was no less famous as a poet than Giotto as a painter, and whom Messer Giovanni Boccaccio has lauded so highly in the introduction to his story of Messer Forese da Rabatta, and of Giotto the painter himself. This portrait is in the chapel of the palace of the Podestà in Florence;* and in the same chapel are the portraits of Ser Brunetto Latini, master of Dante, and of Messer Corso Donati, an illustrious citizen of that day.

The first pictures of Giotto were painted for the chapel of the High Altar, in the Abbey of Florence, where he executed many works considered extremely fine†. Among these, an Annunciation is particularly admired; the expression of fear and astonishment in the countenance of the Virgin, when receiving the salutation of Gabriel, is vividly depicted; she appears to suffer the extremity of terror, and seems almost ready to take flight. The altar-piece of that chapel is also by Giotto; but this has been, and continues to be, preserved, rather from the respect felt for the work of so distinguished a man, than from any other motive.‡ There are four chapels in Santa Croce also painted by Giotto: three between the Sacristy and the principal chapel, and one on the opposite side of the church. In the first of the three, which belongs to Messer Ridolfi de' Bardi, and wherein are the bell-ropes, is the Life of St. Francis. In this picture are several figures

* The Chapel of the Podesta was taken to make one of the offices of the Florentine prisons, and the paintings of Giotto were barbarously whitened over, in which state they remained until 1841, when the Government, desiring to repair so disgraceful a wrong, and yielding to the wishes of those who were zealous for the glory of art and of their country, caused them to be restored; this has been done with great care by Professor Antonio Manni, and we have now the portraits of Dante, Brunetto de Latini, and Corso Donati, from the hand of him who had the opportunity of painting them from nature.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1846

† But all unhappily lost.—*Ed. Flor.*, 1846.

‡ This picture was afterwards removed, but as Vasari has not named subject, it becomes difficult to trace it.—*Ed. Flor.*

of monks lamenting the death of the saint: the expression of weeping is very natural. In the second chapel, which belongs to the family of Peruzzi, are two passages from the life of St. John the Baptist, to whom the chapel is dedicated, wherein the dancing of Herodias,* and the promptitude with which certain servants are performing the service of the table, are depicted with extreme vivacity. Two other paintings in the same chapel, also exceedingly fine, are events from the life of St. John the Evangelist,—that wherein he restores Drusiana to life, and his own ascension into Heaven. The third chapel belongs to the Giugni family: it is dedicated to the Apostles; and Giotto has painted in it various scenes from the martyrdom of many of them. In the fourth chapel, which is on the other side of the church to the north, belonging to the families of Tosinchi and Spinelli, and dedicated to the Assumption of our Lady, he has depicted the following passages from the life of the Virgin: her birth, her marriage, her annunciation, the adoration of the magi, and the presentation of Christ in the Temple. This last is a most beautiful thing; for not only is the warmest expression of love to the child to be perceived on the face of the old man Simeon, but the act of the infant, who, being afraid of him, stretches its arms timidly and turns towards its mother, is depicted in a manner inexpressibly touching and exquisite. The Apostles and Angels, with torches in their hands, who surround the death-bed of the Virgin, in a succeeding picture, are also admirably well done.† In the same church, and in the chapel of the Baroncelli family, is a picture in distemper, by the hand of Giotto: it represents the coronation of the Virgin, with a great number of small figures, and a choir of saints and angels, very carefully finished. On this work, the name of the master and the date are written in letters of gold ‡ Artists who reflect on the period at which Giotto, without any light to guide him towards better me-

* Or rather of her daughter.

† All the paintings of these four chapels were whitened over at no very distant period, but the Dance of Herodias's daughter, in the chapel of the Peruzzi, has been lately brought to light: let us hope that its beauty, and the success of this first essay, will cause the restoration of the whole.—*Ed. Flor.*

‡ This picture is still to be seen in the Chapel of the Baroncelli. The inscription is OPTS MAGISTRI JOCTI; there is no date.—*Ibid.*

thods, could make so happy a commencement, whether as respects design or colouring, will be compelled to regard him with great respect and admiration. There are, moreover, in the same church of Santa Croce, and above the marble tomb of Carlo Marsuppini of Arezzo, a Crucifix, a figure of the Virgin, a St. John and the Magdalen at the foot of the Cross, all by the hand of Giotto; and on the other side of the church, exactly opposite to the latter, and above the burial-place of Leonardo Arctino, is an Annunciation, near the high altar, which has been restored with very little judgment, by the hand of some modern painter: a great discredit to those who had the custody of these works.* In the refectory† is a Tree of the Cross,‡ with scenes from the life of St. Louis, and a Last Supper, by the same master. On the presses or wardrobes of the sacristy also, are passages from the life of Christ and that of St. Francis.§ Giotto likewise painted in the church of the Carmine, depicting the life of St. John the Baptist, for the chapel of that Saint, in a series of pictures,|| and in the Guelphic Palace of Florence there is a painting of the Christian Faith, admirably executed in fresco, wherein he has placed the portrait of Clement IV, who founded the society, conferring on it his own arms, which it has borne ever since. After these works were finished, Giotto departed from Florence, and went to Assisi,

* These pictures have long been hidden under whitewash.

† The pictures of the old Refectory, now unhappily reduced to a carpet manufactory, are white-washed over, with the exception of the Last Supper, but Rumohr assigns many reasons for doubting their being by Giotto.—See *Ital. Forsch.*, vol. II, p. 57, note 1.

‡ "Tree of the Cross" (*Albero di Croce*). This is a crucifix, from which proceeds the genealogical tree of the Saviour, with the prophets and patriarchs, on medallions.—Schorn.

§ These paintings on the presses were in all twenty-six, twelve belonging to the life of Christ, the remaining fourteen to that of St. Francis. The first series, and ten of the second, are still preserved in the Academy of the Fine Arts of Florence, the four wanting have passed into the hands of dealers in exchange for other pictures.

|| The church of the Carmine was nearly destroyed by fire in the year 1771; but six of these stories, with five heads from others, remained uninjured, and came into the hands of the engraver, Patch (see Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, London, 1849), by whom they were published. Waagen informs us, that two of these fragments are now in Liverpool one is in the collection of Mr Rogers, and other fragments of the frescoes are preserved in the Campo Santo of Pisa.

to complete the paintings commenced by Cimabue. Passing through Arezzo, he painted one of the chapels of the capitular church, that of St. Francis, which is above the baptistery ; and on a round column, which stands beside a very beautiful antique Corinthian capital, are portraits of St. Francis and St. Dominick, by his hand, both taken from nature.* In the cathedral without Arezzo, he further executed the Martyrdom of St. Stephen, in one of the larger chapels ; of which the composition is fine. Having finished these things, he proceeded to Assisi, a city of Umbria, being invited thither by Fra Giovanni of Muro in the March, who was then general of the fraternity of St. Francis. Here, in the upper church, and under the coriidor which traverses the windows, he painted a series of thirty-two frescoes, representing passages from the life and acts of the saint ; namely, sixteen on each side ; a work which he executed so perfectly, as to acquire great fame from it. And, of a truth, there is singular variety in these frescoes ; not only in the gestures and attitudes of each figure, but also in the composition of all the stories : the different costumes of those times are also represented ; and, in all the accessories, nature is most faithfully adhered to. Among other figures, that of a thirsty man stooping to drink from a fountain, is worthy of perpetual praise : the eager desire with which he bends towards the water is portrayed with such marvellous effect, that one could almost believe him to be a living man actually drinking. There are many other parts of this work that well merit remark, but I refrain from alluding to them, lest I become too discursive. Let it suffice to say, that it added greatly to the fame of Giotto, for the beauty of the figures, the good order, just proportion, and life of the whole, while the facility of execution, which he had received from nature, and afterwards perfected by study, was made manifest in every part of the work. Giotto has indeed well merited to be called the disciple of nature rather than of other masters ; having not only studiously cultivated his natural faculties, but being perpetually occupied in drawing fresh stores from nature, which was to him the never-failing source of inspiration.

* The use which Vasari makes of this phrase " taken from nature," makes it evident that he uses the words in a very extended sense, and is not to be understood literally, since St. Dominick died in 1221, and St. Francis in 1226.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

When the stories above described were finished, Giotto continued to labour in the same place, but in the lower church, where he painted the upper part of the walls beside the high altar, together with the four angles of the vault, beneath which the remains of St. Francis repose. All of these display rich and original invention.* In the first angle is St. Francis glorified in heaven, and surrounded by those virtues which are essential to him who desires fully to partake of the grace of God. On one side is Obedience, placing a yoke on the neck of a friar who kneels before her, the bands of the yoke being drawn towards heaven by hands above. The finger on the lip of Obedience imposes silence, while her eyes are fixed on Jesus, from whose side the blood is flowing: beside this Virtue, stand Prudence and Humility, to show that where there is true obedience, there are also humility and prudence, directing every action towards the right and good. In the second angle is Chastity, who, firm on a well-defended fortress, refuses to yield to any of the kingdoms, crowns, and glories, that are offered her on all sides. At the feet of Chastity is Purity, washing certain naked figures, while Force is conducting others towards her, to be also washed and purified. On one side of Chastity stands Penitence, driving away Love with the cord of discipline, and putting Incontinence to flight. The third compartment exhibits Poverty walking barefoot amidst thorns: a dog follows her, barking, and a boy throws stones at her, while a second gathers the thorns about her, and presses them into her legs with a stick. This Poverty is here seen to be espoused by St. Francis, while Christ himself is holding her hand; and Hope, not without significance, is present, together with Charity.† In the fourth and last of these angles is a St. Francis, also glorified, as in the first compartment. He is dressed in the white tunic of the deacon,‡ and is triumphant in Heaven, attended by a multitude of angels, who form a choir around him; they hold a standard, on which is a cross with seven stars; and

* See Lanzi, *History of Painting*, vol. i. Florentine School, Epoch 1.

† It appears that Giotto painted this allegorical fresco under the instruction or influence of Dante; the passage describing the espousals of St. Francis with "Holy Poverty", occurs in the *Paradiso*, c. xi.

‡ St. Francis was represented in this dress because he would never enter the priesthood, but remained always a deacon from pure humility.

over all is the Holy Spirit. In each of these angles are certain Latin words, explanatory of the events depicted. Besides the paintings in these four compartments, those on the walls are extremely fine, and well deserve our admiration, not only for their beauty, but also for the care with which they were executed, which was such that they have retained their freshness* even to this day. The portrait of Giotto himself, very well done, may be seen in one of these pictures; and over the door of the sacristy is a fresco, also by him, representing St. Francis at the moment when he receives the stigmata†; the expression of the saint being so full of love and devotion, that to me this seems to be the best picture that Giotto has produced in this work, which is nevertheless all truly beautiful and admirable.‡

When Giotto had at length completed this St. Francis, he returned to Florence, where, immediately after his arrival, he painted a picture to be sent to Pisa. This is also a St. Francis, standing on the frightful rocks of La Verna; and is finished with extraordinary care: it exhibits a landscape, with many trees and precipices, which was a new thing in those times. In the attitude and expression of St. Francis, who is on his knees receiving the stigmata, the most eager desire to obtain them is clearly manifest, as well as infinite love towards Jesus Christ, who from heaven above, where he is seen surrounded by the seraphim, grants these stigmata to his servant with looks of such lively affection, that it is not possible to conceive any thing more perfect. Beneath this picture are three others, also from the life of St. Francis, and very beautiful. The picture of the Stigmatae, just described, is still in the church of San Francesco§ in Pisa, close

* These paintings cannot now be said to have retained their *freshness*, either in the upper or lower church; those of the latter are perhaps, upon the whole, less injured than those of the upper church.

† Late events have made the word "Stigmatae" familiar to English readers, and few will now, perhaps, require to be told, that this word signifies the five wounds of the Saviour, impressed by himself on the persons of certain saints, male and female, in reward for their sanctity and devotion to his service.

‡ Della Valle is doubtful whether these pictures really be by Giotto. Rumohr and Forster declare them to have been painted a century later than the time of Giotto.

§ This picture was removed from the church of St. Francis to that of St. Nicholas, and afterwards to the principal chapel of the Campo Santo,

beside the high altar. It is held in great veneration for the sake of the master; and caused the Pisans to entrust him with the decoration of their Campo Santo. The edifice was scarcely completed,* from the design of Giovanni Pisano, as we have said above, when Giotto was invited to paint a portion of the internal walls. This magnificent fabric, being encrusted externally with rich marbles and sculptures, executed at immense cost, the roof covered with lead, and the interior filled with antique monuments and sepulchral urns of Pagan times, brought to Pisa from all parts of the world, it was determined that the inner walls should be adorned with the noblest paintings. To that end Giotto repaired to Pisa, and on one of the walls of the Campo Santo he painted the history of Job, in six large frescoes; but, as he judiciously reflected, that the marble of that part of the building where he went to work, being turned towards the sea, and exposed to the south-east winds, was always humid, and gave out a certain saline moisture, as do nearly all the bricks of Pisa, which fades and corrodes the colours and pictures, so he caused a coating or intonaco to be made for every part whereon he proposed to paint in fresco, that his work might be preserved as long as possible, this intonaco was composed of lime, chalk, and powdered bricks, all so well mingled together, that the paintings which he afterwards executed on the surface thus prepared, remain in tolerable preservation to this day.† Nay, they might have been in much better condition, if the neglect of those who ought to have taken care of them had not suffered them to sustain injury from the damp: but this not having been guarded against, as it might easily have been, has caused some of the paintings to be spoiled in certain places; the flesh tints having become blackened, and the plaster fallen off. It is, besides, the nature of chalk, when mingled with lime, to become corroded and peel off with time,

where it was seen by Morrona, who discovered the name of Giotto on it, much injured by restorations. It is now at Paris, in the Louvre, whither it was transported by Napoleon, the name of the painter is on the cornice, in letters of gold, thus: "OPUS JOCTI FLORENTINI."

* For the long discussions to which the question as to the date of the Campo Santo has given rise, the reader is referred to Lanzi and other writers, who treat the subject at great length.

† Only two of these paintings remain visible, and these are not wholly uninjured; the other four have perished.

when it inevitably ruins the colours ; although at first it seems to bind and secure them.* In these stories, beside the portrait of Messer Farinata degli Uberti,† there are many admirable figures, more particularly those of certain villagers, who bring the grievous news of his losses to Job : no faces could be more eloquently demonstrative of the grief they feel for the lost cattle and other calamities, than are these. There is likewise extraordinary grace in the figure of a servant, who, with a fan of branches in his hand, stands near the suffering Job, now abandoned by all else. Every part of his figure is beautiful ; but most of all to be admired is his attitude—as, driving the flies from his leprous and ill-odoured master with one hand, he guards himself from the pungent scents, from which he obviously shrinks, with the other. The remaining figures of these paintings, and the heads, those of the men as well as the women, are exceedingly beautiful ; the draperies also are painted with infinite grace ; nor is it at all surprising that this work acquired so much fame for its author as to induce Pope Benedict IX‡ to send one of his courtiers from Treviso to Tuscany for the purpose of ascertaining what kind of man Giotto might be, and what were his works. that pontiff then proposing to have certain paintings executed in the church of St. Peter. The messenger, when on his way to visit Giotto, and to inquire what other good masters there were in Florence, spoke first with many artists in Siena,§ —then, having received designs from them, he proceeded to Florence, and repaired one morning to the workshop where Giotto was occupied with his labours. He declared the purpose of the pope, and the manner in which that pontiff desired to avail himself of his assistance, and finally, requested to have a drawing, that he might send it to his holiness. Giotto, who was very courteous, took a sheet of paper, and a pencil dipped in a red colour ; then, resting his elbow on his side, to form a sort of compass, with one turn of the hand he drew

* See Morrona, *Pisa Illustrata*

† Commander of the Ghibelline forces at the Battle of Arbia, and to whose interposition it was owing that Florence was not after the battle razed to the ground ; hence his frequent commemoration in Florentine poetry and works of art, though Dante has placed him in hell, c. x.

‡ Here Vasari evidently meant to say, Benedict XI ; but Baldinucci shows that it was Beniface VIII who summoned Giotto to Rome.—Schorn.

§ For the many good artists then flourishing in Siena, see Lanzi, *History of Painting*, vol. 1, School of Siena.

a circle, so perfect and exact that it was a marvel to behold. This done, he turned, smiling to the courtier, saying, "Here is your drawing". "Am I to have nothing more than this?" inquired the latter, conceiving himself to be jested with. "That is enough and to spare," returned Giotto: "Send it with the rest, and you will see if it will be recognized." The messenger, unable to obtain any thing more, went away very ill-satisfied, and fearing that he had been fooled. Nevertheless, having despatched the other drawings to the pope, with the names of those who had done them, he sent that of Giotto also, relating the mode in which he had made his circle, without moving his arm and without compasses; from which the pope, and such of the courtiers as were well versed in the subject, perceived how far Giotto surpassed all the other painters of his time. This incident becoming known, gave rise to the proverb, still used in relation to people of dull wits—"Tu sei più tondo che l'O di Giotto"—the significance of which consists in the double meaning of the word "tondo", which is used in the Tuscan for slowness of intellect and heaviness of comprehension, as well as for an exact circle. The proverb has besides an interest from the circumstance which gave it birth.

Giotto was then invited by the above named pope to Rome, where his talents were at once appreciated by that pontiff, and himself treated very honourably. He was instantly appointed to paint a large picture in the sacristy of St. Peter's, with five others in the church itself—these last being passages from the life of Christ; all which he executed with so much care, that no better work in distemper ever proceeded from his hands:* so that he well deserved the reward of 600 gold ducats, which the pope, considering himself well served, commanded to be paid him, beside conferring on him so many favours, that there was talk of them throughout all Italy.

At this time there lived in Rome—to omit nothing relative

* Rumohr tells us that certain fragments of a painting in the sacristy of St. Peter's at Rome, the subjects of which were Christ, the Madonna, figures of the Apostles, and the decapitation of St. Paul, are attributed to Giotto; but the assertion does not seem to be supported by any authentic testimony: still, they are certainly in the manner of Giotto, and though displaying more beauty than is common to his works, may be from his hands.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

to art that may be worthy of commemoration—a certain Oderigi of Agobbio, an excellent miniature painter of those times, with whom Giotto lived on terms of close friendship; and who was therefore invited by the pope to illuminate many books for the library of the palace: but these books have in great part perished in the lapse of time. In my book of ancient drawings, I have some few remains from the hand of this artist, who was certainly a clever man, although much surpassed by Franco of Bologna, who executed many admirable works in the same manner, for the same pontiff (and which were also destined for the library of the palace), at the same time with those of Oderigi. From the hand of Franco also, I have designs, both in painting and illuminating, which may be seen in my book above-cited: among others, are an eagle, perfectly well done, and a lion tearing up a tree, which is most beautiful.* Of these two excellent miniaturists, Dante makes mention in the eleventh canto of the *Purgatorio*, in the following lines:—

Oh, dissi lui, non se' tu Oderisi
 L'onor d'Agobbio e l'onor di quell' arte
 Che alluminare è chiamata in Paris?
 Frate, diss' egli, più ridon le carte,
 Che pennellaggia Franco Bolognese:
 L'onor è tutto or suo, e mio in parte.†

The pope having seen these works of Giotto, whose manner pleased him infinitely, commanded that he should paint subjects, from the Old and New Testaments, entirely around the walls of St. Peter's; and, for a commencement, the artist executed in fresco, the Angel, seven braccia high, which is now over the organ: this was followed by many other pictures, of which some have been restored in our own days, while more have been either destroyed in laying the foundations of the new walls, or have been taken from the old edifice of St. Peter's, and set under the organ; as is the case with a

* Lanzi tells us that there are specimens of this master in the Malvezzi Gallery of Bologna; see also Malvasia—*Felsina Pitture*

†

“O!” I exclaimed,
 “Art thou not Oderigi? art not thou
 Agobbio's glory, glory of that art
 Which they of Paris call the limner's skill?”

“Brother!” said he, “with tints that gayer smile,
 Bolognian Franco's pencil lines the leaves.
 His all the honour now; my light obscured.”—Cary,

Madonna, which was cut out of the wall that it might not be totally destroyed, and, being supported by beams and bars of iron, was thus carried away and secured, for its beauty, in the place wherein the pious love which the Florentine doctor, Messer Nicolo Acciainoli, has ever borne to the excellent in art, desired to see it enshrined, and where he has richly adorned this work of Giotto with a framework composed of modern pictures and of ornaments in stucco.* The picture in mosaic, known as the Navicella, and which stands above the three doors of the portico in the vestibule of St Peter's, is also from the hand of Giotto,—a truly wonderful work, and deservedly eulogized by all enlightened judges; and this not only for the merit of the design, but also for that of the grouping of the apostles, who labour in various attitudes to guide their boat through the tempestuous sea, while the winds blow in a sail, which is swelling with so vivid a reality, that the spectator could almost believe himself to be looking at a real sail. Yet it must have been excessively difficult to produce the harmony and interchange of light and shadows which we admire in this work, with mere pieces of glass, and that in a sail of such magnitude,—a thing which, even with the pencil, could only be equalled by great effort. There is a fisherman, also, standing on a rock and fishing with a line, in whose attitude the extraordinary patience proper to that occupation is most obvious, while the hope of prey and his desire for it, are equally manifest in his countenance.† Beneath this work are three small arches, painted in fresco; but as they are almost entirely destroyed, I will say no more of them; but the praises universally bestowed by artists on the mosaic above described, were, without doubt, fully merited.

Giotto afterwards painted a large picture of the Crucifixion, in distemper, for the church of Minerva, belonging to

* This picture, as well as those preceding it, have all perished—as have those of St. John of the Lateran, excepting only the portrait of Pope Boniface VIII, which is preserved under glass in the church, with an inscription placed beneath it, in 1776, by the Gaetani family.—*Ed. Flor.*

† For the many dissertations on this mosaic—its restorations, changes of locality, etc., see Lanzi and other writers. It is at present placed within the portico of St. Peter's, over the centre arch and opposite the principal door, where, unless sought for it must escape attention.

the Preaching Friars, which was very highly praised at the time: he then returned to his native Florence, whence he had been absent six years. No long time after this, Benedict IX (XI) being dead, Clement V was elected pope at Perugia, when Giotto was obliged to depart again with that pontiff, who removed his court to Avignon, where our artist produced many admirable works; and not there only, but in many other parts of France, he painted many beautiful pictures and frescoes which infinitely delighted the pontiff and his whole court, insomuch that, when all were finished, Giotto was graciously dismissed with many presents, so that he returned home no less rich than honoured and renowned. Among other things, he brought back with him the portrait of the pontiff, which he afterwards presented to his disciple Taddeo Gaddi. The return of Giotto to Florence took place in the year 1316; but he was not long permitted to remain in that city, being invited to Padua by the Signori della Scala, for whom he painted a most magnificent chapel in the Santo,* a church just then erected.† From Padua he proceeded to Verona, where he painted certain pictures for Messer Cane,‡ the father of Francesca di Rimini, in the palace of that noble, more particularly the portrait of Cane himself: he also executed a picture for the Fraternity of St. Francis. Having completed these works, Giotto departed for Tuscany, but was compelled to halt at Ferrara, where he painted certain works for the Signori d'Este, as well in their palace as in the church of Sant' Agostino, where they are still to be seen. Meanwhile, as it had come to the ears of Dante that Giotto was in Ferrara, he so contrived that the latter was induced to visit Ravenna, where the poet was then in exile, and where Giotto painted some frescoes, which are moderately good, in the church of San Francesco, for the Signori da Polenta.§ He then proceeded from Ravenna to Urbino, where he also painted some pictures. After this, as he was passing through Arezzo, he could

* The church of St. Anthony, of Padua, is so called *par excellence* — St. Anthony being the patron saint of that city.

† Of these paintings there remains only a miserable relic, which scarcely suffices to give an idea of its composition. — *Ed. Flor.* 1846.

‡ The Can grande della Scala, famous in Dante. — *Par. c. xvii.*

§ These pictures, as well as those painted in Verona, have all perished — *Ibid.*

not refuse to comply with the wishes of Piero Saccone, who had ever treated him with great kindness, and therefore painted a fresco for him in the principal chapel of the Episcopal church. The subject is St Martin dividing his mantle in half, and bestowing one of the portions on a beggar, who stands before him almost entirely naked *. Having then executed a large Crucifixion, in distemper, on panel, for the abbey of Santa Fiore, which is still in the middle of that church,† he returned at length to Florence, where, among many other works, he painted pictures, both in distemper and fresco, for the convent of the Nuns of Faenza, all of which have been lost in the destruction of that convent. In the year 1322, his most intimate friend, Dante, having died, to his great sorrow, the year preceding ; Giotto repaired to Lucca, and, at the request of Castruccio, then lord of that city, which was the place of his birth, he executed a picture, in the church of San Martino, representing Christ hovering in the air over the four saints, protectors of Lucca, namely, San Piero, San Regolo, San Martino, and San Paulino; they appear to be recommending to him a pope and an emperor, who, as many believe, are Frederick of Bavaria and the antipope, Nicholas V. Many also maintain that at San Frediano, in this same city of Lucca, Giotto likewise designed the castle and fortress of Giusta,‡ which is impregnable.

Some time after this, and when Giotto had returned to Florence, Robert, king of Naples, wrote to his eldest son Charles, king of Calabria, who was then in Florence, desiring that he would, by all means, send Giotto to him at Naples, he having just completed the convent and church of Santa Clara, which he desired to see adorned by him with noble paintings.§ Giotto, therefore, being thus invited by so great and renowned a monarch, departed with the utmost readiness to do him service, and being arrived, he painted various sub-

* In the time of Bottani, this picture was still in existence, though much decayed, but the latest Florentine edition of Vasari declares it to have perished.

† This work is still in good condition.

‡ Properly called Augusta, and corrupted to Gosta or Giusta.—*Ed. Flo.* 1846.

§ Vasari has here omitted to mention, that Giotto, in his way to Naples, went to see the sculptures in Orvieto,—and what resulted from that visit, which is afterwards alluded to in the lives of Agostino and Agnolo of Siena.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

jects, from the Old and New Testaments, in the different chapels of the building. It is said that the passages from the Apocalypse, which he has painted in one of these chapels,* were inventions of Dante, as were probably those so highly eulogized of Assisi, respecting which we have already spoken at sufficient length. It is true that Dante was then dead, but it is very probable that these subjects may have been discussed between Giotto and him: a thing which so frequently happens among friends.

But to return to Naples. Giotto executed many works in the Castel dell' Uovo, particularly in the chapel,† which greatly pleased the king, by whom Giotto was indeed so much beloved, that while at his work he was frequently held in conversation by that monarch, who took pleasure in watching the progress of his labours and in hearing his remarks. Now Giotto had always a jest ready, and was never at a loss for a witty reply, so that he amused the king with his hand while he painted, and also by the acuteness of his pleasant conversation. Thus, one day, the king telling him that he would make him the first man in Naples, Giotto replied that he already was the first man in Naples, "for to that end it is that I dwell at the Porta Reale", where the first houses of the city stand. Another time, the king saying to him, "Giotto, if I were in your place, now that it is so hot, I would give up painting for a time, and take my rest." "And so I would do, certainly," replied Giotto, "if I were in your place." Giotto being thus so acceptable to King Robert, was employed by him to execute numerous paintings in a hall (which King Alfonso afterwards destroyed to make room for the castle), and also in the church of the Incoronata.‡ Among those of the hall, were many portraits of celebrated men, Giotto himself being of the number. One day the king, desiring to amuse himself, requested Giotto to depict his kingdom, when the painter,

* All these works have since been whitewashed.—Roman ed. 1759.

† These paintings are also lost.

‡ For the many controversies to which these paintings, which are for the most part in tolerably good preservation, have given rise, see Waagen, Kestner, Kugler, Rumohr, Nagler, Forster, Count Vilani XIV, and others, who maintain that these works are by Giotto; see also Aloe, of Berlin, and Domenico Ventimiglia, on the same side. Riccio, on the contrary, *Saggio Storico*, &c, Naples, 1845, denies them to be by Giotto—and his opinion he supports by arguments to which the reader is referred.

as it is said, drew an ass, bearing a pack-saddle loaded with a crown and sceptre, while a similar saddle lay at his feet, also bearing the ensigns of sovereignty: these last were all new; and the ass scented them with an expression of desire to change them for those he then bore. The king inquired what this picture might signify; when Giotto replied, "Such is the kingdom, and such the subjects, who are every day desiring a new lord." Leaving Naples to proceed to Rome, Giotto was detained at Gaeta, where he was persuaded to paint certain subjects from the New Testament for the church of the Annunciation. These works are now greatly injured by time, but not to such a degree as to prevent us from clearly distinguishing the portrait of Giotto himself, which will be found near a large and very beautiful crucifix. These works being completed, he passed some days in Rome, in the service of the Signor Malatesta, to whom he could not refuse this favour. he then repaired to Rimini, of which city the said Malatesta was lord, and painted numerous pictures in the church of San Francesco; but these works were afterwards destroyed by Gismondo, son of Pandolfo Malatesta, who rebuilt the entire edifice. He also painted a fresco on the cloisters in front of the church. This was the history of the Beata Michelina,* one of the best and most beautiful works that Giotto ever produced; for to say nothing of the grace and life of the heads, which are nevertheless wonderful, or of the draperies, which are admirably done, there is the evidence of so much varied thought in the composition, and care in the execution, that it cannot be too highly praised. The principal figure is a young woman, lovely as it is possible to conceive that a woman can be, and who is in the act of freeing herself by oath from the calumnious charge of adultery. She takes the oath on a book, while she keeps her eyes fixed on her husband in an attitude of inexpressible grace, and with the expression of the most assured innocence; he having compelled her to make oath, from doubts respecting a black infant to which she had given birth, and which he

* The story of the Beata Michelina has been whitewashed; but is supposed to have been by a pupil of Giotto, rather than by himself, since Michelina lived twenty years after Giotto, who is thus not likely to have painted her history. — See Marcheselli. *Pittori di Rimini*, Rimini, 1754

can by no means persuade himself to believe his own. The distrust and indignation of the husband are clearly evident from his countenance ; while that of the wife makes her innocence and purity equally obvious. None can regard that candid brow and those truthful eyes with attention, but must perceive the wrong her husband does her in compelling her to affirm her innocence, and in publicly accusing her of unchastity. There is also extreme vividness of expression in a group, comprising a man suffering from various wounds, while all the women around him, offended by the exhalations emitted from these wounds, turn away in disgust with various contortions, but all with the most graceful attitudes. The fore-shortenings which are to be observed in another picture, wherein is a crowd of lame beggars, have also great merit, and must have been highly appreciated by the artists of those days, since it was from these works that the commencement and first methods of fore-shortening were derived ; besides which they cannot be considered badly done, considering them as the first. But, more than all other parts of these frescoes, the gestures which the above-named Michelina makes towards certain usurers, who are paying her the price of her possessions, which she has given to the poor, are the most wonderful. The contempt she feels for riches and all other earthly wealth is most manifest—nay, she seems to hold them in disgust and abhorrence ; while the usurers present the very personification of human avarice and greed. The figure of one, who, while counting the money, is making signs to the notary, who is writing, is extremely fine ; for though he has his eyes on the notary, he yet holds his hands over his money, betraying his love of it, his avarice, and his mistrust, in every feature. Again, the three figures personating Obedience, Patience, and Poverty, which are hovering in the air, and upholding the vestments of St. Francis, are worthy of infinite praise, and more particularly because there is a grace in the flow of the draperies, which makes it obvious that Giotto was born to be the light of painting. He has, besides, given the portrait of Malatesta in this work : he is in a boat, and so truly natural that he might be thought to breathe. Other mariners also, and other figures, in the vivacity of their actions, the grace of their attitudes, and the life of their expression. make manifest the excellence of the

mas'ter ; one most especially, who, speaking with others, holds his hand before his face while he spits into the sea, deserves to be remembered. And without doubt this may be called one of the best of the works of Giotto ; for though the number of figures is so great, there is not one which does not display great perfection of art, and which has not a character peculiar to itself. It is not wonderful therefore that the Signor Malatesta should praise the painter highly, and reward him magnificently.

Having finished his labours for this noble Giotto executed a painting at the request of a Florentine Prior who was then at San Cataldo of Rimini : the subject is St. Thomas Aquinas reading to his monks ; and the work is without the door of the church. He then departed, and returned to Ravenna, where he painted a chapel in fresco in the church of St. John the Evangelist, which was highly celebrated.* After this, Giotto returned to Florence, rich in honours, and with sufficient worldly wealth. He there painted a crucifix in wood,† larger than the natural size, in distemper, on a ground of gold, for the church of St. Mark, and which was placed in the south aisle of the church. He executed a similar work for the church of Santa Maria Novella, being aided in this last by Puccio Capanna, his scholar : it may still be seen over the principal door of the church, on the right as you enter, and over the tomb of the Gaddi family. In the same church he painted a St. Louis, for Paolo di Lotto d'Ardinghelli, at the feet of which is the portrait of the donor and his wife, taken from nature.‡

In the year 1327, Guido Tarlati da Pietramala, Bishop and Lord of Arezzo, died at Massa di Maremma, when re-

* Other frescoes by Giotto are still to be seen in Ravenna ; in the chapel of St. Bartholomew, in the church of San Giovanni della Sagra, for example, where are the Holy Evangelists, with their symbols, together with the doctors of the church—St. Gregory, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Jerome. These pictures were restored by Francesco Zanoni, of Padua, towards the close of the last century. There are, besides, others in the convent of Santa Chiara, near the palace of Theodorie, and in the presbytery of Santa Maria in Porto.

† The admirable crucifix of St. Mark's, as well as that in Santa Maria Novella, are still in good preservation.

‡ The fate of this St. Louis is not known, but it is supposed to have been destroyed in repairing the church.

turning from Lucca, whither he had gone to visit the emperor, and his body was carried to Arezzo, where it received the honour of a most solemn and magnificent funeral. It was then resolved by Piero Saccone, and Dolfo da Pietramala, brother of the bishop, that a sepulchral monument in marble, worthy of the greatness of a man who had been lord spiritual and temporal of the city, as well as chief of the Ghibelline party in Tuscany, should be raised to his memory. They wrote accordingly to Giotto, requesting him to prepare designs for a very splendid tomb, adorned with whatever might most worthily enrich it; and sending him the required measurements. They prayed him, at the same time, to procure them a sculptor, the most excellent, according to his opinion, that could be found in Italy, they reserving the whole affair entirely to his judgment. Giotto, who was very obliging, made the design, and sent it them, when the monument was erected accordingly, as will be related in its proper place.* Now the talents of Giotto were very highly appreciated by Piero Saccone, and he, having taken the Borgo di San Sepolcro, no long time after he had received the above-named design, took a picture thence, which had been formerly painted by Giotto, and which he carried to Arezzo. The figures were small, and the work afterwards fell to pieces, but the fragments were diligently sought by Baccio Gondi, a Florentine gentleman, and lover of the fine arts, who was commissioner of Arezzo: having recovered some of them, he took them to Florence, where he holds them in high estimation, and preserves them carefully, together with other works of the same artist, who produced so many, that, were all enumerated, their amount would seem incredible. And not many years since, when I was myself at the hermitage of Camaldoli, where I executed many works for the reverend fathers, I saw a small Crucifix by Giotto, in one of the cells, which had been brought thither by the very Reverend Don Antonio, of Pisa, then general of the congregation of Camaldoli. This work, which is on a gold ground, and has the name of Giotto inscribed on it by himself, is very beautiful, and is still preserved, as I was told by the Reverend Don Silvano Razzi, a monk of Camaldoli, in the monastery

* See the lives of Agostino and Agnolo, of Siena.

Degli Angeli, at Florence, where it is kept in the cell of the prior, together with a most exquisite picture by Raphael, as a rare and valuable relic of the master.*

A chapel and four pictures were painted by Giotto, for the fraternity of the Umiliati d'Ognissanti, in Florence; among these works, is a figure of the Virgin, surrounded by angels, and holding the child in her arms, with a large crucifix on panel,† the design of which last being taken by Puccio Capanna, he executed great numbers in the same manner (having intimate knowledge of Giotto's method), which were afterwards scattered through all Italy. When this book of the Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects, was first published, there was a small picture in distemper, in the transept of the church belonging to the Umiliati, which had been painted by Giotto with infinite care. The subject was the death of the Virgin, with the Apostles around her, and with the figure of Christ, who receives her soul into his arms. This work has been greatly prized by artists, and was above all valued by Michael Angelo Buonarrotti, who declared, as we have said before, that nothing in painting could be nearer to the life than this was, and it rose still higher in the general estimation after these Lives had appeared; but has since been carried away from the church, perhaps from love of art and respect to the work, which may have seemed to the robber to be not sufficiently revered, who thus out of piety became impious, as our poet saith.‡ It may with truth be called a miracle, that Giotto attained to so great an excellence of manner, more particu-

* Nothing is now known of this work.

† This crucifix still remains; it may be seen on the wall of the chapel belonging to the Gondi-Dini family. The picture of the Virgin with the Child and Angels, was removed to the Gallery of the Florentine Academy.

‡ Dante, *Paradiso*,—

“Come Almeone, che di ciò pregato
Dal padre suo la propria madre spense.
Per non perder pietà, si fè spietato”

“E'en as Alcmaeon, at his father's suit,
Slew his own mother, so made pitiless,
Not to lose pity.”—Cary.

This picture reappeared at a later period, and after various vicissitudes, became the property of Mr. N. Ottley, where I (Schorn) saw it in 1826.

lany when we consider that he acquired his art in a certain sense without any master.*

After completing these works, and on the 9th of July 1334, Giotto commenced the campanile of Santa Maria del Fiore; the foundations were laid on massive stone, sunk twenty braccia beneath the surface, on a site whence gravel and water had previously been excavated: then having made a good concrete to the height of twelve braccia, he caused the remainder, namely eight braccia, to be formed of masonry. The bishop of the city, with all the clergy and magistrates, were present at the foundation, of which the first stone was solemnly laid by the bishop himself. The edifice then proceeded on the plan before mentioned, and in the Gothic manner of those times; all the historical representations which were to be the ornaments, being designed with infinite care and diligence by Giotto himself, who marked out on the model all the compartments where the friezes and sculptures were to be placed, in colours of white, black, and red. The lower circumference of the tower is of one hundred braccia, twenty-five that is on each of the four sides. The height is one hundred and forty-four braccia. And if that which Lorenzo di Cione Ghiberti has written be true, as I fully believe it is, Giotto not only made the model of the campanile, but even executed a part of the sculptures and reliefs,—those representations in marble, namely, which exhibit the origin of all the arts. Lorenzo also affirms that he saw models in relief from the hand of Giotto, and more particularly those used in these works: an assertion that we can easily believe; for design and invention are the parents of all the arts, and not of one only. This campanile, according to the design of Giotto, was to have been crowned by a spire or pyramid, of the height of fifty braccia: but as this was in the old Gothic manner, the modern architects have always advised its omission: the building appearing to them better as it is. For all these works, Giotto was not only made a citizen of Florence, but also received a pension of a hundred golden florins yearly—a large sum in those times—from the commune of Florence. He was also appointed superintendent of the work, which he did not live to see

* See Ianzi, *History of Painting*, vol. 1. Florentine School, Epoch 1 Section 1.

finished ; but which was continued after his death by Taddeo Gaddi. While this undertaking was in progress, Giotto painted a picture for the nuns of San Giorgio,* and in the abbey of Florence, within the church, and on an arch over the door, he executed three half-length figures, which were afterwards whitewashed over, *to give more light to the church*. In the great hall of the Podestà in Florence, Giotto painted a picture, the idea of which was afterwards frequently borrowed. In this he represented the Commune seated, in the character of a judge, with a sceptre in the hand, and equally poised scales over the head, to intimate the rectitude of her decisions. The figure is surrounded by four Virtues : these are Force with generosity, Prudence with the laws, Justice with arms, and Temperance with the word. This is a very beautiful picture, of appropriate and ingenious invention †

About this time, Giotto once more repaired to Padua, where he painted several pictures, and adorned many chapels ; but more particularly that of the Arena, where he executed various works, from which he derived both honour and profit.‡ In Milan also he produced many paintings, which are scattered throughout that city, and are held in high estimation even to this day § Finally, and no long time after he had returned from Milan, having passed his life in the production of so many admirable works, and proved himself a good Christian as well as excellent painter, Giotto resigned his soul to God in the year 1336,|| not only to the great regret of

* This picture, which Ghiberti declares to have been perfect, was still existing in Cinelli's day, but cannot now be found — *Ed Flor.* 1846

† This picture is also lost.—*Idem*.

‡ For a minute description of these works, see Baldinucci, Cicognara, etc.; see also a small work by the Marquis Selvatico, *Sulla Cappellina degli Scrovegni e su i freschi di Giotto*, Padua, 1836.

§ The pictures painted in Milan by Giotto, who was invited thither by Azzo Visconti, were unworthily destroyed, the only one now known to exist there is a Virgin and Child in the Brera, and which bears the name of the painter, written thus — “OPUS MAGISTRI JOCTI FLORENTINI.” But Masselli tells us, that this is but a portion of the original work, the two remaining parts of which are now in the Gallery of Bologna. on these are depicted St. Peter, St Paul, the archangels Michael and Gabriel, with the figures of the Redeemer, the Virgin, and three other saints on the socle.

|| Villani, book ix., chap. 12, has registered his death in the following words — “Maestro Giotto, having returned from Milan, whither our commune had sent him for the service of the signore of Milan, departed this life on the 8th of January 1336.”

his fellow citizens, but of all who had known him, or even heard his name. He was honourably entombed, as his high deserts had well merited that he should be, having been beloved by all in his life, but more especially by the eminent men of all professions. Of Dante we have already spoken as his intimate friend; his character and talents were equally admired by Petrarch, insomuch that this last poet, as we read in his testament, bequeathed to Francesco da Carrara, Lord of Padua, among other things which he highly valued, a picture of the Virgin by Giotto, as a rare and acceptable gift, which is thus distinguished in that clause of the will which relates to it :—

“*Transeo ad dispositionem aliarum rerum, et prædicto igitur domino meo Paduano, quia et ipse per Dei gratiam non eget, et ego nihil aliud habeo dignum se, mitto tabulam meam sive historiam Beatæ Virginis Mariæ, opus Joeti pictoris egregii, quæ mihi ab amico meo Michaelæ Vanni de Florentia missa est, in cujus pueritudinem ignorantes non intelligunt, magistri autem artis stupent. hanc iconem ipsi domino lego, ut ipsa Virgo benedicta sibi sit propitia apud filium suum Jesum Christum*”, etc.

Petrarch further remarks, in a Latin epistle to be found in the fifth book of his familiar letters, to the following effect :

“*Atque (ut a veteribus ad nova, ab externis ad nostra transgrediar) duos ego novi pictores egregios, nec formosos, Joetum Florentinum civem, cujus inter modernos fama ingens est, et Simonem Senensem, novi sculptores aliquot*”, etc.

Giotto was buried in Santa Maria del Fiore, where an inscription on white marble to the memory of this great man was placed on the wall to the left of the entrance. The commentator of Dante, who was contemporary with Giotto, has spoken of him, as we have related in the life of Cimabue, in the following words : “*Giotto was and is the most eminent of all the painters in the city of Florence, and to this his works bear testimony in Rome, Naples, Avignon, Florence, Padua, and many other parts of the world.*”

The disciples of Giotto were Taddeo Gaddi, who, as I have said, was his godson, and Puccio Capanna, a Florentine. The latter painted an admirable fresco for the church of San Cataldo, in Rimini, belonging to the preaching friars. It represents the abandonment by her crew of a ship on the

point of sinking ; men are casting the cargo overboard, and among these is the portrait of Puccio himself, drawn from nature. The same artist painted many pictures after the death of Giotto, at Assisi, in the church of St. Francis. In Florence also, in the church of the Holy Trinity, which stands beside the gate near the river, he painted the chapel of the Strozzi in fresco : the subjects are the Coronation of the Virgin, with a choir of angels, executed much in the manner of Giotto, with passages from the life of Santa Lucia, very well done.* In the abbey of Florence, Capanna painted the chapel of St. John the Evangelist, near the sacristy, and belonging to the family of the Covoni. In Pistoja, he painted in fresco the principal chapel of the church of San Francesco, and the chapel of San Lodovico ; the subjects being stories from the lives of those saints, which are tolerably good.† In the midst of the church of San Domenico, in the same city, is a Crucifixion, a Madonna, and a San Giovanni, painted with much sweetness. At the feet of these figures is an entire skeleton, from which it may be perceived that Puccio sought to discover the first principles of art, a thing very unusual in those times. On this work the name of the artist, written by his own hand, may be read as follows : "PUCCIO DI FIRENZA ME FECE." Three half figures in the same church are also by this painter. They are in the arch over the door of Santa Maria Nuova,‡ and represent the Virgin holding the child, with St. Peter on one side and St. Francis on the other. In the city of Assisi, moreover, and in the lower church of San Francesco, Capanna painted the Passion of our Lord in fresco, in a bold and masterly manner. In a chapel of the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli he also painted a fresco of Christ in glory, with the Virgin offering up her prayers to him for the whole Christian community. This work, which is a tolerably good one, has been blackened by the smoke of the lamps and wax candles which are constantly burning before it in great

* The pictures painted by Capanna, in Assisi, are in good preservation, but those in the chapel of the Strozzi are lost.

† The pictures in San Francesco were whitewashed, with the exception of a Santa Maria Egyptiaca, which is still in one of the presses of the church. Those of San Lodovico, are still well preserved.

‡ Or rather over the door of San Francesco.

numbers. It appears to be certain, so far as we can judge, that Puccio had very much the manner of his master Giotto, and was deeply versed in all his methods, which he turned to very good account in the works he executed, although, as some assert, he did not live long, having injured his health by working too much in fresco, which caused his death. The frescoes, representing passages from the life of St. Martin, in the same chapel, are said to have been painted by Puccio Capanna for Cardinal Gentile. Many works of this master are to be found in different places. In the midst of the street called Portico, in Assisi, for example, there is a Christ at the Column by his hand, with the figure of the Virgin between St Catherine and St. Clara. In Bologna also there is a picture in the nave of the church,* representing the Passion of Christ, with stories from the life of St. Francis; besides others which I refrain from enumerating for the sake of brevity. I will not, however, omit to mention that in Assisi, where are the greater number of his works, and where it appears to me that he must have taken part in the paintings of Giotto, I have discovered that they consider him as their fellow-citizen, and that there are still certain branches of the Capanna family in that city. The probability seems to be that Puccio was born in Florence, since he has himself written to that effect, but that he afterwards married at Assisi, where his children were born, and where his descendants still remain. As all this is, nevertheless, of very little importance, let it suffice us to know that he was a good master.

Ottaviano da Faenza, also a clever painter, was likewise a disciple of Giotto. He painted many pictures in the church of St. George at Ferrara, belonging to the monks of Monte Oliveto; and in Faenza, where he lived and died, he painted a figure of the Virgin with St Peter and St. Paul, in the arch above the door of San Francesco, with other works in the same city and in Bologna.

Another disciple of Giotto, who remained with him many years, and frequently assisted him in his works, was Pace da Faenza, one of whose paintings in fresco may be seen on the façade of San Giovanni-decollato (St. John decapitated) in

* Vasari does not say in what church, but it may be conjectured to be San Francesco.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

Bologna. This Pace was a man of considerable talent, more particularly in the execution of small figures, as may be seen to this day in the church of San Francesco at Forlì, where there is a picture in distemper, with four small historical scenes from the life of Our Lady, which are all extremely well done. He is also said to have painted certain frescoes in the chapel of St. Antonio in Assisi; the subjects are taken from the life of that saint, and they were executed for a duke of Spoleto, who lies buried in that place, together with his son, both having been slain in battle in one of the suburbs of Assisi, as may be seen from a long inscription on the sarcophagus of their sepulchre.* In the old Book of the Company of Painters, there is another scholar of Giotto, designated as Francesco di Maestro Giotto, but of whom I know nothing more.

Guglielmo of Forlì was also a pupil of Giotto; and among many other works, he painted the chapel of the high altar in the church of St. Dominick, in his native city. Pietro Laureati and Simon Memmi, of Siena, Stefano, a Florentine, and Pietro Cavallini a Roman, were in like manner disciples of the same master; but as these painters will be sufficiently discussed when we treat of the life of each, it shall suffice here to say that they were the scholars of Giotto. That Giotto drew extremely well for his day, may be proved from the various sketches on vellum, some in water-colour, others in ink, and in chiaro oscuro, with the lights in clear white, which are collected into our book of drawings before alluded to, and which are a veritable wonder, when compared with the drawings of the masters who preceded him.

Giotto, as we have said before, was of an exceedingly jocund humour, and abounded in witty and humorous remarks, which are still well remembered in Florence.† Examples of these may be found, not only in the writings of Messer Giovanni Boccaccio, but also in the three hundred stories of Franco Sacchetti, who cites many amusing instances of his talent in this way. And here I will not refuse the labour of transcribing some of these stories, giving them in Franco's

* Lanzi tells us that he saw a figure of the Virgin in the church of the Templars, which was pointed out to him as a work of Pace.—See *History of Painting*.

† He was a poet also.—See Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.* vol. II, p. 51.

own words, that my readers may be made acquainted with the peculiar phraseology and modes of speech used in those times, together with the story itself. He says, then, in one of these, to set it forth with its proper title :

“ To Giotto, the great painter, is given a buckler to paint, by a man of small account. He, making a jest of the matter paints it in such sort, that the owner is put out of countenance.

“ Every one has long since heard of Giotto, and knows how greatly he stood above all other painters. Hearing the fame of this master, a rude artizan, who desired to have his buckler painted, perhaps because he was going to do watch and ward in some castle, marched at once to the work-shop of Giotto, with one bearing the shield behind him. Having got there, he speedily found Giotto, to whom he said, ‘ God save thee, master ! I would fain have thee paint me my arms on this shield.’ Giotto, having examined the man and considered his manner, replied nothing more than—‘ When wilt thou have it finished ?’ which the other having told him, he answered, ‘ Leave the matter to me ;’ and the fellow departed. Then Giotto, being left alone, began to think within himself, ‘ What may this mean ? Hath some one sent this man to make a jest of me ? However it be, no man ever before brought me a buckler to paint ; yet here is this simple fellow, who brings me his shield, and bids me paint his arms upon it, as though he were of the royal family of France. Of a verity, I must make him arms of a new fashion.’ Thinking thus within himself, he takes the said buckler, and having designed what he thought proper, called one of his scholars, and bade him complete the painting. This was a tin skull-cap, a gorget, a pair of iron gauntlets, with a cuirass, cuishes and gambadoes, a sword, a dagger, and a spear. Our great personage, of whom nobody knew any thing, having returned for his shield, marches forward and inquires, ‘ Master, is this shield painted ?’ ‘ To be sure it is,’ replied Giotto ; ‘ bring it down here.’ The shield being brought, our wise gentleman that-would-be, began to open his eyes and look at it, calling out to Giotto, ‘ What trumpery is this that thou hast painted me here ?’ ‘ Will it seem to thee a trumpery matter to pay for it ?’ answered Giotto. ‘ I will not pay five farthings for it all,’ returned the clown. ‘ And what didst thou require

me to paint,' asked Giotto. 'My arms.' 'And are they not here,' rejoined the painter; 'is there one wanting?' 'Good, good!' quoth the man. 'Nay, verily, but 'tis rather bad, bad!' responded Giotto. 'Lord help thee, for thou must needs be a special simpleton: why, if a man were to ask thee, 'who art thou?' 't would be a hard matter for thee to tell him; yet here thou comest and criest, 'paint me my arms.' If thou wert of the house of the Bardi, that were enough; but thou!—what arms dost thou bear? who art thou? who were thy forefathers? Art thou not ashamed of thyself! Begin at least to come into the world before thou talkest of arms, as though thou wert Dunsam of Bavaia at the very least. I have made thee a whole suit of armour on thy shield: if there be any other piece, tell me, and I'll put that too.' 'Thou hast given me rough words, and hast spoiled my shield,' declared the other; and going forth, he betook himself to the justice, before whom he caused Giotto to be called. The latter forthwith appeared; but on his side summoned the complainant for two florins, the price of the painting, and which he demands to be paid. The pleadings being heard on both sides, and Giotto's story being much better told than that of our clown, the judges decided that the latter should take away his buckler, painted as it was, and should pay six livres to Giotto, whom they declared to have the right. Thus the good man had to pay and to take his shield; whereupon he was bidden to depart, and not knowing his place, had it taught to him on this wise.^{77*}

It is said that Giotto, when he was still a boy, and studying with Cimabue, once painted a fly on the nose of a figure on which Cimabue himself was employed, and this so naturally, that when the master returned to continue his work, he believed it to be real, and lifted his hand more than once to drive it away before he should go on with the painting.† Many other jests and witty retorts might be recorded of Giotto; but these, which appertain to art, shall suffice me to tell in this

* The "Novelle" of Sacchetti were not printed in the time of Vasari, whose version differs from that of Boccaccio, which is much more to the credit of Giotto;—compare Baldinucci with Rumohr for other relations concerning Giotto.

† Stories of this kind are related of most celebrated painters. *Ed. Flor.* 1846.

place ; and for the rest I refer my reader to Franco and other writers.

The memory of Giotto is not only preserved in his own works, but is also consecrated in the writings of the authors of those times, he being the master by whom the true art of painting was recovered, after it had been lost during many years preceding his time : wherefore, by a public decree, and by command of the elder Lorenzo de' Medici, of glorious memory, who bore him a particular affection, and greatly admired the talent of this distinguished man, his bust was placed in Santa Maria del Fiore, being sculptured in marble by Benedetto da Majano, an excellent sculptor, and the following verses, by that divine poet, Messer Angelo Poliziano, were engraved thereon, to the end, that all who should distinguish themselves in any profession might have hope of receiving such memorials at the hands of others, his successors, as Giotto deserved and received from the hands of Lorenzo :—

“ Ille ego sum, per quem pictura extinta revixit,
 Cui quam recta manus, tam fuit et facilis
 Naturæ deerat nostræ quod defuit arti.
 Plus leuit nulli pingere, nec melius
 Miraris turrim egregiam sacro aere sonantem ?
 Hæc quoque de modulo crevit ad astra meo,
 Denique sum Jottus, quid opus fuit illa referre?
 Hoc nomen longi carminis instar erit.”

And that those who shall come after, may better know the excellence of this great man, and may judge him from drawings by his own hand, there are some that are wonderfully beautiful preserved in my book above-mentioned, and which I have collected with great diligence. as well as with much labour and expense.

AGOSTINO AND AGNOLO, SCULPTORS AND ARCHITECTS OF SIENA.

[Born died 1350.]

[Born died 1318.]

AMONG the artists who studied in the school of the sculptors Giovanni and Niccola of Pisa, the most distinguished were Agostino and Agnolo, of Siena, whose lives we are now about to write, and who became very excellent masters for those times. I find that their immediate progenitors were both of Siena, and that their ancestors* were architects for many generations. insomuch that the fountain called Fontebrenda† was erected by them in the year 1190, under the government of the three consuls, while the custom-house and other buildings of Siena were constructed by the same masters in the following year, and under the same consulate. It may be truly said, that the seeds of talent in families, where they have been long implanted, will frequently germinate and throw out branches, which then produce better and richer fruit than had been obtained from the parent stock. This was the case with Agostino and Agnolo, who greatly ameliorated the manner of the Pisans, Giovanni and Niccola, enriching the art by more correct design and much improved invention, as their works make clearly manifest. We are told, that when the above-named Giovanni was returning from Naples, in the year 1284, he remained for some time at Siena to prepare the designs for the cathedral, and to commence that façade of the building wherein are the three principal doors, and which was to be richly adorned with sculptured marbles. At this time it was that Agostino, who was then but fifteen years of age, attached himself to Giovanni for the purpose of studying sculpture, of which he had already acquired the first principles, and to which he was no less inclined than to architecture. Under the care of this master then, and by means of perpetual study, Agostino sur-

* Della Valle denies that Agostino and Agnolo were brothers ; and he has been followed by other commentators, who affirm that they were not related in any degree.

† Of this celebrated fountain, Montani remarks, that the three lower arches only now remain, the fabric having been ruined in the year 1802.

passed all his con-disciples in correctness of design and in grace of manner, insomuch that he was said by all to be the right eye of his master. And as all men desire what they hold to be best for those they love, so Agostino, prizing excellence above all other gifts, whether of nature, character, or fortune, and deeming this alone to render men great, noble, and happy, in this life and in the other, desired that his younger brother should profit by the instructions of Giovanni, and induced him to enter on the same course of study. Nor was this a difficult task to effect, since the intercourse of Agnolo with Agostino and other sculptors had already convinced him of the honour and profit to be derived from that art, and had kindled in his breast the wish to devote himself to it. Nay, Agnolo had even made certain attempts in secret, before Agostino had named the subject. The latter, therefore, finding himself employed with Giovanni in the execution of the marble altar for the episcopal palace of Aiezzo, to which we have before alluded, contrived to bring his brother into the same work, when Agnolo acquitted himself in such a manner that, at the conclusion of the undertaking, he was found to have made equal proficiency in art with Agostino himself. Perceiving this, Giovanni Pisano afterwards employed both the brothers in many other of his works executed for Pistoja, Pisa, and other places. And as they gave their attention to architecture as well as to sculpture, no long time elapsed before Agostino was employed by the Nine, who then ruled in Siena, to prepare the designs for their palace in Malborghetto, which was commenced in the year 1308. By this work he acquired so great a name in his native city, that when the brothers returned to Siena after the death of Giovanni, they were both appointed architects to the state, and in the year 1317 the north front of the cathedral was built under their directions. In the year 1321, the Porta Romana was commenced from the designs of the same architects, and this gate was finished in the year 1326, after the manner that we now see it, being in the first instance called the gate of St. Martin. They also rebuilt the gate at Tufi, formerly called the gate of St. Agata all' Arco. In the same year, the church and convent of St. Francis were commenced from the designs of the same artists, when the cardinal of Gaeta, apostolic legate was present, and

no long time after, Agostino and Agnolo were invited to Orvieto by some of the Tolomei family, who were living there in exile, when the brothers executed certain sculptures for the church of Santa Maria in that city. The Prophets in marble, which are now considered among the best and most finely proportioned of all the ornaments enriching that much celebrated façade, are by their hands.

Now it happened in the year 1326, that Giotto was invited to Naples, as we have related in his life, by means of Charles, Duke of Calabria, who was then residing in Florence, to execute certain works for King Robert, in the church of Santa Clara, and other places of that city. On his way thither, Giotto paid a visit to Orvieto, for the purpose of viewing the works completed and in course of execution by the many good artists labouring there, all of which he desired to examine minutely. And as the Prophets of Agostino and Agnolo pleased him more than all the other sculptures, Giotto not only commended them and received the artists into the number of his friends, to their very great satisfaction, but presented them to Piero Saccone da Pietramala, as the best of all the sculptors then existing, to construct the tomb of Guido, bishop and lord of Arezzo, as we have related in the life of Giotto. Thus then, Giotto, having seen the works of many sculptors in Orvieto, and having decided that those of Agostino and Agnolo, of Siena, were the best among them, was the cause of this tomb being given to the care of the brothers, who constructed it accordingly with great diligence, but in the manner that he had designed, and after the model sent by him to Piero Saccone, completing the sepulchre in three years, and erecting it in the Episcopal church of Arezzo, within the chapel of the sacrament. The figure of the bishop, in marble, is extended on the sarcophagus, which reposes on certain large consoles, carved with considerable skill, while on each side are angels drawing back a curtain with very graceful and natural action. There are besides, twelve* compartments, in mezzo-relievo, repre-

* These reliefs are sixteen; they are described more exactly by our author in his *Ragionamenti*; but as the account here given of them is not strictly accurate, we abridge the very minute description of Cicognara for the reader's better information. No. 1. Guido elected bishop (1312). 2. Called to be Lord of Arezzo. 3. The Commune of Arezzo, under

senting events from the life of the bishop, and exhibiting a multitude of small figures, nor will I refuse the labour of describing these historical representations, that my readers may see with what patience these sculptors laboured, and how earnestly they sought the true path to excellence.

The first represents the bishop, when, aided by the Ghibellines of Milan, who sent him money and four-hundred workmen, he rebuilt the walls of Arezzo entirely anew, extending them greatly, and giving them the form of a galley. In the second relief is the taking of Lucignano di Valdichiana; in the third, that of Chiusi; in the fourth, that of Fronzoli, then a strong fortress, situate above Poppi, and held by the sons of the Count of Battifolle. The fifth shows the castle of Rondine, when it was finally surrendered to the bishop, after being besieged for many months by the Aretines. The sixth represents the taking of the castle of Bucine, in the Valdarno. The seventh exhibits the fortress of Caprese, taken by storm, which event occurred under the command of the Count of Romena, after a siege of several months. In the eighth, is the bishop causing the castle of Laterino to be demolished, and the hill which rises above it, to be cut into the form of a cross, that no fortress might thenceforward be raised on the site. In the ninth, he is seen destroying Monte Sansovino, which he gives to the flames, after driving forth the inhabitants. In the eleventh is the coronation of the bishop, and here are seen many richly habited soldiers, both horse and foot, with other figures in large numbers. Finally, in the twelfth, the bishop's servants are shown carrying him from Montenero, where he fell sick, to Massa, and thence, afterwards, when he was dead, to Arezzo. The tomb is further adorned in various places with Ghibelline insignia, and the arms of the bishop, which are six square blocks of stone, *or*, in a field *azure*.

the form of an old man, is kneeling before Guido. 4. The *Commune in Signoria*; here the old man of the preceding scene is seated, in the tribunal with the Bishop. 5. The building of the walls of Arezzo. 6. Taking of the Castle of Lucignano. 7. Taking of Chiusi in the Casentino. 8. Taking of Fronzole. 9. Taking of Castle Focognano. 10. Taking of Rondina. 11. Taking of Bucine in Valdambria. 12. Taking of Caprese. 13. Destruction of Laterina. 14. Ruin and Conflagration of Monte Sansovino. 15. Coronation—not of the Bishop, as *Vasari* has it—but of Louis the Bavarian. 16. Death of Bishop Guido

and placed as are the balls in the arms of the Medici. These armorial bearings of the bishop are described by the Friate Guittone, a knight and poet of Arezzo, who is writing of the castle of Pietramala, whence the family took its origin, in the following terms :—

“ Dove si scontra il Gighion con la Chiassa
 Ivi furono i miei antecessori
 Che in campo azzurro d'or portan sei sassa.”*

In the execution of this work, a higher degree of inventive power and greater care in execution were exhibited by Agostino and Agnolo, than had been displayed in any previous undertaking of that time, and they certainly did merit high praise for the great variety of sites, towns, towers, castles, horses, men, and other objects, with the vast crowd of figures of all kinds, which render the work a true marvel. This tomb was almost entirely destroyed by the French, under the Duke of Anjou, who, to avenge themselves for certain affronts offered by the party inimical to them, sacked the city; it is nevertheless manifest, that the work was executed by Agostino and Agnolo with very great ability. The following words were carved on it by them, in letters of moderate size :—“ *Hoc opus fecu magister Augustinus et magister Angelus de Sens.*” At a later period, in the year 1529 namely, the same artists executed a marble altar for the church of San Francesco, in Bologna; the work is in a tolerably good manner, and in addition to the intagliatura; which is very rich, they adorned it with a figure of Christ crowning the Virgin, one braccia and a half high, with three figures of similar height on each side. San Francesco, San Jacopo, and San Domenico, on the one side, with Sant' Antonio of Padua, San Petronio, and St. John the Evangelist on the other; beneath each of these figures is carved a scene in basso-rilievo, representing events in the life of the saint above; and in all these historical representations is a large number of half-figures, which form a rich and beautiful ornament, in the manner of that time. It is clearly obvious,

* “ Where the Chiassa with the Gighion meets,
 There dwelt my forefathers, whose shield displays
 Six gilded cubes upon a field of blue.”

that Agostino and Agnolo bestowed infinite pains and labour on this altar, and that they did their utmost to produce a work of merit, as in truth it is. The names of the artists, with the date, although partially obliterated, may still be read on it, and, as we learn from these when it was begun, so we perceive that the masters occupied eight years in its completion ; but it is true that they performed many other smaller works in different places, and for different persons, within the same period.*

Now while Agostino and Agnolo were employed in Bologna, that city, by the intervention of the Papal legate, bestowed herself as a free gift on the church, the Pope promising, in return, that he would transfer his habitation, and that of his court, to Bologna ; but, premising, that for his security he must build himself a castle, or rather a fortress, in the city. This being agreed to by the Bolognese, the edifice was immediately commenced, after the designs, and under the direction of Agostino and Agnolo ; but the work was of very short duration, for the people of Bologna, quickly discovering that the many promises of the Pope were altogether vain, demolished and destroyed the fortress, much more rapidly than they had made it.†

It is further related, that while these two masters dwelt in Bologna, the Po burst its banks, to the grievous damage of the Mantuan territory and that of Ferrara, destroying more than ten thousand lives, and devastating the whole country for many miles round ; when, Agostino and Agnolo being called on in this strait, as able and ingenious men, found means to reconduct that terrible stream

* Disputes have arisen among the learned as to the authorship of this work. Ghirardacci and Baldinucci follow Vasari, but Masini, and after him Oretti, maintain that it was executed by Jacopo and Pietro Paolo delle Masegne, sculptors of Venice. Cicognara was unwilling to decide the question, which remained unsettled until 1843, when all doubts were removed by the Marquis Virgilio Davia, who discovered the original document by which the Friars-Minors of Bologna appointed Jacopo and Pietro Paolo de Masini (the same of whom Vasari makes mention at the close of this life) to prepare a new table of marble for the high altar of the aforesaid church ; this document bears date 16th November 1388.—*Ed Flor.*

† The Roman edition of Vasari, 1759, quoting Masini, attributes the fortress, erected at the gate of Galliera, also to these architects.

within its bed, and to confine it there by trenches, and other effective barriers. By this, they not only acquired great fame, but their services were further acknowledged by the lords of Mantua, and the house of Este, with most honourable rewards.

In the year 1338, they returned to Siena, where the church of Santa Maria, near the old cathedral, and towards the Piazza Manetti, was built after their designs, and by their direction ; and no long time after, the people of Siena, being highly satisfied with all the works executed by these masters, resolved to take that occasion for carrying into effect a purpose, of which they had previously spoken frequently, but hitherto without doing more : this was the construction of a purpose fountain on the principal piazza of their city, and opposite to the palace of the signoria. Whereupon, the care of the work being entrusted to Agostino and Agnolo, they conducted the water, by means of pipes formed of lead and earth—a work of great difficulty—to the fountain, which began to pour forth its waters on the first day of June 1343, to the great joy of the whole city, which gratefully acknowledged its obligation to the talent of these two citizens for so great a benefit. At the same time, the hall of the great council in the town-house was constructed, as was the tower of the same edifice, by the designs and under the direction of these architects, in the year 1344. Two large bells (one of which the Sienese had from Grossetto, while the other was made in their own city) were placed in that tower. Agnolo ultimately proceeded to the city of Assisi, where he constructed a chapel in the lower church of San Francesco, with a marble tomb for the brother of Napoleone Orsino, a cardinal, and brother of the order of St. Francis, who had died there. Agostino, who had remained at Siena, in the service of the state, expired in that city, while he was preparing the designs for adorning the fountain on the piazza above described, when an honourable interment in the cathedral was accorded to his remains. I have not been able to discover how or where Agnolo died, and can therefore say nothing more of that matter, or of other works of importance by these artists ; wherefore I will here close this notice of their life.

And now, it would without doubt be an error, if, following the order of time, I should fail to make mention of some

artists, who, although they have not produced works of sufficient importance to entitle them to a separate biography, have yet contributed in some degree to the amelioration of art, and the embellishment of the world. Wherefore, taking occasion from what has been said above of the episcopal and capitular buildings of Arezzo, I add, that Pietro and Paolo, goldsmiths of Arezzo, who acquired the art of drawing from Agostino and Agnolo of Siena, were the first who produced large works of merit with the chasing hammer. These artists executed a head in silver, of the size of life, for a dean of Arezzo, wherein the head of San Donato, bishop and protector of that city, was enclosed; and this work was well worthy of commendation, not only because there were certain figures in enamel of considerable excellence, with other ornaments, to be enumerated among its merits, but also because it was one of the first things done, as we have said, with the chaser.*

It was about the same time, or shortly before, that the guild of Calimara,† at Florence, employed Maestro Cione, an excellent goldsmith, to construct the greater part, if not the whole, of the silver altar for the church of St. John the Baptist, on which various events from the life of that saint were represented on a plate of silver, embossed with figures in mezzo-rilievo, of tolerably good workmanship. This altar, either from its size, or because it was something new, was then considered most admirable by all who beheld it. In the year 1330, the remains of San Zanobi were discovered beneath the vaults of the church of Santa Reparata; when this same Maestro Cione enclosed that portion of the head of the saint which is now carried in processions, within a silver head, of the size of life. This head was then accounted a very beautiful thing, and won a great name for the artist, who died soon after, rich and in high reputation.‡

* Vasari must here be understood to mean the first in Arezzo, other works of the kind alluded to having been executed, either previously or at the same time, in other places; as for example, the celebrated Reliquarium of Orvieto, by Ugolino Vieri and other Sienese artists, in 1338. The head executed by the Arezine artists is still in existence.

† The Guild of Woolworkers; the word *calimara* — *fine wool*, was probably brought from Constantinople; but the MS. of Del Migliore, already cited, declares that this altar was not erected by the Guild of Woolworkers, but by the republic itself.

‡ This head is not by Cione, but by a certain Andrea Arditi of

Maestro Cione left many scholars, among whom was Forzore di Spinello, of Arezzo, who executed every kind of chasing to perfection, but was most particularly distinguished for historical representations in silver enamelled, of which we have proof in a mitre, beautifully adorned with enamels, and a pastoral staff, in silver, both preserved in the episcopal palace of Arezzo. The same artist executed many works in silver for the Cardinal Galeotto di Pietramala, all of which remained, after the cardinal's death, in possession of the friars of Verma, where Galeotto desired to be buried.* Count Orlando, lord of Chiusi, a small castle below Vernia, had constructed a wall about that place, and there Cardinal Galeotto built a church, with numerous cells in the convent and around it, but without placing his arms on the buildings, or leaving any other memorial of himself. Leonardo di Ser Giovanni, a Florentine, was also a disciple of Maestro Cione, who was greatly superior as a designer to those who had preceded him, and produced much enchased work of various kinds. The altar and table of silver in San Jacopo of Pistoja, are by this artist, and, to say nothing of the many historical scenes represented in the work, the figure of San Jacopo, which occupies the centre, has been greatly admired; its height is more than a braccio; it is in high relief, and so admirably executed, as to look more like a work cast than one done by the chisel. It is placed in the midst of the historical representations on the table of the altar, and is accompanied by an inscription to the following effect:—

“Ad honorem Dei, et Sancti Jacobi Apostoli hoc opus factum fuit tempore Domini Franc. Pagni dictæ operæ operari sub anno 1371, per me Leonardum Ser Io. de Floren. aurific.”

We now return to Agostino and Agnolo, by whose numerous disciples many works, both in sculpture and architecture, were executed in Lombardy and other parts of Italy. Among these scholars was Jacopo Lanfrani, of Venice, who founded

Florence, as is proved by the following inscription:—“*Andreas Arditi de Florentia me fecit.*”—Cicognara, *Storia della Scultura*, vol. iii, p. 433.

* The mitre and pastoral staff, here described by Vasari, are no longer in the cathedral of Arezzo; nor is it known that the legacy of Cardinal Galeotto is still preserved by the brothers of La Vernia.

San Francesco, of Imola, and executed the sculptures of the principal door, whereon he engraved his name and the date, which was 1343. In Bologna also, the same Jacopo erected a marble tomb, in the church of San Domenico, for Giovanni Andrea Calduino,* doctor of laws, and secretary to Pope Clement VI, with another in the same church, and also in marble, for Taddeo Peppoli, Conservator of the people and of justice in Bologna† In the same year, which was 1347, or a short time before, having finished this sepulchre, Maestro Jacopo repaired to his native city of Venice, where, at the request of a Florentine abbot, of the ancient family of the Abati, he founded the church of Sant' Antonio, which had previously been of wood, the reigning doge being Messer Andrea Dandolo. This church was finished in the year 1349.

Jacobello, and Pietro Paolo, both Venetians, were also disciples of Agostino and Agnolo. These artists erected a marble tomb in the church of San Domenico, at Bologna, in 1383, for Messer Giovanni da Lignano, doctor of laws. They belonged to a large number of sculptors, who, for a long time, preserved one and the same manner, so that they filled all Italy with works of similar character. It is believed also that the Pesarese, who, among many other things, constructed the church of San Domenico, in his native city of Pesaro, was likewise a disciple of Agostino and Agnolo; and the manner of the three figures in full-relief on the marble door of the church—God the Father, namely, with St. John the Baptist and St. Mark—make it sufficiently obvious that he was of their school. This work was completed in the year 1385. But as it would lead me too far if I were to name the works of the many masters who laboured at that time in the same manner, so what I have said thus generally shall now suffice me, and the rather as our arts have not derived any great benefit from these works. Of those above-named, I have thought fit to make mention, for if they do not merit that we should speak of them at length, neither were they such, on the other hand, as that we should pass them by wholly in silence.

* This name is Calderino.—Roman edition, 1759.

† Still in existence.

STEFANO, PAINTER OF FLORENCE, AND UGOLINO,
PAINTER OF SIENA.

[1301?—1350?

1260?—1339]

THE Florentine painter and disciple of Giotto,* Stefano. was an artist of such excellence, that he not only surpassed all those who had preceded him in the art, but left even his master, Giotto himself, far behind. Thus he was considered, and with justice, to be the best of all the painters who had appeared down to that time, and his works clearly show that he was so. In the Campo Santo of Pisa,† Stefano painted a figure of the Virgin in fresco, which is superior, both in design and colouring, to the work of Giotto; and in the cloister of Santo Spirito, in Florence, he painted three of the arches, also in fresco. The first of these arches exhibits the transfiguration of Christ, with Moses and Elias; and the painter, figuring to himself the splendour by which the three disciples must have been dazzled, has represented them in extraordinary and very beautiful attitudes. The mode in which the figures are enveloped in their draperies proves, also, that Stefano sought to display the form beneath the folds, a thing that had not previously been attempted, nor taken into consideration, even by Giotto himself. Beneath the arch wherein he has represented Christ healing the man possessed by a demon, Stefano drew a building in perspective. this was in a manner then but little known, and was perfectly well done, showing great judgment, with much knowledge of art, power of invention, and correctness in the proportions of the columns in the doors, windows, and cornices, and a manner of treatment so unlike that of the other artists of the time, that Stefano appears to have already acquired a certain perception of the good and perfect manner of the moderns. Among other ingenious things, Stefano invented a flight of

* Baldinucci makes Stefano to have been not only the pupil but the grandson of Giotto—the son, that is, of his daughter Catherine, married to the painter, Riccio di Lapo.

† This is the only authenticated painting of this master still existing. Lanzi declares it to be in a grander manner than that of Stefano, but says it has been retouched.—See *History of Painting*, vol. 1, p. 65.

stairs, of very difficult execution. These, whether painted or erected, were so excellent in design, displayed so much invention, and were so commodious, that they served as the model to the magnificent Lorenzo de' Medici the elder, when he constructed the external staircase of the palace of Poggio a Cajano, now the principal villa of the most illustrious our lord the duke.* In the third arch, is the story of Christ saving St. Peter from shipwreck, so perfectly done, that the spectator fancies he hears the voice of Peter crying, "*Domine salva nos, perimus.*" This painting is considered much superior to the others, for, besides the graceful flow of the draperies, there is great sweetness in the air of the heads, with manifest terror of the sea: the attitudes of the apostles also, agitated by various emotions and by the marine phenomena around them, are entirely appropriate and extremely fine. The work is partly destroyed by time, yet we clearly perceive the energy with which the apostles are defending themselves from the fury of the winds and waves. The painting has been greatly commended by the moderns, and at the time when it was completed, must certainly have seemed something wonderful to all Tuscany.† At a later period, Stefano painted a St. Thomas Aquinas in the first cloister of Santa Maria Novella, and near one of the doors; where he also executed a Crucifixion, which has been greatly injured by other painters, who have attempted to restore it.‡

* Vasari should rather have said by Giuliano da San Gallo, who was the architect of the staircase at Poggio Cajano; but the counsels of Lorenzo may have determined this choice of a model. Antonio da San Gallo availed himself of the same in Orvieto.—Masselli.

† These paintings have now entirely perished.—*Ibid.*

‡ Still existing, but in much worse condition than when seen by Vasari; it is placed over the door which leads from the "Green Cloister" to the "Great Cloister", and has the figure of St. Domenico on one side, with that of St. Thomas on the other. Some compensation for the injury suffered by this painting, and for the loss of the others, may perhaps be considered to have been obtained by the discovery, which we have ourselves made, of a picture by this rare master, and one which remained unknown even to Vasari, although mentioned by Ghiberti. It will be found immediately on passing within the door which leads from the crypt to the most ancient cloister of the convent, and is in the lunette over a door, now walled up in the suppressed chapel of St. Thomas. It represents this saint—a half-length—with the pen in his right-hand, and an open book in his left, wherein are written the following words.—"*Verbum caro panem veri verbo carnem efficit.*"

He left a chapel, in the same church, commenced, but not completed. The angels cast from heaven, with Lucifer, are seen falling in various attitudes. The work has suffered greatly from time; but it is still obvious that the foreshortening of the arms, legs, and trunks, is much better than was usual at that time: so that we perceive Stefano to have made some acquaintance with, and even pointed out to his contemporaries, those difficulties which must have beset the painters in their first attempts at foreshortening, but which, by careful study, they afterwards so completely overcame. Hence it is that he was called by his brother artists, "the ape of nature".*

Being afterwards invited to Milan, Stefano commenced various undertakings for Maestro Visconti; but he could not remain to finish them, the change of air having caused him to fall sick, so that he was compelled to return to Florence. Here, having recovered his health, he executed a painting in fresco, in the transept of the church of Santa Croce, and in the chapel of the Assisi. The subject is the martyrdom of St Mark, and the work has many figures of considerable merit.† Stefano was, at a later period, invited to Rome as a disciple of Giotto; and there he painted certain frescoes, in the principal chapel of St Peter's, where stands the altar of the saint; the subjects being stories from the life of Christ.‡ These pictures are between the windows in the great recess, and are finished with so much care, that it is obvious Stefano approached closely to the manner of the moderns, surpassing his master Giotto considerably, whether in design or other artistic qualities. He subsequently painted a St. Louis, in fresco, on a pillar in the church of Ara Celi. It is beside the principal chapel, on the left hand, and is highly commended, as exhibiting a life-like animation, not previously seen even in the works of Giotto. And of a truth, Stefano

Ghiberti has described this picture as existing in the crypt, in the following terms:—"In the church of the Preaching Friars is a St. Thomas Aquinas, extremely well done, the figure seems quite to stand out from the wall, and is finished with great care."—*Ed Flor.* 1846

* Cristofano Landino, in the "Apology" preceding his *Commentary on Dante*, says:—"Stefano is called the 'Ape of Nature' by every one, so accurately does he express whatever he designs to represent".

† This picture has perished.

‡ The works here, and afterwards described as executed in Rome, are wholly destroyed.

had great facility in design, as may be seen in our book before cited, where, in a drawing by his hand, there is the transfiguration, sketched as he executed it in the cloister of Santo Spirito, and done in such a manner that he must, in my opinion, have been a much better designer than Giotto. Stefano subsequently repaired to Assisi, and in the lower church of San Francesco, in the apsis of the principal chapel, which forms the choir, he commenced the painting, in fresco, of a "Celestial Glory." This work he did not complete; but from what is done, we perceive that he was proceeding with extraordinary care and ability. In this unfinished painting is a circle of saints, male and female, exhibiting the most charming variety in the countenances, whether in youth, in middle age, or advanced years, so that nothing better could be desired. There is, moreover, such sweetness of expression and harmony in those blessed spirits, that their being done in the time of Stefano might well be considered impossible, although they certainly were by his hand. Of the figures that form this circle, however, the heads only are finished, and above them hovers a choir of angels, in various attitudes, gracefully bearing theological symbols in their hands, and all turning towards a figure of Christ crucified, who is seen in the midst of the picture, above the head of a St. Francis, whom numerous saints are attending. In addition to these figures, he placed angels in the border surrounding the work, each of whom holds one of those churches described by St. John the Evangelist in the Apocalypse; and these angels are drawn with so much grace, that it amazes me to find any one in that age capable of so much. Stefano evidently commenced this work with the purpose of completing it in the utmost perfection; and he would have succeeded, had he not been compelled by certain important affairs to return to Florence, and leave it unfinished.* Whilst detained by these matters in Florence, he employed the time in painting a small oratory, for the Giantigliuzzi, in an angle of the Lung'Arno, between their houses and the bridge of the Carraja.† He

* There is not a vestige of this "glory" now to be seen in the lower church of Assisi; a wretched picture,—the Fall of the rebellious Angels,—having taken its place.—*Schorn*

† This work was destroyed when the Corsini palace was erected. Professor Rosini found a small picture, much injured by time in the

here depicted the Virgin in the act of sewing, while the Child, who is dressed and seated before her, presents her with a bird. This work, though small, is finished with so much care as to merit no less commendation than the larger and more elaborate works of the master. When this oratory was finished and his affairs settled, Stefano repaired to Pistoja, whither he had been summoned by the then rulers, to paint the chapel of St. James. This he commenced in the year 1346, depicting a figure of God the Father, with certain apostles, on the ceiling, and representing events from the life of St. James on the walls. Among these, is that incident wherein the wife of Zebedee and mother of the apostles requires from Jesus Christ that he will place her two sons, the one on his right hand, and the other on his left, in the kingdom of his Father. Near to this, is the decapitation of the saint, very finely painted.*

It has been supposed that Maso, called Giotto, of whom we shall speak hereafter, was the son of this Stefano, although many, led by the resemblance of the name, believe him to have been a son of Giotto; but I am more disposed, by certain memoranda that I have seen, and by trustworthy records preserved by Lorenzo Ghiberti and Domenico del Ghirlandajo, to believe him a son of Stefano, than of Giotto.† Be this as it may, let us return to Stefano, of whom it may be truly said, that he contributed more than any other. Giotto excepted, to the amelioration of art: his powers of invention were richer and more varied, his colouring was more harmonious, and his tints were more softly blended; while, more than all, in care and diligence he surpassed all other artists. And with respect to his foreshortening, although he is defective on this point, as I have said, because of the great difficulties to be encountered, yet, more gratitude is due to him who is the first to investigate and conquer the worst

possession of Signor Ranieri Grassi, of Pisa, which he believes, with reason, to be a copy of this work,—the Virgin and Child being represented exactly as here described by Vasari—*Ed. Flor* 1846.

* The paintings of which Vasari here speaks, and which Baldinucci also attributes to Stefano, should be ascribed, according to the ancient documents cited by Ciampi, to Alessio d'Andrea, and Bonaccorso di Cino, Florentine painters, who were invited to Pistoja in 1347.—*Masselli*.

† Baldinucci speaks of Tommaso, without hesitation, as a son of Stefano.—Schorn, from the Roman edition of 1759.

obstacles in any pursuit, than to those who do but follow on the path previously made clear, even though it be with a better and more carefully regulated march. Thus, we have certainly great obligations to Stefano, for he who, walking in darkness, encourages others by showing them the way, confers the benefit of making known the dangerous points, and warning from the false road, enables those who come after to arrive in time at the desired goal. This master also began to paint in fresco the chapel of Santa Caterina, in the church of San Domenico, in Perugia, but left it unfinished.

At the same time with Stefano, there flourished the Sienese painter Ugolino, his intimate friend, and who also enjoyed considerable reputation. He painted many pictures and decorated various chapels in different parts of Italy, but always adhered in great part to the Greek manner,* as one, who, having grown old in that method, was induced by a sort of obstinacy to follow the manner of Cimabue, rather than that of Giotto, which was nevertheless held in so much esteem. The picture on a gold ground,† of the high altar of Santa Croce, is one of Ugolino's works, as is also another, which remained for many years on the high altar of Santa Maria Novella. but which is now in the Capitol. To this the Spaniards perform a most solemn pilgrimage every year, on the festival of St. James; they visit the picture also on other solemnities and mortuary offices of the same saint ‡

Ugolino executed many other works, with great facility, but without departing from the manner of his master. He painted a Madonna on one of the brick piers of the Loggia which Lapo had built on the Piazza of Orsannichele, and

* Ugolino painted in the Italian manner of that day, neither is there any great difference between the manner of Giotto and his own. He cannot justly be charged with obstinacy, since he was never a scholar of Giotto, but the disciple of Duccio, nor was he inferior to Stefano or any other master of that time. — See *Lettere Sansesi*, vol. ii, p. 201.

† This picture was removed to make way for the magnificent ciborium erected after the designs of Vasari himself. Bottari believed it to be lost, but it was discovered by Della Valle in the dormitory of the neighbouring convent. Later writers, following a MS. note of the Cavalier Puccini, declare it to have been sold to an Englishman at the commencement of the present century for a few crowns.—See further Waagen, *Art and Artists in England*.

‡ No trace of this picture can now be discovered.

this figure performed so many miracles some few years after, that the whole loggia was for some time filled with images placed therein "*ex voto*", and the figure is still held in the highest veneration.* Finally, in the chapel belonging to Messer Ridolfo de' Bardi, in the church of Santa Croce, wherein Giotto depicted the life of St. Francis, Ugolino painted an altar-piece in distemper, the subject a Crucifixion, with St John and the Magdalen weeping, and a monk standing on each side of these figures.†

Ugolino departed from this life in the year 1349,‡ being then very old, and was honourably entombed in his native city of Siena.

But, returning once more to Stefano, this master is said to have been a good architect also, and what we have related above may serve to confirm the truth of the assertion. He died, as is recorded, in the year of jubilee 1350, at the age of forty-nine, and was buried in the tomb of his forefathers, in the church of Santo Spirito, where the following epitaph was placed over his remains :—

"Stephano Florentino pictori, facundis imaginibus ac colorandis figuris nulli unquam inferiori, Affines mœstiss. pos. Vix. an. xxxix."

* For a minute account of this oratory and picture, see Baldinucci and Villani, *ut supra*.

† It is not known where this picture now is, and it is very probably lost.

‡ Ugolino died in 1339, and the above date is a mistake of Vasari's, or a misprint of his second edition: the date given in the first edition, where the life of Ugolino stands separately, being 1339. that biography is there closed by the following epitaph, which Vasari omitted in his second edition:—

"Pictor divinus jacet hoc sub saxo Ugolinus,
Cui Deus æternam tribuat vitamque supernam."

Montani remarks, that this epitaph may very well be of the time of Ugolino; but that the epitaph on Stefano is manifestly of a much later date.

PIETRO LAURATI, PAINTER OF SIENA.*

[BORN . . . —DIED 1350.]

PIETRO LAURATI,† an excellent Siennese painter, had ample experience in the course of his life of the great happiness derived by the truly distinguished in art, from the knowledge that their works are prized and sought for by all men, whether in their own country or in foreign lands. The paintings which this master executed in fresco for the Scala, an hospital of Siena,‡ having first made him known, he was invited to different cities, being honourably received and caressed by all Tuscany. In these frescoes, the manner of Giotto, then extensively promulgated through all Italy, was so closely imitated, that all with reason believed Laurati likely to become a better master than Cimabue, Giotto, and others, had been, as was afterwards proved to be the case. In the figure of the Virgin, who is represented ascending the steps of the temple, accompanied by Joachim and Anna, and received by the priest; as also in the Sposalizio, there is so much grace and beauty, with so charming an expression in all the heads of the composition, and the draperies are so simply and easily folded, that the whole work gives evidence of a truly admirable manner.§ It was in consequence of this performance, then, which first brought the good method of painting into Siena,|| giving light to so many noble spirits, which in all succeeding times have flourished in that city, that Laurati was invited to Monte Oliveto di Chiusuri, where he executed a picture in distemper, which is now in the lower church.¶ He also

* See Lanzi, *History of Painting*, vol. i, Siennese School, epoch 1. page 282.

† The name of this artist was Pietro di Lorenzo, and he was brother to Ambrogio di Lorenzo or Lorenzetti, whose life follows.

‡ This work he executed in concert with his brother Ambrogio.—See the life of the latter, which follows.

§ This biography vindicates Vasari from the charge of vilifying all artists who were not Tuscans, for though Pietro was of Siena, between which city and Florence there reigned perpetual rivalry and discord, yet the whole life of Laurati, as here given by Vasari, is a continued panegyric.—Roman ed. 1759.

An assertion altogether untenable.

¶ This painting, of which the condition was long lamented by the lovers of art, has now totally perished.

painted an oratory in Florence, opposite to the north door of Santo Spirito, and in the angle where now stands the abode of a butcher. This work amply merits the highest praise from every intelligent artist, for the delicacy of its execution, and in particular for the softness and sweetness visible in the heads. From Florence, Pietro went to Pisa, where, on the façade of the Campo Santo, and beside the principal door, he painted stories from the lives of the Holy Fathers, with so much vivacity of expression and grace of attitude, that he fully equalled Giotto, and obtained high reputation. Some of these heads, whether as regards design or colouring, exhibit a life-like character, which could not be surpassed by anything of which the manner of those times was capable. From Pisa, Laurati departed to Pistoja, where he painted a picture in distemper for the church of San Francesco; this was a figure of the Virgin with angels around her, a very good composition. On the predella* beneath this painting are historical representations, wherein the master executed numerous small figures, so full of life and movement, that in those days they must have been considered miraculous; and, as they satisfied himself no less than others, he placed his name on the work as follows:—“*Petrus Laurati de Senis.*”† In the year 1355,‡ Laurati was invited to Arezzo by Messer Guglielmo, the dean, and by the wardens of the deanery of Arezzo, who were then Margarito Boschi, and others. The capitular church of that city had been erected with superior designs, and in a better manner than any that had been constructed in Tuscany up to that time; it had further been enriched by Margaritone with ornaments of hewn stone and carvings, as we have before said. Laurati now adorned the tribune and the great recess of the chapel wherein is the high altar, with fresco paintings, representing passages from the life of our Lady, with figures of the natural size. In these stories, which begin with the expulsion of Joachim|| from the Temple, and close with the Birth of Christ, may be perceived

* The step on the top of the altar was called the predella, or gradino.

+ This picture is now preserved in the gallery of the Uffizj in Florence, but the lower part is wanting. Vasari gives only a portion of the inscription, which is as follows:—“*PETRUS LAURENTII DE SENIS ME PINXIT ANNO DOMINI MCCCXL.*”—Musselli.

‡ Supposed to be a misprint for 1345.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

|| In some editions this was erroneously printed Zaccharias.—*Ibid.*

the same invention,—outline, expression of the heads, and attitudes, which were peculiar to Laurati's master, Giotto. The whole work is beautiful, but more so than all is the vaulting of the chapel, where he painted the Assumption of the Virgin, with figures of the Apostles, four braccia in height; and herein he displayed the boldness of his spirit, since he was the first to attempt this grand manner: he, moreover, imparted so pleasing an expression to the heads, and so charming a grace to the draperies, that nothing better could be desired, the times considered. The countenances of a choir of angels, hovering in the air about the Virgin, and with light movements appearing to sing as they float around her, express a gladness truly angelic and divine, the eyes more particularly; which, while these angels are sounding their various instruments, all turn towards another choir of angels, who, supported on a cloud in the form of a "gloria," bear the Madonna to heaven, all exhibiting the most beautiful attitudes, and surrounded by rainbows.* This picture gave so much satisfaction (and with good reason), that Pietro was appointed to paint the picture in distemper, for the high altar of the same church, a work which he executed in five compartments. The figures are half-lengths, of the size of life; they represent the Virgin with the Child in her arms: St. John the Baptist, with St. Matthew, stand on one side, while St. John the Evangelist, with San Donato, are on the other. There are many small figures in the ornaments above the picture, and on the predella beneath it, all really beautiful, and executed in a very good manner. This picture, when the high altar of the church was entirely restored by my own hand, and at my own cost, was placed on the altar of St. Christopher, at the western end of the church. Nor will it be out of place, that I should here relate what I have myself done in this behalf, and I will not refuse the labour of declaring, that, moved by Christian piety, and by the affection I bear to that ancient and venerable collegiate church, wherein my childhood received its first instructions, and where the bones of my fathers find rest—moved by these causes, I say, and by the degraded condition of the church in that part, I have restored it in such sort, that it may be said

* These pictures no longer exist.

to have been recalled to life from the dead. For, besides that I have increased the light in the building, which was before extremely dark, by enlarging the windows existing previously, and by making others; I have further removed the choir, which formerly occupied a great portion of the church, and, to the great satisfaction of the reverend canons, have placed it behind the high altar. Then, the new altar being isolated, has a picture towards the nave, representing Christ calling Peter and Andrew from their nets, with a second picture towards the choir, on which is St. George killing the dragon. On the sides are four pictures, in each of which are two saints, the size of life. There are many other figures, moreover, above these pictures, and on the predella beneath them; but these I refrain, for the sake of brevity, from enumerating. The frame of this altar is thirteen braccia high; the height of the predella or gradino, is two braccia. In the vacant space within the altar, many venerable relics are preserved; and to these there is a commodious ascent by steps, leading to an iron door, very well executed. There are, besides, two gratings in front, by means of which the relics may be seen from without. And among these sacred treasures is the head of St. Donatus, bishop and protector of Arezzo; while, in a sarcophagus of vari-coloured marble, which I have had entirely restored and renewed, there are the relics of four saints. Before the predella of the altar, moreover, which surrounds it on all sides in due proportion, there is a tabernacle or ciborium of the sacrament, carved in wood, and gilt all over with gold. The height of this ciborium is about three braccia, and as its form is perfectly round, it can be seen from the choir as well as from the nave of the church. In all this work, I have spared neither cost nor labour, for so I thought it behoved me to do for the honour of God. Thus, according to my judgment, it has all the embellishments, of gold, carvings, paintings, marbles, travertine, porphyry, and other stones of price, that I could possibly bring together for the purpose.*

* All that Vasari here describes, remains as he placed and left it, with the exception of the principal picture, which has suffered considerably. Among the figures on the predella, are portraits of certain relations of Vasari, as he tells us himself in the life of his ancestor, Lazzaro Vasari.—*G. Masselli.*

But to return to Pietro Laurati. When he had finished the picture of which we have been speaking, he painted many others for St. Peter's at Rome; but these have all been destroyed in constructing the new buildings of St. Peter's. He also executed certain works in Contona and Arezzo, besides those here enumerated; with others in the church of Santa Flora e Lucilla, a monastery of Black friars; among which is a picture, in one of the chapels, of St. Thomas placing his hand on the wound in the side of Christ.*

Bartolommeo Bologhini,† of Siena was a disciple of Pietro Laurati. He painted many pictures in his native city and in various parts of Italy. That on the altar of the chapel of San Silvestro, in the church of Santa Croce at Florence, for example, is by his hand.‡ The works of these masters bear date about the year of our salvation 1350; and in my book, so frequently cited, is a drawing by the hand of Pietro, representing a shoemaker occupied in sewing: the features are most natural and life-like, as was indeed the manner of Pietro. The likeness of this artist, by Bartolommeo Bologhini, was to be seen some few years since in a picture at Siena; and it is from this that I have taken the one presented here.§

ANDREA PISANO. SCULPTOR AND ARCHITECT.

THE art of painting has at no time been flourishing, without the sculptors also making admirable progress in their art at the same moment; and whoever will observe closely, shall find the works of all ages bearing testimony to the truth of this remark. And of a surety these two arts are sisters, born at the same period, nourished and guided by the same spirit. A proof of this is presented by Andrea Pisano, who, devoting himself to sculpture as Giotto did to painting, effected so important an amelioration in the art, both as to practice and theory, that he was esteemed the best master that the Tuscans had

* This picture is no longer to be found, and has probably perished.

† The name of this painter was Bolgarini, he flourished from 1337 to 1379 — *Ed. Flor.* 1846.

‡ This painting is lost. — *Roman ed.* 1759.

§ In Vasari's second edition that is.

ever possessed. Andrea was most especially celebrated for his castings in bronze, and was, on this account, highly honoured by all, but more particularly by the Florentines, by whom his works were so largely remunerated, that he did not scruple to change his country, his connexions, his property, and his friends. The difficulties encountered by the masters in sculpture who had preceded him, were of infinite advantage to Andrea, since the works of those artists were so rude and common-place, that those of the Pisan were esteemed a miracle. And that these earlier sculptures were indeed coarse, is clearly shown, as we have said elsewhere; by those over the principal door of San Paolo, in Florence, as well as by some in stone, which are in the church of Ognissanti; and are better calculated to excite ridicule, than admiration or pleasure,* in those who examine them. It is, however, certain, that if the art of sculpture incur the danger of losing its vitality, there is always less difficulty in its restoration than in that of painting, the former having ever the living and natural model, in the rounded forms which are such as she requires, while the latter cannot so lightly recover the pure outlines and correct manner demanded for her works, and from which alone the labours of the painter derive majesty, beauty, and grace. Fortune was in other respects favourable to Andrea, many relics of antiquity having been collected in Pisa by the fleets of that city, as results of their frequent victories; and from these, which still remain, as we have said, about the cathedral and Campo Santo, the sculptor Andrea obtained such instruction, and derived such light, as could by no means be obtained by the painter Giotto, since the ancient paintings had not been preserved as the sculptures had been. And although statues are often destroyed by fires, ruined by the fumes of war, buried, or transported to distant lands, yet, whoever understands the subject thoroughly can readily distinguish the difference which exists in the manner of different countries; as, for example, that of the Egyptians—marked by the length and attenuation of the figures—from the Greek,

* The sculptures of St. Paul and of Ognissanti are destroyed; but the lateral doors of the Pisan cathedral suffice to prove the rudeness of Cimabue's sculptures. The pulpits of Niccola and Giovanni, of Pisa, however, so greatly lauded by Vasari in his life of those artists, stand in flagrant contradiction to his present remarks.—*Ed. 1604.* 1846.

displaying knowledge and deep study of the nude form, but with heads which have almost all the same expression; from the ancient Tuscan, somewhat rude, but careful in the arrangement of the hair; and, finally, from that of the Romans (I call those Romans, who, after the subjugation of Greece, repaired to Rome, whither all that was good and beautiful in the whole world was then transported), which last is so admirable, whether as regards the expression, the attitudes, or the movements of the figures, draped or nude, that the Romans may truly be said to have gathered the best qualities of all other methods and united them in their own, to the end that this might be superior to all, nay, absolutely divine, as it is.*

But all of good and pure in art being extinct in the time of Andrea, that manner only was in use which had been brought into Tuscany by the Goths and uncultivated modern Greeks. It was on this then, that Andrea brought his more accurate taste and finer judgment to bear: studying the few antiquities known to him, carefully profiting by Giotto's new method in design, and ultimately diminishing to a great extent the coarseness of the infelicitous manner then prevalent, he began to work in a much improved style, and to give greater beauty to his productions than had been attained by any other sculptor previous to that time. The talent possessed by Andrea becoming known, his compatriots readily gave him encouragement, and he was employed, while still very young, to execute certain small figures in marble, for Santa Maria a Ponte. By these he obtained so high a reputation, that he received a pressing invitation to Florence, there to co-operate in the labours then in progress for the construction of Santa Maria del Fiore. The principal façade of this building, with its three doors, had been commenced, but there was a dearth of masters to execute the sculptures which Giotto had designed when the church was founded. The Florentines therefore engaged Andrea Pisano for this work; and as they were at that time anxious to render themselves acceptable to Pope Boniface VIII, who was then head of the Christian Church, they determined that before any thing else was done,

* Few will agree with Vasari in preferring the manner of the Romans, even of the best period, to that of the Greeks—also at its best period—that from Pericles to Alexander, for example.

the portrait of his holiness should be drawn from nature, and sculptured in marble by Andrea. Thereupon he put his hand to the work, and did not rest until he had completed the statue of the pope, with St. Peter on one side of him and St. Paul on the other, when these three figures were placed on the façade of Santa Maria del Fiore, where they still remain.* Andrea next prepared certain small figures of the prophets, in tabernacles or niches, for the central door, when it became obvious that he had effected important ameliorations in the art, and was greatly in advance of all who had laboured for that fabric before him. It was therefore determined that all works of importance should be confided to him, and to no other. He was, accordingly, soon afterwards appointed to execute the four statues of the principal doctors of the Church—St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory; and these figures, being finished, acquired great favour and high reputation for the artist, not only from the superintendents of the work, but from the whole city; and two other statues in marble, of the same size, were entrusted to his care: these were St. Stephen and St. Lawrence, which were also placed on the façade of Santa Maria del Fiore, and stood on the outer angles.† The Madonna, of marble, three braccia and a half high, with the Child in her arms, which stands on the altar of the little church belonging to the company of the Misericordia, on the piazza of San Giovanni in Florence, is also by Andrea. This work was highly commended in that day, and more particularly for the two angels, two braccia and a half in height, which stand on each side of the Virgin ‡ The whole has been surrounded in our own days by some very well-executed carvings in wood, from the hand of Maestro Antonio, called Il Carota; while the predella beneath is covered with admirable figures, painted in oil, by Ridolfo,

* These figures are now in the Strozzi Garden, formerly Ricciardi, at Valfonda, whither they were removed in the year 1586.—See Manni, *Istoria del Decamerone*, p. 2, cap. 55.

† These statues, with all the other embellishments designed by Giotto, have been removed; some are within the church, others, as, for example, the Doctors, are placed at the commencement of the road to the Poggio Imperiale, where they are transformed into poets.—Schorn.

‡ Cicognara has shown from authentic documents, that this Madonna is the work of Alberto Arnoldi, a Florentine. See further, *Rivista* Part 2, No. 12

son of Domenico Ghirlandajo. The Virgin, in marble (half-length), which is over the lateral door of the *Misericordia*, in the façade of the Cialdonai, is also by Andrea, who was highly commended for this work, in which, contrary to his custom, he imitated the pure manner of the antique, from which he generally differed widely; a fact rendered manifest by some drawings in my own book, wherein he has depicted the whole history of the Apocalypse.

Andrea Pisano had given some attention to architecture in his youth; and the commune of Florence found occasion to employ him in that art, when, Arnolfo being dead, and Giotto absent, they selected him to prepare designs for the castle of Scarperia, situate in the Mugello, at the foot of the Alps. Some affirm, but I will not vouch for the truth of the assertion, that Andrea passed a year in Venice, where he executed, in sculpture, certain small marble figures, which are to be seen on the façade of St. Mark. They further declare, that in the time of Messer Pietro Gradenigo, doge of that republic, Andrea prepared the designs for the arsenal, but as I have no high authority to offer on this subject, I leave each one to form his own opinion respecting it.* When Andrea returned from Venice to Florence, the latter city was in great fear of the emperor, whose arrival was daily expected: the citizens therefore employed Andrea in great haste to raise their walls eight braccia higher in that portion of them which lies between St. Gallo and the gate of the Prato. He was also commanded to construct bastions, stockades, and other strong defences, both in wood and earth-work. Three years previous to this, Andrea had acquired great honour by the execution of a cross in bronze, which he had sent to the pope in Avignon, by his intimate friend Giotto, who was then at that court. He was, consequently, now appointed to execute one of the doors for the church of San Giovanni of Florence, for which Giotto had given a most beautiful design. This he was employed to complete, I say, as being considered—among all the many who had hitherto laboured at that fabric—the most able, prac-

* What Vasari here hesitates to vouch for, is nevertheless confirmed by a manuscript which Olandi cites in the *Abbecedario Pittorico*. Ciconara also considers Andrea to have been employed as here intimated, an opinion he has formed on the testimony of old Venetian chronicles,—in which, however, Andrea is not named.—Masselli

tised, and judicious master, not of Tuscany only, but of all Italy. Hereupon he set himself to work with the firm resolve to spare neither time, labour, nor care, that this important undertaking might be successfully completed, and fortune was so propitious to his efforts, that, although in those times they possessed none of the secrets in the art of casting with which we are now acquainted, yet in twenty-two years the work was brought to that perfection in which we see it. Nay, more, within this same period the master not only executed the tabernacle of the high altar of St. John, with the angels standing one on each side of it, which are considered extremely beautiful,* but also completed, after the designs of Giotto, those small figures in marble which adorn the door of the campanile of Santa Maria del Fiore; while around the tower he placed the seven planets, the seven virtues, and the seven works of mercy, in oval compartments, and represented by small figures in mezzo-rilievo, which were then very much praised † Andrea further executed, within the above-named period, the three figures, each four braccia high, which were placed in the recesses beneath the windows of the same campanile, looking towards the orphan-house, ‡ on the southern side that is to say, and which were at that time considered to be very well done. But to return to the point whence I departed. In the bronze door which I was describing, are represented stories from the life of St John the Baptist in basso-rilievo: they extend from his birth to his death, and are very happily and carefully executed. And although many are of opinion that this work does not exhibit the beauty of design and perfection of art required for such figures, yet is Andrea deserving of the highest praise for having been the first to attempt and bring to completion an undertaking which rendered it possible to those who came after him to produce the beautiful and arduous works which

* This altar was exchanged in 1732 for one made of vari-coloured marble, in the wretched taste of that day. The fate of Andrea's work is uncertain; see, respecting it, an *Epistolary Dissertation (Diss. Epist.)*, by L. Tramentani, addressed to Bandini, and printed at Venice in the year 1798. See also Cicognara, *Storia della Scultura*.

† They are still more highly praised in the present day. Cicognara has had two of them engraved for his *Storia della Scultura*, and declares them to be the *ne plus ultra* of the art.--Montani.

‡ This building now belongs to the confraternity of the Misericordia.

we admire in the remaining two doors, and in the other exterior ornaments of the building. The work of Andrea was placed in the central door of the church, where it remained until Lorenzo Ghiberti executed that which is now in its place, when it was removed and fixed opposite to the *Misericordia*, where it is still to be seen. I will not omit to mention, that Andrea was assisted in the construction of this door by his son Nino, who afterwards became a much better master than his father. The final completion of this work took place in 1339,* when it was not only furbished and polished, but also gilded in fire, the casting of the metal being accomplished, as is reported, by certain Venetian masters, who were very expert in the founding of metals. Records on this subject are to be found in the books belonging to the guild of the merchants of the Calimara, who were wardens of the works for the church of San Giovanni. While this door was in progress, Andrea not only completed the works which we have named above, but many others also, more particularly the model for the church of San Giovanni at Pistoja, which was founded in the year 1337. It was in the same year, and on the twenty-fifth day of January, that the relics of the Beato Atto, formerly bishop of the city, were discovered while digging the foundations of the church. This prelate had been entombed in that place one hundred and thirty-seven years previously. The architecture of the church is round,† and was tolerably good for those times. There is a marble tomb in the principal church of Pistoja, which is also by Andrea. The sarcophagus is covered with small figures, with others of larger size above it: the body reposing in it is that of Messer Cino d'Angibolgi, doctor of laws,‡ and one of the famous literati of his time, as we find proved by Messer Francesco Petrarca, in his sonnet beginning—

“Weep, ladies fair, and love may with you weep.”

* According to Baldinucci (Sec. 2, Dec. 3, page 32), this door was commenced in the year 1331, and completed in eight, instead of twenty-two, years, as the text, either in error or by a misprint, has made it.—See Cinelli, *Bellezze di Firenze*, p. 31,—Del Mighore, *Firenze Illustrata*, p. 91; and Villani, lib. 10, cap. 176.

† Or rather octagonal.

‡ Ciampi maintains that the beautiful monument of Cino da Pistoja was executed by a Maestro Cinello, after the designs of certain artists of Siena.—*Memorie Storiche*, vol. ii, p. 202. Cicognara, on the contrary,

and also in the fourth chapter of the "*Triumph of Love*", where he says—

"See Cino of Pistoja—who, from Guy,
Of fair Arezzo, claims the foremost place", etc.

The portrait of this Messer Cino, from the hand of Andrea Pisano, is placed on the tomb, where he is depicted teaching a number of his scholars, who stand around him in attitudes of so much grace and beauty, that in his day they must have been thought something wonderful, even though they should not be greatly admired in ours.

Gualtieri, duke of Athens, and tyrant of Florence, also profited by the services of Andrea for his architectural undertakings, causing him to enlarge the piazza; and, desiring to render himself more secure in his palace, he had a very strong grating of iron bars placed on all the windows of the first floor (where the hall of the Two Hundred now is). The same duke erected the walls in rustic masonry which were added to the palace, on the side opposite to San Scheraggio; and in the thickness of the wall he made a secret stair, by which he could ascend or descend without being observed. In this wall he also placed a large door, which now serves as the entrance to the custom-house, and over the door he carved his arms, all which was completed after the designs and by the advice of Andrea. These arms were subsequently effaced by the Council of Twelve, those magistrates desiring to destroy all remembrance of the duke. The form of a lion rampant, with double tail, may nevertheless be still discerned by whomsoever will examine the shield carefully. Andrea Pisano erected many towers around the circuit of the city walls for the same duke, and not only commenced the magnificent church of San Friano, which he brought to the state in which we now see it, but also raised the walls for the vestibule of all the gates of the city, with the smaller gates which were opened for the convenience of the people.* The duke further desired to construct a fortress on the side of San Giorgio, and Andrea prepared the model for it; but this was not used, the work never having been commenced, because the duke was

attributes it to Goro di Gregorio, of Siena; both agree to refuse the honour of the work to Andrea Pisano.

* For various documents relating to these three works, see *Gaya, Carteggio Inedito*, i 477, 491, 493, *et seq.*

driven from the city in the year 1343. The design of the Duke Gualtieri to give the palace the form of a strong fortress, was nevertheless effected in great part, since he made such important additions to the buildings previously constructed, that the edifice then received its present form ; the houses of the Filipetri, with the towers and houses of the Amidei and the Mancini, and those of the Bellalberti, being comprised within the circuit of the palace walls. Gualtieri, moreover, not having all the materials required for the vast fabric which he had thus commenced, with its immense walls and barbicans, at hand, delayed the progress of the Ponte Vecchio, which the city was constructing with all possible speed, as a work of necessity, by taking possession of the hewn stones and wood-work prepared for the bridge, without any consideration for the public convenience. In none of his undertakings, would the duke employ Taddeo Gaddi, because that master was a Florentine, although he was not inferior as an architect, perhaps, to Andrea the Pisan, whose services Gualtieri constantly preferred. The duke had also formed the design of demolishing the church of Santa Cecilia, to the end that he might be able to see the Strada Romana and the Mercato Nuovo from his palace. He meant to destroy San Scheraggio likewise for his own purposes, but had not obtained permission from the pope to do so, when he was expelled, as we have said, by the fury of the people.

By his honourable labours of many years, Andrea Pisano acquired not only rich rewards, but the right of citizenship, which was awarded to him by the Signoria of Florence, who further conferred on him magisterial and other offices in their city.* His works, also, were held in honour, both while he lived and after his death, none being found to surpass him in ability until the times of Niccolo of Arezzo, Jacopo della Quercia of Siena, Donatello, Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, and Lorenzo Ghiberti, by whom sculpture and other works of art were executed in a manner that taught the nations the extent of the errors in which they had lived until those masters appeared. For by these the art which had for long years been

* It would seem that Andrea Pisano added prudence in conduct to his excellence in art, since he retained the confidence of the people notwithstanding his favour with the duke; nay, was even appointed to magisterial offices after Gualtieri had been driven from the city, according to the narrative of Vasari. — G. Montani.

hidden, or but imperfectly comprehended, was fully recovered and restored. The period of Andrea's labours was about the year of our salvation 1340.

This master left many disciples: among others the Pisan Tommaso, who was an architect and sculptor. He finished the Campo Santo, and completed the building of the campanile, —of the upper part that is, wherein are the bells. Tommaso is believed to have been a son of Andrea,* being so inscribed on the picture of the high altar in the church of San Francesco di Pisa, where are a Virgin and other saints, carved by him in mezzo-rilievo, while he has placed his name and that of his father beneath these figures.

Andrea also left a son, called Nino, who devoted himself to sculpture. His first work was executed in Santa Maria Novella at Florence, where he finished a Madonna in marble, commenced by his father,† and which is now within the side door, near the chapel of the Minerbetti ‡ From Florence Nino proceeded to Pisa, where he executed a half-figure of the Virgin in marble, at the Spina: she is suckling the Child, who is wrapped in fine linen.§ This Madonna, Messer Jacopo Corbini caused to be surrounded, in 1522, with marble ornaments, and had still finer and more magnificent embellishments made for a whole-length figure of the Virgin, also in marble, and by this same Nino. The mother is here seen to offer a rose to her son, in an attitude of much grace, while the child takes it with infantine sweetness; and the whole work is so beautiful, that one may truly affirm Nino to have here deprived the stone of its hardness, and imparted to it the lustre, polish, and vitality of flesh. This figure stands between a San Giovanni and a San Pietro, both in marble, the

* Documents lately discovered by Professor Bonsini confirm the supposition, that Tommaso was the son of Andrea.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

† This work is preserved in the Campo Santo of Pisa; the inscription here alluded to is as follows.—“Tomaso figliolo di.....stro Andrea F.....esto lavoro et fu Pisano.” Thomas, the son of Maestro Andrea, executed this work, and was a Pisan.—*Ibid.*

‡ Cicognara remarks that even in this his first work, Nino surpassed all the sculptors of his age, in the softness which he imparted to the flesh of his figures.—Montani.

§ Morrona doubts whether this Madonna should not rather be attributed to Niccola or his son; but Cicognara proves that it cannot be ascribed to any other than Nino, the son of Andrea.—*Ibid.*

latter a portrait of Andrea, taken from the life. Nino also executed two marble statues for one of the altars of St Catherine at Pisa. They represent the Virgin, with the Angel of the Annunciation, and, like his other works, are so carefully done, that they may justly be described as the best that those times had produced. On the pedestal of this Madonna, Nino carved the following words:—"The first day of February 1370"; and beneath the angel he inscribed as follows:—"Nino, the son of Andrea of Pisa, made this figure". He executed other works, in Naples as well as in Pisa, but of these it is not needful to speak here.*

Andrea died in the year 1345, aged seventy-five years, and was buried by Nino in Santa Maria del Fiore, with the following epitaph:—

"Ingenti Andreas jacit hic Pisanus in urna
Marmore qui potuit spirantes ducere vultus
Et simulacra Deum medius imponere templis
Ex aere, ex auro candenti, et pulchro elephanto."†

BUONAMICO BUFFALMACCO, PAINTER OF FLORENCE.

[BORN . . . —WAS LIVING IN 1351]

THE Florentine painter, Buonamico di Cristofano, called Buffalmacco, was a disciple of Andrea Tafi, and is celebrated by Messer Giovanni Boccaccio, in his *Decameron*, as a man of most facetious character. He was besides, as is well known, the intimate companion of Bruno and Calandrino, both painters of joyous life, and, like himself, exceedingly fond of their jest. Buonamico was moreover endowed with considerable judgment in his art, as his works, scattered throughout Tuscany, sufficiently prove. Among the three hundred stories of Franco Sacchetti, we find it related—to begin with what our artist did while still a youth—that when Buffalmacco was studying with Andrea Tafi, his master had the habit of rising before daylight when the nights were long, compelling his scholars also

* Alberto Arnoldi was also a disciple of Andrea.

† This epitaph is believed to have been composed at least a century after Andrea's death; it has value, as informing us that this master worked also in gold and ivory; it is not now to be found.—Masselli.

to awake and proceed to their work. This provoked Buonamico, who did not approve of being aroused from the sweetest of his sleep : he bethought himself therefore of finding some means by which Andrea might be prevented from rising so early, and soon discovered what he sought. From a badly swept cellar he collected some thirty large beetles, and on the back of each he fastened a minute taper, by the aid of short and fine needles. These tapers he lighted at the time when Andrea Tafi was accustomed to awake, and sent the beetles one by one into the chamber of his master, through a cleft in the door. The latter aroused himself at the hour when he was wont to call Buffalmacco, but seeing these lights wandering about his room, he began to tremble, like an old goose as he was, and in great terror repeated his prayers and psalms, recommending himself to God : finally, hiding his head within his bed-clothes, he made no attempt to call Buffalmacco that night, but lay trembling and terrified till the morning. Having risen when it was quite light, Tafi inquired of Buonamico if he had seen more than a thousand demons, as he had himself done. Buonamico replied that he had seen nothing, having kept his eyes closed ; and wondered that he had not been called to work. " Call thee to work !" exclaimed the master ; " I had other things to think of beside painting, and am resolved to stay in this house no longer". The following night, although Buonamico put three beetles only into the chamber of his master, yet Tafi, what with the terror inspired by the past night, and the fear of those few demons that he saw remaining, could get no sleep, and no sooner beheld the daylight than he rose and left the house, resolving never to return to it again ; and many persuasions were needed to make him change his purpose. Finally, Buffalmacco having brought him the priest of their parish, the latter comforted him as well as he could ; and Tafi, discoursing of the affair with Buonamico, the disciple remarked, that he had ever been taught to consider the demons as the greatest enemies of God, and that, by consequence, they must also be most deadly adversaries to the painters : " For," said Buffalmacco, " besides that we always make them most hideous, we think of nothing but painting saints, both men and women, on walls and pictures ; which is much worse, since we thereby render men better and more devout, to the great despite of

the demons; and for all this the devils being angry with us, and having more power by night than by day, they play these tricks with us. I do believe, too, that they will get worse and worse, if this practice of rising to work in the night be not altogether abandoned." By these and other discourses of the kind, Buffalmacco managed his master so well, the priest supporting his assertions and opinions, that Tafi ceased to rise in the night, and the devils ceased to carry lights about the house. But, a few months after, incited by the love of gain, and forgetting his terrors, Andrea Tafi began to arise as before, and to call Buffalmacco to work in the night. The beetles also then recommenced their wanderings, so that Andrea was compelled by his fears to desist entirely from that practice, being earnestly advised to do so by the priest. Nay, the story becoming known through the city, produced such an effect that neither Tafi nor other painters dared for a long time to work in the night.

Some time after this event, as Franco Sacchetti further relates, Buffalmacco having become a tolerably good master, left Andrea Tafi and began to work for himself; nor did he ever want commissions. Now it happened that he took a house, wherein he made his dwelling as well as studio, and where he had a weaver of wool for his neighbour. This fellow, a rich man for his station, was a sort of upstart, on whom his neighbours had imposed the name of Capodoca,* and who compelled his wife to rise before dawn, which was about the time when Buffalmacco, who had worked till then, was going to bed. This woman placed herself at her wheel, which she had unluckily planted exactly opposite to the pillow of Buonamico, where she span so industriously, that he could get no sleep for the noise. Finding this, our painter betook himself to considering how best he could remedy the evil; nor was it long before he discovered the means of doing so. His room was separated from that of Capodoca by a wall of bricks only, behind which was the hearth of his troublesome neighbour; and by means of a cavity between the bricks, Buonamico could see what she was doing about her fire. Never slow at inventing mischief, the painter made a long tube, which he filled with salt, and choosing the moment when

* Goosehead.

the wife of Goosehead was not on the watch, he poured the contents of his tube, as often as he thought meet, into the good woman's pot. In due time, Capodoca returned to dinner or supper, as the case might be, but he could not swallow a mouthful of his soup or meat, which was all rendered uneatable by the inordinate quantity of salt. Once and again he endured this with patience, only grumbling a little; but when he found that words did not suffice, he showered a storm of blows on the poor woman, who fell into despair, knowing how cautious she was in the salting of her cookery. One day that her husband was beating her for this cause, and that she was seeking to excuse herself, he fell into a worse rage than before, and so maltreated her, that, crying with all her might, she brought the whole neighbourhood to her aid. Buffalmacco was among the rest; and having heard the accusation brought by Goosehead against his wife, with the excuses she offered, he took up the word. "Faith, comrade," said he, "you should be a little more reasonable: you complain that your dish is too much salted morning and night; but I marvel, for my part, that your good wife can do any thing right. I know not how she keeps on her feet in the day, seeing that she spends the best of her night at the spinning-wheel, and has not half sleep enough. Let her sleep at her ease till a reasonable hour, and you'll see that she'll then have her wits about her in the day, and not make blunders of this sort." He then turned to the other neighbours, and so placed the matter before them, that they all fell into his opinion, and told Capodoca that Buonamico was right, and that his advice ought to be taken. The husband believing that it was so, commanded his wife to abstain from rising in the night; when the cookery was salted as it ought to be; but if the woman recommenced her early rising, Buffalmacco resorted to his remedy, until Goosehead caused her entirely to abandon the practice.

Among the first works of Buffalmacco, was one which he undertook for the convent of the nuns of Faenza, which was situated where the citadel of the Prato* now stands; here he painted the whole church with his own hand, representing stories from the life of Christ, all extremely well done;

* The citadel of St. John the Baptist, called the lower fortress.

among these was the Slaughter of the Innocents by Herod wherein he has given remarkable energy of expression both to the executioners and other figures; some of the mothers and nurses tearing their children from the grasp of the murderers, defend them with their hands, their nails, and their teeth, exhibiting in every movement of their bodies the rage and fury, as well as the grief, with which their hearts are filled.

This monastery is now destroyed, and the only relic of the work remaining is a coloured drawing in my book of designs, where the scene just described is depicted by the hand of Buonamico himself. While this work for the nuns of Faenza was in progress, those ladies sometimes took a peep at the painter through the screen that he had raised before his work. Now Buffalmacco was very eccentric and peculiar in his dress, as well as manner of living, and as he did not always wear the head-dress and mantle usual at the time, the nuns remarked to their intendant, that it did not please them to see him appear thus in his doublet; but the steward found means to pacify them, and they remained silent on the subject for some time. At length, however, seeing the painter always accoutred in like manner, and fancying that he must be some apprentice, who ought to be merely grinding colours, they sent a message to Buonamico from the abbess, to the effect, that they would like to see the master sometimes at the work, and not always himself. To this Buffalmacco, who was very pleasant in manner, replied, that as soon as the master came to the work, he would let them know of his arrival; but he perceived clearly how the matter stood. Thereupon, he placed two stools, one on the other, with a water-jar on the top; on the neck of the jar he set a cap, which was supported by the handle; he then arranged a long mantle carefully around the whole, and securing a pencil within the mouth on that side of the jar whence the water is poured, he departed. The nuns, returning to examine the work through the hole which they had made in the screen, saw the supposed master in full robes, when, believing him to be working with all his might, and that he would produce a very different kind of thing from any that his predecessor in the jacket could accomplish, they went away contented, and thought no more of the matter for some days. At length, they were

desirous of seeing what fine things the master had done, and at the end of a fortnight (during which Buffalmacco had never set foot within the place), they went by night, when they concluded that he would not be there, to see his work. But they were all confused and ashamed, when one, bolder than the rest, approached near enough to discover the truth respecting this solemn master, who for fifteen days had been so busy doing nothing. They acknowledged, nevertheless, that they had got but what they merited—the work executed by the painter in the jacket being all that could be desired. The Intendant was therefore commanded to recall Buonamico, who returned in great glee and with many a laugh, to his labour, having taught these good ladies the difference between a man and a water-jug, and shown them that they should not always judge the works of men by their vestments. A few days from this time, Buffalmacco completed an historical painting, which pleased the nuns greatly, every part being excellent in their estimation, the faces only excepted, which they thought rather too pale and wan. Buonamico, hearing this, and knowing that the abbess had the very best Vernaccia* that could be found in Florence, and which was, indeed, reserved for the uses of the mass, declared to the nuns that this defect could be remedied only by mixing the colours with good Vernaccia, but that when the cheeks were touched with colours thus tempered, they would become rosy and life-like enough. The good sisters, who believed all he said, on hearing this, kept him amply supplied with the very best Vernaccia, during all the time that his labours lasted, and he, joyously swallowing this nectar, found colour enough on his palette to give his faces the fresh rosiness those good dames desired.†

Having completed this work, Buonamico next painted stories from the life of San Jacopo, in the chapel of the cloister dedicated to that saint, in the abbey of Settimo. On the ceiling he painted the four Patriarchs and the four Evan-

* A kind of Tuscan wine, highly prized.

† Bottari relates that Buonamico was once surprised by the nuns while drinking the Vernaccia, but hearing one of them say to the others, "See now, he is drinking it himself",—he instantly threw forth all that he had in his mouth on the picture, whereby the nuns were fully satisfied.—Roman ed. 1759.

gelists, and among these figures there is one thing very remarkable, the action of St. Luke namely, who blows into his pen for the purpose of making the ink flow, in a manner most perfectly natural. In the pictures on the walls, moreover, of which there are five, the attitudes of the figures are very beautiful, and the whole work gives proof of a rich invention and much judgment. But as Buonamico, desirous of imparting transparency to his carnations, was in the habit of using a blue lake, as we see in this work, which in the course of time produces a salt, whereby the white and other colours are corroded and destroyed, so it is not wonderful that these paintings are much injured, while many others, executed long before, are still perfectly well preserved. I formerly thought that these works had suffered from the damp, but I have since become convinced, by experience, having carefully examined others by the same master, that it has been by this peculiarity in the practice of Buffalmacco, and not from damp, that his pictures have suffered. And they have been injured to such an extent, that neither design nor anything else is now perceptible: where the carnations have been, there remains nothing but the tinge of violet. No artist who desires long life for his pictures, therefore, should use this method. When the works just described were completed, Buonamico painted two pictures in distemper, for the Carthusian Friars of Florence: one of these is in the place where the choral books for the use of the choristers are kept; the other is in the old chapel below. In the Abbey of Florence, Buffalmacco painted, in fresco, the chapel of the Giochi and Bastari family, which is near the principal chapel; and this chapel, although afterwards resigned to the Boscoli family, still retains these works of Buonamico.* Their subject is the life and passion of Christ, portrayed with great beauty and much feeling. In the countenance of Jesus, while washing the feet of his disciples, there is extreme humility and sweetness, while the faces of the Jews who lead him to Herod express the utmost fierceness and cruelty. But more particularly has the artist displayed power and facility in a Pilate, whom he has depicted in prison, and in a Judas, who

* All these paintings, as well as those described below, have now perished.

is hanging on a tree; whence one may easily believe what is affirmed of this facetious painter, namely, that when it pleased him to practise care and diligence—which but rarely happened—he was in nowise inferior to any painter of his time. Further testimony to the truth of this remark is borne by the frescoes of Buffalmacco in Ognissanti, where the cemetery now is. These works were executed throughout with so much care, and so many precautions, that the rain which has poured on them for so many years, has not been able to destroy them, or to prevent the spectator from still perceiving their excellence. One reason of their remaining in such good preservation doubtless is, that they were painted immediately on the fresh plaster. On these walls, then, that is, above the burial-place of the Aliotti family, he painted the Birth of Christ, and the Adoration of the Magi. After having completed this work, Buonamico repaired to Bologna, where he painted in fresco the chapel of the Bolognini family, in San Petronio; he commenced certain stories in the ceiling, that is to say, but by some accident, with the nature of which I am not acquainted, he left them unfinished.*

In the year 1302, Buffalmacco was invited to Assisi, where, in the church of San Francesco, he painted in fresco the chapel of Santa Caterina, with stories taken from her life.† These paintings are still preserved, and many figures in them are well worthy of praise. Having finished this chapel, Buonamico was passing through Arezzo, when he was detained by the Bishop Guido, who had heard that he was a cheerful companion, as well as a good painter, and who wished him to remain for a time in that city, to paint the chapel of the episcopal church, where the baptistery now is. Buonamico began the work, and had already completed the greater part of it, when a very curious circumstance occurred; and this, according to Franco Sacchetti, who relates it among his *Three Hundred Stories*, was as follows: The bishop had a large ape, of extraordinary cunning, the

* There are documents in the archives of Bologna which prove that the church of San Petronio was not commenced until the year 1390; it is thus impossible that Buffalmacco, whom Vasari declares to have died in 1340, could have painted in it.—*Bottari, Rom Ed. 1759.*

† Now the chapel of the Crucifixion. The learned doubt whether or not these pictures are from the hand of Buffalmacco.

most sportive and mischievous creature in the world. This animal sometimes stood on the scaffold, watching Buonamico at his work, and giving a grave attention to every action: with his eyes constantly fixed on the painter, he observed him mingle his colours, handle the various flasks and tools, beat the eggs for his paintings in distemper—all that he did, in short; for nothing escaped the creature's observation. One Saturday evening, Buffalmacco left his work; and on the Sunday morning, the ape, although fastened to a great log of wood, which the bishop had commanded his servants to fix on his foot, that he might not leap about at his pleasure, contrived, in despite of the weight, which was considerable, to get on the scaffold where Buonamico was accustomed to work. Here he fell at once upon the vases that held the colours, mingled them all together, beat up whatever eggs he could find, and, plunging the pencils into this mixture, he daubed over every figure, and did not cease until he had repainted the whole work with his own hand. Having done that, he mixed all the remaining colours together, and getting down from the scaffold, he went his way. When Monday morning came, Buffalmacco returned to his work; and, finding his figures ruined, his vessels all heaped together, and everything turned topsy-turvy, he stood amazed in sore confusion. Finally, having considered the matter within himself, he arrived at the conclusion that some Aretine, moved by jealousy, or other causes, had worked the mischief he beheld. Proceeding to the bishop, he related what had happened, and declared his suspicions, by all which that prelate was greatly disturbed; but, consoling Buonamico as he best could, he persuaded him to return to his labours, and repair the mischief. Bishop Guido, thinking him nevertheless likely to be right, his opinion being a very probable one, gave him six soldiers, who were ordered to remain concealed on the watch, with drawn weapons, during the master's absence, and were commanded to cut down any one, who might be caught in the act, without mercy. The figures were again completed in a certain time; and one day that the soldiers were on guard, they heard a strange kind of rolling sound in the church, and immediately after saw the ape clamber up to the scaffold and seize the pencils. In the twinkling of an eye, the new master had mingled his

colours; and the soldiers saw him set to work on the Saints of Buonamico. They then summoned the artist, and showing him the malefactor, they all stood watching the animal at his operations, being in danger of fainting with laughter, Buonamico more than all; for, though exceedingly disturbed by what had happened, he could not help laughing till the tears ran down his cheeks. At length he betook himself to the bishop, and said: "My lord, you desire to have your chapel painted in one fashion, but your ape chooses to have it done in another." Then, relating the story, he added: "There was no need whatever for your lordship to send to foreign parts for a painter, since you had the master in your house; but perhaps he did not know exactly how to mix the colours; however, as he is now acquainted with the method, he can proceed without further help: I am no longer required here, since we have discovered his talents, and will ask no other reward for my labours, but your permission to return to Florence." Hearing all this, the bishop, although heartily vexed, could not restrain his laughter; and the rather, as he remembered that he who was thus tricked by an ape, was himself the most incorrigible trickster in the world. However, when they had talked and laughed over this new occurrence to their hearts' content, the bishop persuaded Buonamico to remain; and the painter agreed to set himself to work for the third time, when the chapel was happily completed. But the ape, for his punishment, and in expiation of the crimes he had committed, was shut up in a strong wooden cage, and fastened on the platform where Buonamico worked; there he was kept until the whole was finished; and no imagination could conceive the leaps and flings of the creature, thus enclosed in his cage, nor the contortions he made with his feet, hands, muzzle, and whole body, at the sight of others working, while he was not permitted to do anything.

When the works of the chapel were completed, the bishop ordered Buonamico—either for a jest, or for some other cause—to paint, on one of the walls of his palace, an eagle on the back of a lion, which the bird had killed.* The crafty

* In the notes of the Roman and other earlier editions of Vasari, we are told that the lion being the insignia of Florence, and the eagle that of Arezzo, the bishop herein designed to assert his own superiority over the former city, he being lord of Arezzo, but later commentators affirm

painter, having promised to do all that the bishop desired, caused a stout scaffolding and screen of wood-work to be made before the building, saying that he could not be seen to paint such a thing. Thus prepared, and shut up alone within his screen, Buonamico painted the direct contrary of what the bishop had required—a lion, namely, tearing an eagle to pieces; and, having painted the picture, he requested permission from the bishop to repair to Florence, for the purpose of seeking certain colours needful to his work. He then locked up the scaffold, and departed to Florence, resolving to return no more to the bishop. But the latter, after waiting some time, and finding that the painter did not reappear, caused the scaffolding to be taken down, and discovered that Buonamico had been making a jest of him. Furious at this affront, Guido condemned the artist to banishment for life from his dominions; which, when Buonamico learnt, he sent word to the bishop that he might do his worst: whereupon the bishop threatened him with fearful consequences. Yet, considering afterwards that he had been tricked, only because he had intended to put an affront upon the painter, Bishop Guido forgave him, and even rewarded him liberally for his labours. Nay, Buffalmacco was again invited to Arezzo, no long time after, by the same prelate, who always treated him as a valued servant and familiar friend, confiding many works in the old cathedral to his care, all of which, unhappily, are now destroyed. Buonamico also painted the apsis of the principal chapel in the church of San Giustino in Arezzo.

Some writers relate that this artist, after his return to Florence, resorted frequently to the shop of Maso del Saggio,* with his companions and friends; and was there, with many others, assisting in the arrangements for a festival, which was given on the first of May, by the inhabitants of the suburb of San Friano, in boats on the Arno, when it chanced that the bridge of the Carraja, which was then of wood, gave

that Guido, being a furious Ghibelline, intended rather to offer an affront to the Guelfs, by exalting the eagle, which was the emblem of the Ghibelline party, over that of the Guelphic party, which was the lion.

* Maso del Saggio was an agent or broker, of joyous character and very witty; he is described by Boccaccio, in his seventy-third story.—*Bottari*, Roman edition, 1759.

way beneath the weight of the multitudes who had crowded upon it to see the spectacle. Many lives were lost; and Buffalmacco himself escaped only because, at the very moment when the bridge fell on the machinery intended to represent hell in boats on the Arno, he had gone from the place to purchase certain articles required for the show.*

No long time after these events, Buonamico proceeded to Pisa, where he painted many pictures in the abbey of St. Paul, on the shore of the Arno, which then belonged to the monks of Vallombrosa. He covered the entire surface of the church, from the roof to the floor, with stories from the Old Testament, beginning with the creation of man, and continuing to the building of the tower of Babel. In this work, although now for the most part destroyed, we yet perceive much animation in the figures, with good colouring and clever treatment; the whole proves that the hand of Buonamico could well express the conceptions of his mind, but does not evince much power of design. On the wall of the south transept, and opposite to that wherein is the side-door, in certain stories from the life of St. Anastasia, are many very beautiful costumes and head-dresses of women, which are painted with a charming grace of manner. No less beautiful are some other figures, in various and striking attitudes, in a boat; among these is a portrait of Alexander VI,† which Buonamico is reported to have received from his master Tafi, who had executed the likeness of that pontiff in mosaic for the church of San Pietro. In the last of these stories, moreover, wherein the martyrdom of St. Anastasia and others is depicted, Buonamico has admirably portrayed the fear of death in some of the faces, with the grief and terror of those who stand around, beholding the torments and death of the saint, as she is fixed to the stake and suspended over the fire. The painter Bruno di Giovanni,‡ so called in the old book of the Company of Painters, was

* See Villani (lib. viii. cap. 70), for a minute account of this festival, which ended in a tragedy that cost many lives.—*Rom. Ed*

† Alexander VI reigned from 1254 to 1261. Vasari tells us, in the life of Tafi, page 82, that Buffalmacco received the portraits of the popes Celestine IV and Innocent IV, but does not mention that of Alexander.

‡ Few traces now remain of the frescoes painted by Buffalmacco and Bruno, in the church of San Paolo a Ripa d'Arno, in Pisa.

associated with Buonamico in this work. He too is celebrated by Boccaccio, as a man of joyous memory; and when the stories of the façade were finished, he painted, in the same church of St. Anastasia, the altar of St. Ursula* with her company of virgins. In one hand of this saint, the artist placed a standard, bearing the arms of Pisa—namely, a white cross on a field of red; the other hand is extended to a woman, who, climbing between two rocks, has one foot in the sea, and stretches out both hands to the saint in the act of supplication. This female form represents Pisa. She bears a golden horn upon her head, and wears a mantle sprinkled over with circlets and eagles. Being hard pressed by the waves, she earnestly implores the help of the saint.

While employed on this work, Bruno complained that his faces had not the life and expression distinguishing those of Buonamico, when the latter, in his playful manner, undertook to shew him how his figures might be rendered, not life-like only, but even eloquently expressive. He then bade Bruno paint words proceeding from the mouth of the woman who is recommending herself to the saint, with those which the saint utters in reply proceeding in like manner from the mouth of the latter; which Buffalmacco had seen done in the works of Cimabue. And this method, as it pleased Bruno and other dull people of that day, so does it equally satisfy certain simpletons of our own, who are well served by artists as commonplace as themselves. It must, in truth, be allowed to be an extraordinary thing, that a practice thus originating in a jest, and in no other way, should have passed into general use; insomuch, that even a great part of the Campo Santo, decorated by much esteemed masters, is full of this absurdity.†

The works of Buonamico greatly pleased the people of Pisa, and he was therefore employed by the superintendent of the Campo Santo, to paint four historical pictures in fresco for that cemetery. The events depicted commence with the creation of the world, and close with the building of Noah's ark. Around these stories was painted an ornamental border, wherein the artist placed his own portrait. It will be found

* This picture is now in the Academy of the Fine Arts at Pisa.

† That this practice is much older than the time of the masters here named, and was no jest in those earlier times, will require no proof.

in the frieze, in the middle of which, and on the corners, are several heads, and among them that of Buffalmacco himself, as I have said, the head bearing a cap, exactly as he is seen in the portrait we have here given.* In this work is represented the Father of Creation, supporting the heavens and the earth—nay, the whole universe—by the force of his hand, and Buonamico, willing to explain the picture in verses similar to the paintings of that time, wrote a sonnet with his own hand, in capital letters, beneath the pictures. I add these verses here, for the sake of their antiquity, and also that the reader may be made acquainted with the simple modes of speech proper to those days; otherwise I do not think them likely to give much pleasure, although they may perhaps be welcome, as shewing of what the men of those times were capable:—

‘Voi che avvivate questa dipintura
Di Dio pietoso sommo creatore,
Lo qual fè tutte cose con amore,
Pesate, numerate, ed in misura.

In nove gradi angelica natura
In ello empirio ciel pien di splendore
Colui che non si muove, ed è motore
Ciascuna cosa fecie buona e pura.

Levate gli occhi del vostro intelletto,
Considerate quanto è ordinato
Lo mondo universale; e con affetto

Lodate lui che l’ha sì ben creato
Pensate di passare a tal diletto
Tra gli angeli, dove è ciascun beato

Per questo mondo si vede la gloria,
Lo basso e il mezzo, e l’alto in questa storia.’ †

• In Vasari’s second edition.

† “Ye, who God’s image here depicted see—
The High—the Merciful—who by His love
All things created, and perfected all—
Giving to each due weight and order due:

Who to the choirs angelic their true grades
Hath meted; whom the splendent heavens obey—
Sun, moon, and stars; who moves and governs all
His fair pure world—Himself immovable.

To Him, ye who here gaze, lift up your hearts,
Adoring.—offer praise to Him whose hand
Formed all, and all sustains. Raise, too, your thoughts

But, to confess the truth, Buonamico certainly exhibited great courage, when he undertook to execute a figure of God the Father, five braccia high, with the hierarchies, the heavens, the angels, the zodiac, and all things belonging to the upper regions, even to the firmament of the moon with the elements, fire, water, earth, and finally the centre. To fill up the two angles below this picture, he placed a St. Augustine in one, and a St. Thomas Aquinas in the other. In the same Campo Santo, and in that part where the tomb of Corte* now stands, Buonamico painted the Passion of Christ,† with a great number of figures on foot and on horseback, all in varied and beautiful attitudes, and continuing the story, he added the Resurrection of Christ, with his appearance to the Apostles, all very well done.‡ These labours being brought to a conclusion, and with them all that he had gained in Pisa—which was no small amount—Buffalmacco returned to Florence as poor as he had left it. Here he painted many pictures, and worked much in fresco; but of these productions nothing more needs to be said. Meanwhile, his intimate friend Bruno (who had returned with him from Pisa, where they had both merrily squandered all they had earned) received a commission to execute some of the works of Santa Maria Novella; but as Bruno had no great power of invention or design, Buonamico designed all that Bruno afterwards executed on the wall of that church opposite to the pulpit, the length of the work being the entire space from column to column. The subject was the story of St. Maurice and his companions, who were decapitated for their adherence to the faith of Christ.§ This picture was painted by Bruno for Guido Campese, then Constable of the Florentines, whose portrait Bruno had taken

To those blest regions, where, with angel bands,
Ye, too, shall find a home; ye, too, shall rest
Where life is joy unmixed for each and all.

Here, too, is this world's glory—full portrayed
In all its ranks—midmost, beneath, above.

* This tomb was erected in 1544, by order of Cosmo I, to Matteo Corte, a celebrated physician of Pavia.

† This picture still remains, in tolerable preservation.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

‡ Few traces of these two pictures now remain.

§ This work has been destroyed, having been partly covered by the altar, and partly whitewashed.

before his death, which occurred in 1312; and this he now placed in the work, armed, as was the custom of those times. Guido is followed by a troop of soldiers, also armed in the ancient manner, and presenting a very fine spectacle. The Constable himself is kneeling before an image of the Virgin holding the Child, and seems to be recommended to her favour by San Domenico and Santa Agnese, who stand one on each side of him. This picture can scarcely be called a very fine one, but is nevertheless worthy of some consideration, as well for the design and invention of Buffalmacco, as for the variety of vestments, helmets, and other armour used in those times; and from which I have myself derived great assistance in certain historical paintings, executed for our lord the Duke Cosmo, wherein it was necessary to represent men armed in the ancient manner, with other accessories belonging to the same period: and his illustrious excellency, as well as all else who have seen these works, have been greatly pleased with them; whence we may infer the valuable assistance to be obtained from the inventions and performances of these old masters, and the mode in which great advantage may be derived from them, even though they may not be altogether perfect; for it is these artists who have opened the path to us, and led the way to all the wonders performed down to the present time, and still performing even in these our days.

While Bruno was occupied with this work, there came a countryman to Buonamico, desiring him to paint a San Cristofano, respecting which they made their agreement in Florence; and the contract was on this wise:—the figure was to be twelve braccia high, and the price eight florins. But when Buffalmacco proceeded to look at the church for which it was required, he found the building to be but nine braccia high, and the same in length. He was thus unable to place his work in a good position, either within the edifice or without, and determined, as he could not paint San Cristofano upright, to make him lying down within the church. But even in this way he had not room for the whole length; wherefore he bent the legs at the knees, and turned them up against the opposite wall. The work was finished, but the countryman would by no means pay for it, declaring that he had been cheated. Whereupon the matter was referred to

the authorities, by whom Buonamico was adjudged to have performed his contract.

Another and very fine picture, from the hand of Buffal-macco, was the Passion of Christ, in the church of San Giovanni fra l'Arcore; and, among other much esteemed parts of this work, was a Judas hanging on the tree, painted with admirable judgment, and in an excellent manner. An old man blowing his nose, is also most natural; and the Maries, drowned in tears, have an expression of such deep sadness, that—considering the age to have been one when artists had not attained facility in expressing emotion—this work can scarcely be praised too highly. Another good figure in this painting was, a St. Ivo of Brittany, at whose feet are many widows and orphans; two angels hovering in the air, and crowning the saint, are also painted with infinite sweetness and feeling. This building, with the pictures contained in it, was demolished in the war of 1529.^{*}

Buonamico also painted many pictures in the episcopal church of Cortona, for Messer Aldobrandino, bishop of that city, more particularly the chapel and picture of the High Altar; but, as all these works were destroyed when the palace and church were rebuilt, we need say nothing more respecting them. In San Francesco, however, and in Santa Margarita, two churches of the same city, there still remain some paintings by the hand of Buonamico. From Cortona, this master proceeded once again to Assisi, where he painted, in fresco, the entire chapel of Cardinal Egidio Alvaro, a Spaniard; and, having acquitted himself extremely well, was liberally rewarded by that prelate[†]. Finally, having painted many pictures for the whole March,[‡] Buonamico returned to Florence, but was delayed for some time at Perugia, on the way to his native city, where he painted the chapel of the Buontempi, in the church of San Domenico, the subject being stories, in fresco, from the life of the virgin-martyr St. Catherine. On one of the walls in the old church of San Domenico, he also executed a fresco, representing the same Catherine, daughter of King Costa, when, disputing with certain philosophers, she

^{*} See Borghini, *Origini di Firenze*, and Manni, *Terme Fiorentine*,

[†] Old documents shew that Buonamico also painted the chapel of Santa Maria Maddalena, for Monsignor Pontani, Bishop of Assisi. These works still remain, but are much blackened by smoke.

[‡] The March of Ancona.

converts them to the faith of Christ. This work is more beautiful than any other painted by Buffalmacco; and it may with truth be said, that on this occasion he surpassed himself, insomuch that the people of Perugia were moved to require, according to what Franco Sacchetti* has written, that he should paint Sant' Ercolano, bishop and protector of Perugia, in the market-place of their city. Having agreed on the price, an enclosure of planks and matting was erected on the spot where the master was to work, that he might not be overlooked at his labours; which done, he commenced his operations. But ten days had not elapsed, before every man who passed the scaffolding, inquired "when this picture would be finished?" as though they fancied works of that kind were to be cast in a mould; so that Buonamico became thoroughly wearied of their outcries. Wherefore, having brought the matter to an end, he resolved within himself to take a bit of quiet vengeance on the people for their troublesome importunities; nor did he fail to execute this determination. Keeping the work still enclosed, he admitted the Perugini to examine it, when all declared their entire satisfaction; but when they desired to remove the planks and matting, Buonamico requested that they should be suffered to remain for two days longer, as he wished to retouch certain parts when the painting was fully dried. This was agreed to; and Buonamico, who had made a great diadem for the saint in rilievo of plaster, richly gilt, as was then the custom, instantly mounted his scaffold, and replaced this ornament by a coronet or garland of gudgeons, which wholly encircled the head. That accomplished, he paid his host one fine morning, and set off to Florence.

Two days having passed, the Perugini, not seeing the painter going about as they were accustomed to do, inquired of his host what had become of him, and hearing that he had departed to Florence, they hastened to remove the planks that concealed the picture, when they discovered their saint solemnly crowned with gudgeons. This affront was at once made known to the authorities, who instantly sent horsemen in pursuit of Buonamico,—but all in vain, the painter having found shelter in Florence. They set an artist of their own, therefore, to remove the crown of fishes, and replace the

* See the hundred and sixty-ninth story of Sacchetti.—*Botzari*.

diadem of the saint, consoling themselves by hurling all the abusive words they could think of at the head of Buonamico and of every other Florentine. But Buffalmacco, safe in his own city, cared but little for the outcries of the Perugini, and set himself to execute many works, of which, for the sake of brevity, I will not now speak further. One only shall here be mentioned, namely, the figure of our Lady with the Child in her arms, which he painted in fresco at Calcinaia. But the man for whom he had executed this work, gave him only words in place of payment, and Buonamico, who was not accustomed to be trifled with or made a tool of, resolved to have his due by some means. He repaired one morning therefore to Calcinaia, and turned the child which he had painted in the arms of the Virgin into a young bear (but using water-colours only). This change being soon after discovered by the countryman who had had it painted, he hurried in despair to Buonamico, and implored him to remove the bear's cub and replace the child as before, declaring himself ready to pay all demands. This Buffalmacco amicably agreed to do, and was paid at once both for the first and second painting, a wet sponge having sufficed him to restore all to its pristine beauty.* But it would occupy too much time if I were to recount all the pictures painted, and all the jests made by Buonamico, more particularly while he frequented the shop of Maso del Saggio, which was the general resort of all the jovial spirits and facetious companions to be found among the citizens of Florence. Here, then, I will make an end of my discourse concerning Buffalmacco. He died at the age of seventy-eight; and being extremely poor, because he had spent more than he had gained, which was ever his custom, he was succoured in his last illness by the Confraternity of the Misericordia, in the hospital of Santa Maria Novella, and being dead, was buried with the other poor in the Ossa (for so they call the cloister or cemetery of the hospital), in the year 1340.† The works of this painter were praised during his life, and since his death have ever been highly valued among the productions of that age.

* In a room of the priory of Calcinaia, are still to be seen the remains of a picture on the wall, representing the Madonna with the Child in her arms, and other saints; without doubt a work of the fourteenth century; and a tradition, preserved to this day, declares that painting to be the one here alluded to.—*Ed Flor.* 1846.

† Vasari is certainly in error when he places the death of Buonamico

AMBRUOGIO LORENZETTI,* PAINTER, OF SIENA.

[BORN . . . —DIED ABOUT 1348.]

IF the debt which the richly-endowed artist owes to Nature be a large one—as it doubtless is—still greater is the amount of gratitude due from us to him, seeing that by his cares our cities are enriched with noble erections for use and beauty, as well as with the graceful embellishment of painting, and other ornaments. It is true that artists most commonly acquire fame and riches for themselves by their labours, as did Ambruogio Lorenzetti, a painter of Siena. This master displayed considerable force of invention, with great skill in grouping his figures, of which we find proof in the church of the Friars-Minors in Siena, where there is a historical painting in the cloister, very gracefully executed by his hand. The subject of this work is a youth who becomes a monk, and proceeds with others to the court of the Soldan, where they are scourged, condemned to the gallows, hanged on a tree, and finally decapitated, while a horrible tempest is prevailing. In this picture, Lorenzetti has represented the turmoil of the elements, with the fury of the rain and wind, (against which his figures are struggling), with infinite ability. And from him it is that later masters first acquired the mode of depicting circumstances of this kind, for his portraiture of which, as a thing not previously attempted, he deserves high commendation †. Ambruogio was a practised fresco painter, as well as an excellent colourist in distemper; his works in the latter are executed with extreme facility, and evince great talent. This may still be seen in the pic-

in 1340, since we find him notified, in the old Book of the Company of Painters, under the date 1351; whence it becomes doubtful whether Vasari has correctly given the year of his birth (1262). Baldinucci declares Buffalmacco to have lived later than 1358.

* The signature on his works is Ambrosius Laurentii; but, in the records of the time, he is called “di Lorenzo”, and di Lorenzetto, as well as Lorenzetti, or del Lorenzetto, a name which he bore in common with his brother, Pietro Laurati, of whose relationship to Ambrogio Vasari was not aware. For the completion of this very meagre biography, see Runohr, Lanzi, and Della Valle, *Lettere Senesi*, ii, 205-210.

† The loss of this picture is all the more to be lamented, as we know what its value and beauty must have been, from the minute description given of it by Ghiberti.

tures by this master in the small hospital called Mona Agnesa* in Siena, where he painted a historical work of which the composition displayed new qualities that were greatly admired. On one of the walls of the great hospital also, he painted the Nativity of the Virgin in fresco, with a second picture, representing her approaching the Temple with others of her age.† The chapter-house of the Augustine friars, in the same city, was also enriched by Lorenzetti, who painted the Apostles on the ceiling of that edifice. Each holds a tablet, whereon that part of the Creed composed by the said Apostle is written. Beneath each figure is a small representation, which exhibits in painting the subject written on the scrolls above. Near these works, and on the principal façade, are three stories; one of them is from the life of St. Catharine the Martyr, and represents her holding a disputation with the tyrant in the Temple; another is the Crucifixion of Christ, with the Thieves on the Cross, and the Maries beneath, the latter supporting the Virgin, who has fainted,—all which display much grace and a good manner.‡ In one of the large halls of the palace of the Signoria in Siena, Ambruogio represented the War of Asinalunga,§ with the various events of the peace which succeeded; in this work he introduced a map,|| which for those times was perfect. In the same palace, Lorenzetti executed eight historical pieces in *terra verde*, most exquisitely finished.¶ He is also said to have sent a picture in distemper to Volterra, in which city it was very highly esteemed; and at Massa,

* So called because founded by Agnese d'Arezzo. The paintings of Ambruogio are destroyed.

† This picture, which Ambruogio painted in company with his brother Pietro (see note, p. 140), was destroyed in 1720.

‡ These works are also lost.

§ The author here means to intimate the victory gained by the Siennese over the Compagnia del Cappello, in the year 1363; but it is very doubtful whether these pictures are by Ambruogio. To those who know the works of art by which the public palace of Siena is enriched, even this slight intimation of Vasari will suffice to shew that he is speaking of the allegorical paintings in the hall called De' Nove, or Della Pace.—*Ed. Flor.* See further, Lanzi, *History of Painting*, vol. i, p. 281, who calls this painting a poem rich in moral precepts.

|| This map represented the entire district of Siena. See Della Valle, *Lettere Senese*, ii, p. 222.

¶ They were painted in 1345. but have long been lost.

where he painted a chapel in fresco, and a picture in distemper, in company with other artists, he gave further proof of his judgment, and of the genius for the pictorial arts with which he had been endowed.* In Orvieto, moreover, Lorenzetti painted in fresco the principal chapel of the church of Santa Maria, and afterwards proceeding to Florence, he executed a picture in one of the chapels† of the church of San Procolo, with stories in small figures from the life of San Nicolo, at the request of some of his friends, who were anxious to become acquainted with his modes of proceeding. The practised dexterity of Ambruogio enabled him to complete these works in so short a time, that his name and reputation were greatly extended thereby. In consequence of this work, on the predella of which he painted his own portrait, Lorenzetti was invited to Cortona in the year 1335, by order of bishop Ubertini, then lord of that city. Here he painted several pictures in the church of Santa Margarita, which had been erected on the summit of the mountain a short time previously by the monks of St. Francis. The interior walls, and one half of the ceiling, were so carefully done, that although this work is now almost destroyed by time,‡ yet there is great animation still to be perceived in the figures through all its parts, and we cannot but admit that it has been deservedly praised. These paintings being completed, Ambruogio returned to Siena, where he lived honourably for the remainder of his days, and was universally admired, not only as an excellent master in painting, but also because, having applied himself to science and letters in his youth, these formed a pleasant and useful accompaniment to his pictorial studies, and so richly adorned his whole life, that they contributed, no less than his gifts as a painter, to render him beloved and respected. Lorenzetti had at all times frequented the society of learned and virtuous men, and was permitted to take part in the cares of governing his native city, to his no small honour and profit. The life of Ambruogio was in all respects praiseworthy, and rather that of a gentleman and philosopher than of an artist; and,

* No trace is now to be found of these works, whether in Volterra
Massa.

† The fate of these paintings also is unknown.

‡ No remains of these works are now to be seen.

what more than all perhaps gives proof of wisdom in a man, he constantly maintained the equanimity of mind which disposed him to content himself with such events as time and the world presented, so that he supported the good and evil apportioned to him by fortune with a calm and equal mind. And of a truth, it would not be possible that words should sufficiently declare the extent to which modesty, and an irreproachable walk in life, add honour to all the arts, but particularly to those which derive their birth from the intelligence of noble and exalted minds; wherefore every artist should be careful to render himself no less acceptable for the purity of his conduct than for his excellence in art.

Finally, and towards the end of his life, Ambruogio painted a picture at Monte Oliveto di Chiusuri, which greatly increased his fame; and a short time after having completed this work, he passed happily, and in the spirit of Christian love, to a better life, in the eighty-third year of his age.* His works date about the year 1340.

The portrait of Ambruogio, from his own hand, may be seen, as we have already said, on the base of his picture at St. Procolo, bearing a cap on the head. His capabilities in drawing may be judged from my book, wherein are certain designs of tolerable merit by his hand.

THE ROMAN PAINTER PIETRO CAVALLINI.

[BORN . . . —DIED 1354?]

ROME had been despoiled for many ages, not only of sound earning and the glory of arms, but of all the sciences and arts,† when it pleased God that Pietro Cavallini should be

* The life of A. Lorenzetti terminates, in the first edition of Vasari, with these words: "And his fellow-citizens, reflecting on the honour which he had done to his country, mourned long and deeply for his death, as is seen by the following epitaph:—

"Ambrosii interitum quis satis doleat?
Qui viros nobis longa ætate mortuos
Restituebat arte et magno ingenio.
Picturæ decus vivas astra desuper."

† This assertion, as we have before remarked, is wholly untenable;

born in that city, and at the time when Giotto, having, as may be truly said, restored painting to life, held the first place among the painters of Italy. This artist, then, was the disciple of Giotto,* and having worked with him at the Navicella in mosaic of St. Peter's, was the first who after him contributed to render art illustrious. Cavallini soon began to show that he was not unworthy of such a master, by painting some very fine pictures over the door of the sacristy, in the church of Araceli, now unhappily destroyed by time; he also gave further proof of talent in Santa Maria di Trastevere, where he executed many frescoes in almost all parts of the church.† Shortly after, having completed these works, Cavallini adorned the principal chapel, as well as the façade of the same church, with mosaics (receiving no aid from Giotto), and made it manifest from the commencement of the work, that he was no less capable of successfully executing mosaics than he had proved himself to be competent in painting. In the many frescoes, also, which he painted in the church of San Grisogono,‡ Pietro strenuously laboured to make himself known as a good artist and worthy disciple of Giotto. The church of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere was, in like manner, almost entirely painted by his hand; while he also executed many works in the church of San Francesco, near the bank of the Tiber; with the mosaic of the façade for the church of San Paolo, without the walls of Rome,§ and various events from the Old Testament in the central nave of the same building. In the chapter-house of the first cloister, Cavallini likewise painted many frescoes, to which he devoted so much attention that he acquired from all competent judges the reputation of being an excellent

but the commentators reproach Vasari for the warmth of these expressions, without sufficiently considering that he has himself recalled them.

* Lanzi supports the declaration of Vasari, that Cavallini was a disciple of Giotto (see *History of Painting*, vol. i, p. 332), while admitting that he may have studied also under the Cosmati, whose disciple Della Valle and others affirm him to have been.

† Of the paintings on the walls of Santa Maria, in Trastevere, but few relics remain; the mosaics are still preserved, and represent the twelve Apostles.

‡ The paintings in San Grisogono, those in Santa Cecilia, and almost all the works executed by Cavallini in Rome, have perished.—*Bottari*.

§ This mosaic still remains, but was grievously injured by the earthquake of the 15th July 1823.

master, and was on that account so greatly favoured by the prelates, that they appointed him to paint the inner wall of St. Peter, between the windows: he accordingly executed admirable frescoes, the figures of which were of extraordinary size, as compared with those usually depicted in that age. The subjects were the Four Evangelists, with St. Peter and St. Paul; there were, besides, a considerable number of figures, in a ship, and as Cavallini admired the Greek manner, he has mingled it, in these works, with that of Giotto. This master evidently made all possible effort to give relief to his figures; but the best of his works in Rome was in the church of Araceli, on the Capitol, where he painted the ceiling of the choir in fresco. The subject is Our Lady, with the Child in her arms, surrounded by a circle of light; and beneath is the emperor Octavian, to whom the Tiburtine Sybil is pointing out the Saviour, when Octavian offers adoration to the divine child. The figures in this work are better preserved than those of the others, because pictures painted on ceilings, as we have remarked elsewhere, are less liable to injury from dust than those on the walls. Having completed these undertakings, Pietro departed for Tuscany, to see the works executed by other disciples of his master Giotto, as well as those of Giotto himself; and on this occasion he painted various figures in the church of St. Mark,* in Florence, all of which have now perished, the church having been whitewashed, excepting the picture of the Annunciation, which stands covered near the principal door of the church. On a wall of San Basilio, on the side towards the mills, Cavallini likewise painted an Annunciation in fresco;† and this, with another Annunciation, also in Florence, is so exactly similar to that of St. Mark, that many believe them to be all by the hand of Pietro, and not without reason, since it is certain that no paintings can possibly resemble each other more closely than do these works.

Among the figures executed by this artist in the aforesaid church of San Marco, in Florence, was the portrait of pope

* The Annunciation of St. Mark still exists, but has been so often restored, that the face of the Virgin is all that now remains of the original.

† The Annunciation of St. Basil must have been destroyed in 1785, when the church was taken down.

Urban V,* taken from the life, with the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul; and it was from this portrait of pope Urban that Fra Giovanni di Fiesole took that which he has placed in a picture of his own in the church of San Domenico, at Fiesole—a very fortunate circumstance, since the portrait of Urban, in St. Mark, was afterwards covered with whitewash; as were many other pictures, in different parts of that church, when the convent was taken from the monks,† who originally possessed it, and given to the Preaching Friars, by whom the whole were whitewashed over, with little feeling or consideration.

On his return to Rome, Cavallini visited Assisi, not only to see the buildings erected, and other notable works performed there by his master and some of his co-disciples, but also that he might leave something by his own hand in that city. He, therefore, painted a fresco in the lower church of San Francesco, in the transept, near the sacristy; the subject being the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ,‡ with men on horseback, armed in different fashions, and clothed in a great variety of extraordinary vestments, after the manner of divers foreign nations. In the air are many angels, who, resting on their wings, in various attitudes, are weeping bitterly; some strike their breasts, others wring their hands, while some fold them, as in prayer, but all display excessive grief for the death of the Son of God. The figures of these angels, from the middle downwards, melt away into the air. The colouring of this work, which is still fresh and life-like,§ is admirable, and the junctions of the plaster are so well managed, that the whole might be supposed to have been completed in one day. I have discovered the arms of Gualtieri, duke of Athens, on this picture; but as there is neither date, nor any other writing, I cannot affirm them to have been placed there by Cavallini; yet the manner is so exactly that of Pietro, that it could not well be more so; and

* Della Valle is of opinion that this should be Urban IV.

† The Silvestrine monks.—*Bottari*.

‡ His most extraordinary work. See the hundred and twenty-fifth plate of D'Agincourt.

§ More particularly the azure, concerning which Lanzi, speaking of this picture, which is still well preserved, has the following words: "It presents, to use the language of our poets, a heaven of oriental sapphires."—*History of Painting*, vol. i, p. 332.

as he lived at the time when Gualtieri was in Italy, we may be permitted to believe that they were done by Cavallini, and even in obedience to orders received from the duke himself. But let every one think as best pleases him of this matter. The work, as an old work, is not undeserving of praise; and the manner, as well as common report, makes it obvious that Pietro was the artist.

In the church of Santa Maria, at Orvieto, where the most holy relic of the *Corporale* is preserved, Cavallini painted various events from the life of Christ, with stories of the sacred Host,* all executed with great care; and these he is said to have done for Messer Benedetto, son of Messer Buonconte Monaldeschi, then lord, or rather tyrant, of that city. Some affirm that Pietro also executed works in sculpture, and that he succeeded in this art extremely well; displaying, indeed, great talent in whatever he attempted. It is further said, that the crucifix, in the great church of San Paolo, without the walls of Rome, is by Cavallini;† and this, as is asserted, and as we are bound to believe, is the very crucifix which spoke to St. Bridget in the year 1370.‡

There were certain other works, in the same manner, by this artist, in the church of St. Peter, but all were destroyed when the old building was demolished, to make way for the new church. Pietro Cavallini was diligent and careful in all his undertakings; he spared no effort for the acquirement of honour and fame as an artist; he was, moreover, a good man and devout Christian, most charitable to the poor, and much beloved for his excellence, not only in his native city of Rome, but by all who knew either himself or his works. In the latter years of his life he devoted himself so earnestly to religion, and lived so exemplary a life, that he was esteemed almost a saint. Therefore it need cause no wonder if the above-named crucifix, made by his hand, uttered words, as it is said to have done to St. Bridget, or that a figure of our Lady, also by him, should have performed, and

* Including the miracle of Bolseno; but this portion has suffered greatly, while the rest is still in good preservation.

† Pistolesi maintains that a crucifix in wood, still to be seen in this church, is from the hand of Cavallini.

‡ This highly venerated crucifix is ascribed to Pietro Cavallini by the Abate Titi also, who supports his opinion by a quotation from Alberti.—*Trattato della Pittura*.

still be performing, an infinite number of miracles. This last-mentioned work I do not intend to pronounce Cavallini's best, although it has so great a name throughout all Italy, but I am entirely and fully convinced, from the mode of its execution, that this picture is from the hand of Pietro,* whose most praiseworthy life, and piety towards God, were worthy to be imitated by all men. Nor let any one suppose that a man ever attains a truly honourable station, without purity of life and the fear of God, for that is well-nigh impossible, as our daily experience fully proves. Giovanni of Pistoja, who painted some pictures, but of no great importance, in his native city, was a disciple of Pietro Cavallini. The latter died at Rome, in the 85th year of his age, of pleurisy, caused by his labours in fresco, and by the damp to which he was exposed, in a too long continued exercise of his occupation.

He painted about the year 1364, and was honourably interred in the church of St. Paul, without the walls of Rome, where the following epitaph was placed on his tomb:—

“Quantum Romanæ Petrus decus addidit urbi
Pictura, tantum dat decus ipse polo.”

I have been unable to discover any likeness of this artist, in spite of all the pains I have taken for that purpose.†

SIMON AND LIPPO MEMMI,; PAINTERS, OF SIENA

[BORN 1285?—DIED 1344.] [BORN . . .—DIED 1357.]

MOST truly may those men be called happy who are by nature disposed to the cultivation of the arts, for not only may they derive great honour and profit therefrom in their

* It will be readily comprehended, that Pietro here speaks of that figure of the most holy Annunciation, which is still venerated in the church of the Servites, in Florence.—*Bottari*. See also Lanzi, vol. i, p. 332.

† A portrait of Cavallini was discovered at a later period, and may be seen in the Bolognese edition of Vasari; the third namely, published in 1647.

‡ See Lanzi, *History of Painting*, vol. i, p. 273.

lives, but what is more important, they secure never-dying fame. Still more fortunate are they who to such dispositions add a character and manners calculated to render them acceptable to all men; but happy above all men is he (I am here alluding to artists) who, with natural talent cultivated by education, with a noble disposition and refinement of manners, possesses also the advantage of living at the same time with any renowned author, from whom, in return for some little portrait, or similar expression of artistic courtesy, he obtains the reward of being once mentioned in his writings, thereby securing to himself eternal honour and fame. This advantage is above all to be desired by those who practise the arts of design, and most especially by the painter, since his work, lying simply on the surface, and being dependent on colours which cannot endure, may not hope for that perpetuity which is secured to the sculptor by his bronze and marble, as it is to the architect by the durability of his erections. Great, then, was the good fortune of Simon, in that he lived at the same time with Messer Francesco Petrarca, and that he further chanced to meet that love-devoted poet at the court of Avignon. For Petrarch, being desirous of possessing the image of his Madonna Laura from the hand of Maestro Simon, and having received it, beautiful as he could imagine or desire, at once immortalized the memory of the painter in two sonnets, one of which begins thus :—*

“ Per mirar Policleto a prova fiso
Con gli altri, che ebber fama di quell’ arte”;

and the second commences as follows :—†

“ Quando giunse a Simon l’alto concetto,
Ch’a mio nome gli pose in man lo stile ”

For it may be truly said that these Sonnets, and the mention made of the painter in the fifth book of Petrarch’s familiar letters, and in the epistle beginning “ Non sum nescius,” have given more lustre to the poor life of Maestro Simon, than it has received, or ever will receive, from all his works.‡

* Sonnet xlix, or, in some editions lvi.

† Sonnet l, or lvii.

‡ The commentators do not agree with Vasari in this estimate of Simon Memmi, whom they place among the best painters of his day. But Vasari himself does Simon full justice in the sequel.

These are indeed rapidly perishing, and must finally be lost, while the works of Petrarch shall survive to all eternity. Simon Memmi of Siena was nevertheless an excellent painter, highly distinguished in his day, and greatly esteemed at the court of the Pope. In so much that, after the death of his master Giotto, whom he had accompanied to Rome, at the time when the latter executed the Navicella in mosaic and other works, he attained high credit for his successful imitation of that artist's manner. This was more particularly exemplified in the execution of a Virgin in the portico of St. Peter, and in that of two figures, representing St. Peter and St. Paul,* on the wall between the arches of the portico on the outer side, and near the bronze Pine†. Especial praise has been given to the portrait of a sacristan of St. Peter's, whom Simon has depicted in this work hurriedly kindling lamps before the saints, and the merit of the whole caused the artist to be summoned, with very pressing instances, to the court of Avignon, where he produced so many good pictures, both in fresco and distemper, that his works justified the name by which he had been preceded. Having then returned to Siena in high estimation, and being much favoured on that account, he was appointed by the Signoria to paint one of the halls of their Palace in fresco, the subject being a Virgin, with many figures around her, all which Simon executed admirably well, to his great honour and profit. And to prove that he could do no less in distemper than in fresco, he painted a picture‡ in the same Palace, which caused his being appointed to paint two others in the cathedral,§ with a third picture of the Virgin holding the Child

* The figures of St. Peter and St. Paul have perished. That of the Virgin is now in the *Grotte Scurie*.

† This colossal pine is mentioned by Dante, in the *Inferno*. It is now at the lower end of the Vatican garden, beneath an alcove erected by Bramante.

‡ This picture has long been lost.

§ Of these two pictures, the first, painted in 1331, remained long in the sacristy of the cathedral, but was afterwards cut to pieces; and Della Valle mentions having seen relics of it in the Gallery of the Advocate Mariotti, in Rome. The second, an Annunciation, is now in the Gallery of the Uffizi. It bears the following inscription—"SIMON MARTINI ET LIPPUS MEMMI DE SENIS ME PINXERUNT, A.D. 1333." This picture does not retain its primitive form. Two other pieces—figures of Sant' Ansano, and Santa Giulietta both in the same gallery—also belong to it.

in her arms, over the door of the superintendent's room in that church.* The attitude of this figure is very beautiful, and the angels which support a standard and hover around the Virgin while they turn their eyes towards certain saints who stand below, display much grace, and infinitely increase the beauty of the work. When all this was completed, Simon was invited to Florence by the General of the Augustines, where he painted the chapterhouse of Santo Spirito, evincing wonderful powers of invention and admirable judgment in his figures and horses, more particularly in representing the Crucifixion, a work of which every part has been executed with mature consideration and extreme grace of manner. In this painting the thieves on the cross are seen expiring, the soul of the repentant thief being joyfully borne to heaven by the angels, while that of the impenitent departs, accompanied by devils, and roughly dragged by these demons to the torments of hell. Equal powers of invention and similar judgment are evinced by this master in the attitudes of other angels standing around the crucifix, and their grief is eloquently expressed by their bitter weeping, but remarkable above all is the manner in which these spirits seem visibly to cleave the air, while, turning almost in a circle, they still sustain the movement of their flight. We should indeed have much more satisfactory proof of the excellence of Simon in that work, had it not, in addition to the injuries received from time, been further spoiled by the monks of the convent in the year 1560 : for these fathers, unable to use the chapterhouse on account of its humidity, constructed an arch to replace some worm-eaten wood-work, in doing which they ruined what little yet remained of this master's paintings. About the same time Simon painted a picture of the Virgin with St. Luke and other saints, in distemper ; this is now in the chapel of the Gondi in Santa Maria Novella, and bears the name of the master.† He also painted three of the wall of the chapter-house of Santa Maria Novella, a very successful work. On the first wall, over the door of entrance, he depicted the Life of San Domenico ; and on that which

* This fresco was not over the door of the superintendent's room in the cathedral, but on the front of the Petrucci palace. It was destroyed in the earthquake of 1798.

† This picture was removed, to make way for a crucifix in wood, by Brunellesco (of which more hereafter); where it now is, cannot be ascertained.

follows towards the church, he represented the Brethren of the Dominican order contending against the heretics,* whom Simon has described under the form of wolves assaulting a flock of sheep, which is defended by numerous dogs, spotted with black and white ; by these dogs the wolves are repulsed and slain. There are besides other heretics, who having been convinced in disputation with the faithful, confess their errors, and tear their books. The souls of these pass the gates of Paradise, within which are seen many small figures, employed in various occupations. In heaven, the glory of the Saints and of Jesus Christ is given to view, while all mundane pleasures and vain delights remain in the world below, being represented by human forms, but especially by those of women seated. Among these is Madonna Laura, the lady of Petrarch, taken from life ; she is clothed in green, with a little flame of fire between her throat and breast.† In this work, Simon also depicted the Church of Christ, guarded by the pope, the emperor, kings, cardinals, bishops, and all Christian princes, among whom is Messer Francesco Petrarca, beside a knight of Rhodes, and also drawn from the life. This portrait Simon added, to enhance by his works the fame of the writer who had made his own name immortal. The Universal Church is represented by that of Santa Maria del Fiore, not as it is in the present day, but as Simon had drawn it from the model and design which the architect Arnolfo had left to be the guide of those who were to continue the work after him, but which models having been lost, as we have said before,‡ by the carelessness of the intendants of Santa Maria del Fiore, we should now retain no memorial of that fabric, if Simon had not left it thus portrayed in this work. On the third wall, which is that where the altar stands, the artist represented the Crucifixion of Christ, who is first seen issuing from the city of Jerusalem bearing his Cross, and followed by a vast crowd of people. He proceeds to Mount Calvary, where, having arrived, he is seen raised on the Cross between the two thieves, with the different circumstances which form the usual accompaniment of this

* These paintings are still well preserved. For the question of their being really by Simon Memmi, see Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.* ii, p. 96.

† Lanzi denies that this picture represents Laura. See vol. i, p. 274.

‡ See the life of Arnolfo di Lapo, *ante*, p. 60.

event. I refrain from minute description of the crowd of horses, the attendants casting lots on the vestments of Christ, the resurrection of the holy fathers, and all the other varied accessories, which resemble those of the best modern artists rather than such as are commonly found among the painters of Simon's day.* He occupied the entire extent of the wall with his picture, and disposed the different events of his composition, with admirable judgment, on the declivity of a mountain, not dividing the several periods of his story by ornaments placed between each, as the other old masters did, and indeed as many moderns do, insomuch that the earth stands on the air four or five times in a picture, examples of which may be seen in the principal chapel of this same church of Santa Maria Novella, or in the Campo Santo of Pisa, where Simon himself, executing many works in fresco, was compelled against his judgment to make such divisions, since they had been made by the other masters who had laboured in that place, as for example by Giotto and Buonamico his master,† who had commenced their stories with this ill-considered method of arrangement. Less in error then, than those by whose example he was misled, Simon adhered to their practice in the Campo Santo, where he painted a Virgin in fresco within the building and over the principal door; she is borne to heaven by a choir of angels, who sound their instruments and sing with so much animation, that all the various gestures proper to musicians playing and singing are to be seen in these figures; some bend the ear to the sound, others open their mouths in divers forms, raise their eyes to heaven, inflate their throats, puff out their cheeks, exhibit, in short, all the movements usual among musicians.‡ Beneath this Assumption, Simon painted stories from the life of St. Ranieri of Pisa, in three pictures. The first represents the

* One of the many passages that might be quoted, in reply to the accusation of injustice, and undue severity, against all who were not of his own city, etc., so frequently brought against Vasari.

† If Vasari here means to call Buonamico the master of Giotto, or of Simon, he was wrong in either case. The phrase is most probably an inadvertence—*Ed Flor*. May not Vasari, who is not always rigidly precise in the arrangement of his words, here mean to say, "Giotto his master, and Buonamico"?

‡ This picture is still in existence, but has, unhappily, been somewhat changed by restorations

saint as a youth playing on the Psaltery, while young girls, with graceful forms and beautiful countenances, richly adorned in the costume and head-dresses of that time, are dancing to the music.* Ranieri, having been reproved for this sin, is next seen with his head bent down, tears on his cheeks, and his eyes red with weeping, in deep repentance of his error, whilst the Almighty appearing in the air, surrounded by celestial light, seems extending his pardon to the penitent. In the second picture, Ranieri, about to embark on ship-board, divides his possessions among the poor; he has a crowd of lame beggars, women and children, around him, all eager to press forward, and displaying extreme animation both in imploring aid and returning thanks. The saint is again seen in the same picture receiving the garb of a pilgrim in the Temple, where he stands before an image of the Virgin, who, surrounded by angels, promises Ranieri that at Pisa he shall find repose in her bosom. All these figures are full of life, and the expression of the heads is beautiful.† In the third picture, Simon has painted the saint returned after seven years absence from beyond the seas. He has passed thrice forty days in the Holy Land, and is now standing in the choir attending Divine service; a number of singing boys are near; the saint is here tempted by the devil, but the fiend is driven away by the firm determination not to offend the laws of God, which is manifested in Ranieri, who is aided by a figure which Simon meant to represent Constancy ‡ The old adversary is thus compelled to depart, not only in confusion, but great fear; he covers his face with his hands, bows down his head, and steals off with shrinking form, exclaiming, as is seen by the writing which proceeds from his mouth, "I can do no more." Finally, Ranieri is once more seen in this picture, when, kneeling on Mount Tabor, he miraculously beholds Christ with Moses and Elias. These, and many other parts of this work, which I will not further describe, prove that Simon possessed great power of

* This picture has been restored to such an extent, that little of Simon's work now remains.

+ In this part of the work, the vestments of Ranieri only have been retouched; but the ground has suffered greatly, and the colours are perishing daily.

‡ Vasari's memory seems here to be at fault. The scene is laid in Palestine; and there are no boys, neither is there any female figure.

imagination, and was well versed in the best methods of composing his groups, in accordance with the manner of those days. When these pictures were finished, the master painted two others in distemper for the same city. In these he was assisted by Lippo Memmi, his brother, who had also helped him to paint the chapter-house of Santa Maria Novella, as well as other works. The latter artist did not attain to the excellence of Simon, but nevertheless imitated his manner to the best of his ability, and painted numerous frescoes in the church of Santa Croce at Florence.* He also executed the picture of the high altar in the church of Santa Caterina at Pisa for the preaching friars,† and in San Paolo a Ripa d'Arno, besides many good frescoes. Lippo Memmi painted the picture in distemper which is now on the high altar. The subject of this work is the Virgin, with St. Peter, St. Paul, St. John the Baptist, and other Saints, and on this Lippo placed his name. After finishing these pictures, Lippo executed one in distemper, for the brothers of St. Augustine, in St. Gimignano, whereby he acquired so great a name that he was called on to send a picture to Arezzo, for the bishop Guido de' Tarlati; this work, which comprised three half-figures, is now in the chapel of St. Gregory,‡ in the episcopal church.

At the time when Simon Memmi was painting in Florence, there was a certain cousin of his, an ingenious architect, called Neroccio, who undertook to make the great bell of the commune of Florence ring, although no man had been able to make it sound for seventeen years. Twelve men were required to move it; but Neroccio balanced this great bell so nicely, that two men then sufficed for that purpose, and being once set going, one man could keep it at its full sound, although it weighs more than six thousand pounds. For this, besides the honour, Neroccio received a reward of three hundred gold florins, which was a large sum in those days. But to return to our two Sienese painters, the Memmi. In addition to the works above described, Lippo executed a painting in distemper after the design of Simon, which was

* Scarcely a trace of these frescoes now remains, nor do we know what has become of the picture.

† This work also is most probably lost.

‡ The chapel has been destroyed. The fate of the picture is unknown.

taken to Pistoja, and placed on the high altar of the church of San Francesco; this was considered a very fine work. Finally the two brothers returned to Siena, their native city, when Simon commenced a work of vast extent; this was a picture over the great gate of Camollia, representing the coronation of the Virgin, with an extraordinary number of figures, but he left it unfinished, being seized with heavy sickness, overcome by which, he departed from this life in the year 1345,* to the great grief of the whole city, and more especially of his brother Lippo, who gave him honourable interment in San Francesco.

Lippo Memmi afterwards completed several works that Simon had begun. Among others was a Crucifixion of Jesus Christ, for the high altar of San Niccola in Ancona, in painting which Lippo imitated one that Simon had entirely completed for the chapter-house of Santo Spirito in Florence. And this is a work which merits a longer life than is likely to be granted to it, many fine attitudes and much animation being displayed in the figures both of soldiers and horses, the varied gestures of the former eloquently expressing their astonishment, and the perplexity of their doubts as to whether He whom they have just crucified were the Son of God† or not.

In the lower church of San Francesco in Assisi, Lippo Memmi likewise finished some figures which Simon had begun for the altar of St. Elizabeth, which is close beside the door of entrance into the chapels. These were the Virgin with St. Louis king of France, and other saints, in all eight figures, half-lengths only, but well drawn and extremely well coloured. In the great refectory of the convent of San Francesco, moreover, and on the upper part of the walls, Simon had commenced several small pictures, as also a crucifix in the manner of a *tree of the Cross*,‡ but all were left unfinished, or rather merely designed, being traced with the pencil in a red colour on the wall, as may still be seen, and this mode of proceeding was the only cartoon which our old masters (for the greater rapidity in the execution of their frescoes) were wont to make. They first distributed the different portions of the work over the wall, tracing all they desired to do with

* The *Necrologia* of Siena records that Simon Memmi died at Avignon in July 1344

† These pictures no longer exist.

‡ See page 97.

the pencil, after a small design which served them as a guide, and enlarging each part to the proportions required, as they proceeded. And as the work here in question is seen to have been thus treated, so many others in various places have been executed in like manner, and when the colour in certain cases has scaled off, the red outlines are still discerned remaining on the wall. But to return to Lippo. This artist drew tolerably well, as may be seen in our book, where there is a hermit reading with the legs crossed, by his hand. He survived Simon twelve years, executing many paintings for all parts of Italy, more particularly two pictures for the church of Santa Croce in Florence.* There is a considerable resemblance in the manner of these two brothers, but they may be distinguished by the circumstance that Simon inscribed his name at the foot of his works in this manner, "Simonis Memmi Senensis opus";† and Lippo, omitting his baptismal name, and caring little for the rudeness of his Latinity, as follows: "Opus Memmi de Senis me fecit."‡ On the façade of the chapter-house of Santa Maria Novella, besides the portraits of Petrarch and Laura, of which we have before spoken, Simon Memmi depicted those of Cimabue, of Lapo the architect, and of Arnolfo his son, and finally that of himself. The pope who appears in this story, is the portrait of Benedict XI§ of Treviso, a brother of the order of Preaching Friars, whose likeness had long before been brought to Simon by Giotto his master, when the latter returned from the court of that pontiff, who held his state in Avignon. In the same picture is the portrait of Cardinal Niccola da Prato, which Simon has placed beside that of the Pope, Cardinal Niccola being in Florence at the time, in the capacity of papal legate, as we are informed by Giovanni Villani in his history. On the tomb of Simon was placed the

* These two pictures are lost.

+ Rumohr denies that this inscription is found on the works of Simon. See *Ital. Forsch.*, vol. II, p. 95.

† This inscription is now affirmed to indicate a work of Memmo, the father of Simon and Lippo Memmi, and not of Lippo, whose Latinity has been anxiously defended by some of the Italian commentators on our author.

§ The papal court was transferred to Avignon by Clement V, successor to Benedict XI. It was under Benedict XII, who reigned from 1334 to 1342, that Giotto and Simon were at Avignon.

following epitaph : *Simoni Memmio pictorum omnium omnium ætatis celeberrimo, vixit ann. 60, mens. 2, d. 3.*

It will be seen by the specimens preserved in our book that Simon was not particularly excellent in design, but nature had well endowed him with inventive power, and he delighted in drawing from the life ; in this respect he was considered so much the best master of his time, that Signor Pandolfo Malatesti despatched him to Avignon for the purpose of painting Messer Francesco Petrarca, at the request of whom Simon Memmi, so greatly to his own honour, then executed the portrait of Madonna Laura.*

TADDEO GADDI, PAINTER, OF FLORENCE.

[BORN ABOUT 1300—WAS LIVING IN 1366.]

To reward talent largely, and to honour those who possess it, wherever they may be found, is, without doubt, an excellent, useful, and praiseworthy action ; for there are many minds, which might remain dormant, if left without stimulus, but which, being excited by this allurements, put forth all their efforts, not only for the acquirement of their art, but to attain the utmost excellence therein ; whereby they advance themselves to a useful and creditable station, doing honour to their country at the same time, and securing glory to their name, as well as riches and nobility to their

* Notes to later editions of Vasari enumerate the the following works of Simon Memmi, in addition to those named by the biographer.—In the church of San Lorenzo, at Naples, is a picture of St. Louis of Avignon, crowning Robert his brother. It is in the eighth chapel of the south aisle. At Orvieto, in the church of the Dominicans, is one divided into five parts ; the Madonna is in the midst, with San Pietro and San Domenico on one side, and St. Paul and St. Mary Magdalen on the other. In England, there is a painting of the Virgin with St. Joseph, who reproves the Child Jesus for having left them, when he went to dispute with the doctors in the temple. This (see Waagen's *Art and Artists in England*) is in the Liverpool Institution. There is also a picture, undoubtedly from the hand of Simon, at Antwerp. This is a triptich, representing the Annunciation, the Crucifixion, and the Deposition.

descendants, who, from such beginnings, often rise to the highest and noblest condition, as happened to those of Taddeo Gaddi, in consequence of his works.

This Taddeo, son of Gaddo Gaddi, the Florentine, was the godson of Giotto; and, after the death of his father Gaddo, was the disciple of that master, with whom he continued twenty-four years. This we are told by Cennino di Drea Cennini, a painter of Colle di Valdelsa,* who further relates, that on the death of Giotto, Taddeo Gaddi was considered the first in the art, for judgment, genius, and other artistic qualities, being superior in most of these to all his fellow-disciples. The first works of Taddeo were executed with a facility, which was received from nature, rather than acquired by art. They were performed in the church of Santa Croce, in Florence, and in the chapel of the sacristy, where, in company with others, (also disciples of the deceased Giotto), he painted stories from the Life of Santa Maria Maddalena; the figures of these works are very fine, and the vestments, after the fashion of those times, are also beautiful and curious.† In the chapel of the Baroncelli and Bandini, for which Giotto had painted a picture in distemper, Taddeo executed certain frescoes, representing stories from the Life of the Virgin; these he did entirely alone, and they were considered extremely beautiful.‡ He afterwards painted the story of Christ disputing with the Doctors in the Temple, over the door of the same sacristy; but this work was nearly ruined, when Cosmo de' Medici, the elder, built the noviciate, the chapel and the parlour in front of the sacristy, a stone cornice having then been placed over the door. In the same church Taddeo Gaddi painted the chapel of the Bellacci in fresco, as also that of St. Andrew, which is near to one of the three chapels decorated by Giotto himself.

* Cennino, son of Andrea Cennini, of whose treatise on painting (the oldest extant) Vasari speaks further in the Life of Agnolo Gaddi. Three manuscripts of this work are known to the reading world. One is in the Laurentian Library in Florence; a second in the Riccardiana, in the same city; and a third, apparently only a modern copy of the Laurentian, in the Vatican. The work of Cennini was translated into English, some years since, by Mrs. Merrifield.

† For a description of the frescoes here ascribed to Taddeo Gaddi see Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.* vol. ii, p. 80.

‡ These frescoes still exist. See Rumohr, *ut supra*, p. 79.

The subjects represented in the chapel of St. Andrew were, Christ calling Peter and Andrew from their Nets, with the Crucifixion of the latter Apostle : a work highly praised at the time, and which has been equally commended in our own days.* Over the side door, and near the burial-place of Carlo Marsupini† of Arezzo, Taddeo executed another fresco, representing a dead Christ, with the Maries ; this was also greatly admired, as was a painting of St. Francis, likewise in fresco, placed above the crucifixion of Donato,‡ and representing the saint at the moment when, appearing in the air, he is performing the miracle of restoring to life a boy, who has been killed by falling from a high terrace. In this painting the artist has introduced the portraits of his master, Giotto, of the poet Dante, of Guido Cavalcanti, and, as some say, of himself.§ He executed many other figures, for different parts of the same church, all which are known to painters by their manner. For the confraternity of the church, Taddeo painted a most admirable Deposition from the Cross, in the oratory which stands at the corner of the Via del Crucifisso; and in the cloister of Santo Spirito he executed two stories in the arches, near the chapter-house. One of these represents Judas betraying Christ, the other is a Last Supper. Over the door of the refectory, in the same convent, this master painted a Crucifixion, with several Saints ; and these figures, compared with those of others who laboured in the same place, make it obvious that Taddeo was a faithful imitator of the manner of Giotto, which he always held in the highest estimation. In the church of San Stefano del Ponte Vecchio, Taddeo painted the high altar and predella, with infinite care.¶ He also executed a very good work in the oratory of San Michele in Orto, the subject a Dead Christ, mourned over by the Maries, and devoutly placed in the sepulchre by Nicodemus.** In the church of the Ser-

* None of these works remain. The chapel of the Bellacci was encrusted with marbles, when the frescoes of Taddeo were destroyed.

† The celebrated secretary of the republic.

‡ Probably that criticised by Brunellesco, now in the chapel of the Bardi, in Santa Croce.

§ This picture has perished. || This oratory has been demolished.

¶ All these works have perished.

** Now the oratory of San Carlo. The painting is in the Florentine Academy.

vites, he decorated the chapel of San Niccolo, which belongs to the Palagi, with stories from the life of that saint. In one of these he has proved himself well acquainted with the fury of a stormy sea, and the force of tempests, by the judicious and effective manner in which he has depicted a barque tossed on the waves: the mariners are casting forth their merchandise to lighten the ship, while S. Nicholas, appearing in the air, delivers them from their peril. This work having given great satisfaction, and been highly praised,* caused the master to be invited to paint the chapel of the high altar in the same church; he there represented stories in fresco, from the Life of Our Lady, with a picture in distemper, also of the Virgin, surrounded by many Saints, and all painted with infinite animation. In the lower part of the same picture, he represented other stories, from the Life of the Virgin, in small figures, of which I need not make more particular mention, because the whole work was destroyed in the year 1467; when Ludovico, marquis of Mantua, built the tribune, which is still there, with the choir for the monks, both erected after the design of Leon Battista Alberti. The picture was then transferred to the chapter-house of the convent,† in the refectory of which, and immediately over the seats, our artist painted a Last Supper,‡ with a Crucifixion, and various figures of saints above it.§ Having completed this work, the master was summoned to Pisa, where he painted the principal chapel of San Francesco, for Gherardo and Bonaccorso Gambacorti; the subject being, events from the life of the saint, with others from the lives of St. Andrew and St. Nicholas. These paintings were in fresco, and extremely well coloured. On the ceiling and façade of the same chapel, the confirmation of the Rule of St. Francis, by Pope Honorius, is depicted; and here Taddeo himself is portrayed from the life, wearing a sort of hood wrapped round his head. At the foot of the painting are inscribed the following words:—

* This painting also has been destroyed by time.

† The fate of this picture is not known

‡ The Last Supper and Crucifixion have both been replaced by other paintings

§ These works also have been replaced, first by Santi di Tito, and afterwards by Gio. Ferretti.

"Magister Taddeus Gaddus de Florentia pinxit hanc historiam Sancti Francisci, et Sancti Andreae, et Sancti Nicolai, anno Domini MCCCXLII * de mensi Augusti."

In the cloister of the same convent, Taddeo also painted the Virgin, with the child in her arms—a fresco of admirable colouring, † and in the midst of the church, to the left of the spectator, is the bishop St Louis, seated, while San Gherardo da Villamagna, who had been a brother of the order of St Francis, seems recommending a certain Fra Bartolommeo, then guardian of the convent, to his protection. The figures of this work were all drawn from nature; ‡ they are, consequently, full of animation, and very graceful, with a simplicity of manner preferable in many respects to the style of Giotto himself. The expression of entreaty, of gladness, of grief, and other similar emotions, more particularly, were rendered with infinite truth, and the facility of effecting this is one from which great honour redounds to the painter.

Having returned to Florence, Taddeo continued the works of Orsanmichele, for the commune of the city, and refounded the columns of the Loggia: for these he used stone, dressed and hewn, in place of the bricks of which they had previously been formed, but without altering the design, left by Arnolfo, who had directed that spacious magazines should be prepared above the Loggia, with vaults, for storing the reserves of grain laid up by the people and commune of Florence. § And to the end that this work might be completed, the guild of Porta Santa Maria, to whom the charge of the fabric had been entrusted, commanded that the tolls of the corn-market, the tax of the piazza, and other imposts of very little importance, should be made over to the building. But, what was of more consequence, it was further ordained and with great judgment, that each of the guilds of Florence

* These works have been whitewashed, those of the ceiling excepted. The latter represent the first founders of the religious orders, in figures of great majesty and beauty.

† In the chapel of the Ammanati, in the Campo Santo of Pisa, there is a gigantic head of the Virgin, which Grassi, in his *Descrizione Storica e Artistica*, declares to be a fragment of the work here described by Vasari.

‡ The church and convent being suppressed, these paintings are most probably destroyed.—*Montani*.

§ This large building is now the Record and State-Paper Office.—*Bottari*. See also Gaye, *Carteggio Inedito*.

should construct a column at its own charges, and should furthermore place a statue of its patron saint in a niche of the same. It was, moreover, decreed, that every year, on the festival of each saint, the syndics of the respective guilds, should make a collection, standing each by his own column during the whole day, for that purpose, with standard elevated and ensigns displayed. Such offerings as were made to the Virgin herself, however, were still reserved for the relief of the suffering poor.

In the year 1333, a great inundation had destroyed the defences of the Rubaconte bridge, thrown down the castle of Altafronte, greatly injured the old bridge, leaving only two of its piers standing; the same flood totally ruined the bridge of the Trinity, one pier only excepted, and that was miserably shattered. The bridge of Carraja was also much injured, and the flood-gates of Ognissanti broken down.* In this state of things, the inhabitants dwelling beyond the Arno were reduced to the necessity of crossing to their homes in boats. It was, therefore, determined by those who then ruled the city, that these evils should be amended; wherefore, they called on Taddeo Gaddi—his master, Giotto, being then at Milan—to prepare a model and design for the bridge, now called the Ponte Vecchio, charging him to construct it with all possible beauty as well as solidity. This, Taddeo at once proceeded to do. he spared no cost and no labour, erecting those mighty piers and those magnificent arches, all of hewn stone, on which now stand the twenty-two shops placed on each side of the bridge. There are forty-four in all, and the commune derives a large revenue from them, their occupants paying 800 florins yearly for rent.† The width of the bridge, from one side to the other, is thirty-two braccia,‡ that of the central road sixteen; the shops are

* See Villani, lib. ii, cap. i.

† These shops still remain. They are occupied almost entirely by the workers in gold and silver; and above them is carried the corridor, built by Vasari, to connect the Palazzo Vecchio with the Palazzo Pitti.

‡ The braccio varies in length, not only in different parts of Italy, but also according to the thing measured. In Parma, for example, the braccio for measuring silk is twenty-three inches, that for woollen or cotton is twenty-five and a fraction, while that by which the roads are measured is twenty-one only; in Siena, the braccio for cloth is fourteen inches only, while in Milan it is thirty-nine. The Florentine braccio, which is that here alluded to, is twenty three inches, English measure. —E. F.

eight braccia wide. The cost of this fabric was 72,000 gold florins, and if Taddeo merited and obtained praise for the work in that day, no less does he deserve it in the present, when he has, indeed, been more than ever commended; for, to say nothing of other floods, this bridge was not in the slightest degree affected by that which happened on the 13th of September 1557, when the bridge of Santa Trinità was totally ruined; that of Carraja had two of its arches destroyed, and the Rubaconte bridge was almost entirely washed away, much damage being also sustained by other parts of the city, from the same inundation. No man having judgment in these matters, can fail to be astonished that the Ponte Vecchio should have sustained the whole force of the waters, with that of the heavy beams and other wreck, brought against it by incessant inundations, and yet given no sign of yielding, but remained immoveable through all these assaults. About the same time, the bridge of Santa Trinita was also founded by Taddeo Gaddi, at the cost of 26,000 florins, but not with similar good fortune. This was completed in the year 1346; and I say, not with equal success, because, having been differently constructed from the Ponte Vecchio, it was entirely destroyed in the flood just alluded to, namely that of 1557. The stone wall which strengthens the bank near San Gregorio, was built under the direction of Taddeo, about the same time, and was defended by strong piles; two piers of the bridge being taken to enlarge the platform on the side of the piazza de' Mozzi, and there this master constructed the mills still to be seen at that place. While all these works were proceeding, after the designs and under the direction of Taddeo, he did not neglect his paintings, and among other works he completed the Tribune of the old *Mercanzia*,* where he depicted the six figures which represent the principal persons composing that court: they are looking at Truth, who is portrayed in the act of tearing out the tongue of Falsehood. The former is covered with a transparent veil, while the latter is wrapped in black vestments; both are females, and the whole work exhibits considerable force of invention. Beneath these figures are the following lines:—

* These paintings no longer exist.

“La pura Verità, per ubbidire
 Alla Santa Giustizia che non tarda,
 Cava la lingua alla falsa bugiarda.”*

And under the picture itself is written as follows :—

‘ Taddeo dipinse questo bel rigestro
 Discepol fu di Giotto il buon maestro.”†

Taddeo was also employed at Arezzo, where he received a commission for several works in fresco, which he executed admirably, with the assistance of his pupil Giovanni da Milano. One of these paintings is still to be seen in the church belonging to the confraternity of Spirito Santo ; it is on the wall near the high altar, the subject a Crucifixion. This work has been much celebrated for the excellence of the composition and method of treatment. The thieves are seen fastened to their crosses on each side ; there are many horses in the picture, with certain figures, in whose countenances the rage of the Jews is most eloquently expressed. Others are drawing down the limbs of the Saviour, with a cord ; offering the sponge, or otherwise occupied ; as, for example, Longinus, who pierces the side of Jesus with his spear. There are, besides, the soldiers casting lots for the vestments ; hope and fear are well expressed in the faces of all, as they watch the throwing of the dice : one awaiting his turn stands armed, and in an attitude of great restraint and uneasiness ; but to the inconvenience of this, he is obviously insensible, or disregards it in the excitement of the game. A second, with raised eyebrows and eyes and mouth wide open, looks at the dice as if suspecting fraud, but the expression of his face plainly evinces the eagerness of his desire for victory. The third is about to throw the dice : he has spread out the garment on the ground, and regards it with a smile, as assured of winning, while his lifted arm quivers in the act of casting the lot ‡. In addition to these paintings, there are others on the walls of the church, representing events from

* “Here doth pure Truth—obedient to the host
 Of sacred Justice—swift to follow crime,
 Tear forth the tongue of Falschood.”

† “By Taddeo’s hand was this fair space adorned;
 Disciple he of the good master Giotto.”

‡ These paintings are destroyed.

the life of St. John the Evangelist * Works of Taddeo are also to be found in other buildings of Arezzo, and are at once perceived by good judges to be from his hand. In the episcopal church, moreover, behind the high altar, there are stories from the life of St. John the Baptist,† so admirably done, whether as regards design or execution, that one cannot but regard them with astonishment. In the church of St. Augustine, in the chapel of St. Sebastian, near the sacristy, Taddeo painted the history of that martyr, as also a Disputation of Christ in the Temple; both so finely treated and so exquisitely finished, that none can behold the grace, beauty, and variety of excellence displayed in these works, without extreme admiration and surprise.‡

In the church of the Sasso della Vernia, in Casentino, Taddeo Gaddi painted the chapel, in which St. Francis received the stigmata;§ he was assisted in the minor details of the picture by Jacopo di Casentino, who became the disciple of Taddeo, in consequence of that master's visit to Casentino, on the occasion here alluded to. Having completed this undertaking, Taddeo, accompanied by Giovanni, the Milanese, returned to Florence, in which city and its neighbourhood he executed many works of importance; and in process of time his gains became so large, that as he constantly accumulated these sums, and was a man of prudent and regular life, he laid the foundation of the wealth and high position afterwards enjoyed by his family.

The chapter-house of Santa Maria Novella was also painted by Taddeo Gaddi, who received the commission for this work from the prior, by whom he is said to have been furnished with the composition of the picture likewise. It is true, that as the work was very large, and as the chapter-house of Santo Spirito had just been finished and given to public view, by Simon Memmi, who had painted it to his great glory, at the time when the bridges were built; the prior conceived a wish to entrust Simon with one-half of the undertaking, whereupon he consulted Taddeo respecting the

* These pictures of the Spirito Santo are also lost.

† The stories from the life of St. John the Baptist still remain, but in very bad condition.

‡ This work, also, has unhappily perished.

§ See page 100.

whole affair. He found the latter perfectly willing to accede to this arrangement, Taddeo having a great love for Simon, who had been his fellow-disciple under Giotto, and had ever continued his valued friend and affectionate companion. Oh! truly noble spirits! Ye, who without envious emulation or ambition, did indeed regard each other with brotherly affection, rejoicing each in the honour and advantage of his friend, as in his own! The work, then, was thereupon divided—three of the walls being given to Simon, as we have related in his life; the fourth,* with the vaulted ceiling, being reserved for Taddeo, who divided the latter into four compartments, or sections, in accordance with the form of the ceiling. In the first of these divisions was represented the Resurrection of Christ, and in this painting the artist seems to have attempted to produce an emission of light from the splendour of the glorified body itself; this we perceive by the effects visible on a town and certain masses of rock, which form part of the accessories. But Taddeo did not pursue the idea with respect to the figures and other portions of the pictures, warned, perhaps, by the difficulties which he anticipated, and doubtful of his ability to conduct this project to a successful conclusion. In the second compartment, he represented Jesus delivering St. Peter from shipwreck: the apostles, who manage the boat in this picture, are certainly very beautiful: and among other things may be remarked, a figure standing on the shore and fishing with a line (a subject previously treated by Giotto in the *Navicella* of St. Peter's), in which there is extraordinary force and animation. In the third section of the ceiling is the Ascension of Christ, and the fourth represents the descent of the Holy Spirit: in this picture are certain Jews, seeking to press through the doorway, who exhibit much beauty and variety of attitude. On the wall beneath, the master has depicted the seven sciences, with their names, and an appropriate figure, or group of figures, under each. Grammar is portrayed in the form of a woman instructing a child, the writer Donatus being seated at her feet. After Grammar follows Rhetoric, and at her feet is a figure, which places two hands on

* That towards the west, namely; which, as well as the ceiling and the north and east sides, is in much better preservation than the south side, which has suffered greatly.

different books, while it draws a third hand from beneath its mantle, and applies it to its mouth. Logic has a serpent, under a veil, in the hand, with Zeno Eleates, seated, reading at the feet. Arithmetic holds the tables of the Abacus; Abraham, the inventor of which, is seated at her feet. Music has the appropriate instruments around her, with Tubalcain seated below; he is striking an anvil, with two hammers, and is listening intently to the sounds he is producing. Geometry has the square and compass, with Euclid beneath; and Astronomy, bearing the celestial globe in her hand, has Atlas under her feet. The remainder of the space is occupied by seven theological sciences, the figure beneath each representing that condition of men considered most appropriate—the pope, the emperor, kings, cardinals, dukes, bishops, marquises, and others. The face of the pope in this series is the portrait of Clement V. In the middle and highest place is St Thomas Aquinas, who had been devoted to the study of all these sciences; he has certain heretics lying beneath his feet, as, for example, Arius, Sabellius, and Averroes; while around him are, Moses, Paul, John the Evangelist, and other figures; above whom are the three theological and four cardinal virtues, with many other figures and innumerable accessories, to all of which Taddeo* has given infinite grace and truth of expression. The whole work, indeed, may be considered the best, as to composition, that Taddeo has left us, and is in better preservation also than any other.

In the same church of Santa Maria Novella, this artist painted St Jerome robed in the vestments of a cardinal, he having an especial devotion to that saint, and having chosen him for the protector of his house. Accordingly, at a later period, Agnolo, son of Taddeo, after the death of his father, caused a tomb to be constructed for their common descendants beneath this painting; the covering of the tomb was of marble, with the arms of the Gaddi family. And for these descendants, St. Jerome the Cardinal, moved by the excellence of Taddeo, and by the merits of his posterity, has obtained from God the most honourable offices in the Church,

* Rumohr questions the justice of ascribing these works to Taddeo. See *Italienische Forschungen*, vol. ii. See also Waagen's *German Catalogue of the Royal Gallery of Berlin*.

such as bishoprics, cardinalates, and deaneries; they have besides been frequently clerks of the pontifical chamber, and received the most honoured orders of knighthood. All which descendants of Taddeo, of whatever degree, have constantly esteemed and favoured the followers of the fine arts, more particularly those devoted to sculpture and painting, whom they have ever protected and aided to the utmost of their power.

At the age of fifty Taddeo was attacked by violent fever, and departed from this life in the year 1350,* leaving two sons, Agnolo and Giovanni, who both devoted themselves to painting, and whom he recommended to the care of Jacopo of Casentino and Giovanni of Milan, entreating the first to guard their morals and manners, but requiring the last to instruct them in matters of art. This Giovanni executed many works after the death of Taddeo, among others a picture which was placed in the church of Santa Croce, on the altar of San Gherardo da Villamagna, fourteen years after the death of Taddeo. The painting on the high altar of Ognissanti, where the brotherhood of the Umiliati have their seat, is likewise by his hand,† and was considered extremely fine; in Assisi also, Giovanni da Milano painted a picture for the tribune of the high altar, a crucifix namely, with the Virgin and Santa Clara. On the front and side walls of the apsis he painted stories from the life of Our Lady. He afterwards repaired to Milan, in which city he produced many works both in distemper and fresco, and where he ultimately died.

Of Taddeo, then, it may be observed that he constantly adhered to the manner of Giotto, but we cannot affirm that he greatly improved that manner, except in the colouring, to which he gave more freshness and animation than had been exhibited by Giotto; the latter had so diligently laboured to overcome the difficulties and ameliorate the methods of proceeding in other departments of the art, that although he gave some attention to this also, yet the grace of attaining

* Rumohr cites a document which proves him to have been still living in 1356

† The opinions of Rumohr as to this painter, and the accuracy of that commentator's judgment respecting the works of Giovanni, have been much questioned. For an extended dissertation on this subject, see *Italienische Forschungen*, vol. ii, pp 81-3

what he sought was not granted to him; while Taddeo Gaddi, having seen by what means Giotto had been facilitated on one point or impeded on another, had profited by these instructions, and had afterwards found time to proceed in the way pointed out to him, and in some degree to ameliorate the practice of colouring.*

Taddeo was buried by his sons Agnolo and Giovanni in the first cloister of the church of Santa Croce, and in the sepulchre which he had himself prepared for his father Gaddo; he was honoured by many copies of verse written to his praise by the virtuosi of the time, and his memory was held in esteem as that of a man whose life had been highly meritorious, and who, to say nothing of his paintings, had conducted many useful buildings and other works of various kinds to a successful conclusion, to the great advantage and convenience of his native city. Among these works may be appropriately mentioned the campanile of Santa Maria del Fiore, which he constructed with infinite care and diligence, after the design left by his master Giotto. The masonry of this tower was so well executed, that better workmanship could not possibly be performed, nor would it be easy to construct a tower more nobly, whether as regards design, ornament, or cost. The epitaph inscribed to the memory of Taddeo was as follows.

*"Hoc uno dici poterat Florentia felix
Vivente at cetera est non potuisse mori."*

The drawings of this master evince great boldness, as may be seen in our book, where we have the story which he painted for the chapel of Sant' Andrea in the church of Santa Croce at Florence, drawn by his hand.

* There are six small paintings by Taddeo Gaddi in the Gallery of the Florentine Academy. For many luminous observations relative to these works, see Rumohr, vol. ii, p. 216

ANDREA ORGAGNA,* PAINTER, SCULPTOR, AND ARCHITECT, OF FLORENCE.

[BORN . . . —HAD CEASED TO LIVE IN 1375.]

WE seldom find a man distinguishing himself in one branch of art, who cannot readily acquire the knowledge of others, more especially of those immediately connected with that to which his attention was first devoted, and which proceed, so to speak, from the same source. We have a case in point exhibited by the Florentine Orgagna, who was at once a painter, sculptor, architect, and poet, as will hereafter appear. Born in Florence, Andrea commenced the study of sculpture while still but a child, under Andrea Pisano,† and to this he devoted himself earnestly for some years. Subsequently, being desirous of enriching his powers of invention and attaining distinction in the composition of historical works, he gave the most diligent attention to the practice of drawing, and herein he was powerfully aided by Nature, which had destined him to universality of attainment. He next, as one effort usually leads to another, made attempts at painting in colours, both in fresco and distemper, wherein he succeeded so well, with the assistance of his brother Bernardo Orgagna, that he was taken by the latter to paint in his company in the church of Santa Maria Novella, where, in the principal chapel, which then belonged to the family of the Ricci, the brothers executed together the life of Our Lady. When this work was finished it was considered very beautiful, but no long time after, by the neglect of those who had charge of the building, the roof was suffered to become unsound, when the painting was injured by the rains, and was then put into the state in which we now see it, as will be described in its proper place; let it suffice for the present to say that Domenico Ghirlandajo, by whom it was repainted, availed himself for the most part of Orgagna's composition. In the same church, the chapel of the Strozzi, which is near to the

* For various opinions concerning the true orthography of this name, see the notes to Rio, *Della Poesia Cristiana*, etc., Italian translation, Venice, 1841; the *Antologia di Firenze*, vol. iii; and Rumohr, vol. ii.

† Cione, the father of Andrea di Cione Orgagna (for such is the best authenticated form of his name), was a celebrated goldsmith, and it is probable that Andrea acquired the first rudiments of art under his care.

door of the sacristy and belfry, was also decorated in fresco by Andrea in company with his brother Bernardo. On one of the walls of this chapel, to which you ascend by a staircase of stone, the glory of Paradise was depicted with all the Saints, who are robed in the various vestments and head-dresses of that age, on the opposite wall was a representation of the Inferno, with its abysmal dungeons, circles of fire, and other features, described by Dante, a poet whom Andrea studied most carefully.* In the church of the Servites, in the same city of Florence, this master painted the chapel of the Cresci family in fresco, and also in company with his brother Bernardo.† In San Piero Maggiore he executed a rather large picture, the Coronation of the Virgin, with a second picture in San Romeo,‡ near the lateral door of the church §

In like manner, Andrea and his brother Bernardo together adorned the exterior façade of Sant' Apollinare in fresco, a work which they executed with such extraordinary care that the colours, although in that exposed situation, have remained in wonderful preservation even to this day, when they are still fresh and beautiful || Moved by the fame of these works, which were highly praised, the men who at that time governed Pisa, caused Andrea to be summoned for the service of their Campo Santo, where he was appointed to paint a part of one of the walls, as had been already done by Giotto and Buffalmacco, wherefore, setting himself earnestly to work, Andrea painted a Last Judgment, with various fantasies of his own invention, on that side of the building nearest to the duomo and beside the Crucifixion of Buffalmacco. In the angle on which he commenced his work, Orgagna represented the temporal nobility of every degree, surrounded by all the pleasures of this world; they are

* Andrea afterwards painted the altar-piece of this chapel, as will be seen hereafter; and this work, as well as the mural paintings, is still in good preservation.

† These works have perished.

‡ This picture, the fate of which had long remained unknown, has been lately discovered, and purchased, by the Signors Francesco Lombardi and Ugo Baldi, of Florence, to enrich their important collection of ancient masters.—*Ed. Flor.* 1848.

§ More commonly known as San Remigio. Of this picture (the subject of which Vasari does not tell us, we cannot ascertain the history.

|| They have now, unhappily, perished.

seated in the midst of a meadow, enamelled with flowers and beneath the shade of orange-trees, forming a delicious grove; frolicsome Cupids are sporting among the branches of these trees, and hovering about the company beneath them, they joyously fly around the young girls of the party; all these figures thus seated are manifestly portraits, and were taken from the noble ladies and great personages of that day, but from the length of time that has now elapsed, they can no longer be recognized. The Cupids appear to be shooting their arrows at the young maidens, near whom are knights and nobles occupied in listening to music and songs, or in watching the dances of youths and maidens, who rejoice in the gladness of their youth and love. Among these nobles Orgagna has portrayed Castruccio, lord of Lucca; he is represented as a handsome youth, wearing a cap of azure blue, and holding a falcon on his hand, with other nobles of the same period near him, but whose names are not known. In short, he depicted with all possible diligence, in this first part of his work, whatever the world has to offer of most joyous and delightful, so far as the space would permit. and in accordance with the requirements of the art. On the other side of the same picture is a high mountain, on which Andrea has represented the life of those who, moved by repentance of their sins, and by desire for salvation, have retired from the world to that Solitude, which is occupied by holy hermits, whose days are passed in the service of God, and who are pursuing various occupations, with most animated expression and truth of effect; some, reading or praying, seem wholly intent on a life of contemplation; others, labouring to gain their bread, are actively employed in different ways; one hermit is seen milking a goat, nor would it be possible to imagine a more truthful and animated figure than he presents. On the lower part of the hill is St. Macarius, calling the attention of three kings, who are riding forth to the chase, accompanied by their ladies, and followed by their train, to human misery, as exhibited in three monarchs lying dead, but not wholly decayed, within a sepulchre. The living potentates, in varied and beautiful attitudes, regard this spectacle with serious attention, and one might almost say that they are reflecting with regret on their own liability shortly to become such as those they are looking

upon. In one of these sovereigns, represented on horseback, Andrea has painted the likeness of Ugnccione della Faggiuola of Arezzo; it is the figure who is holding his nose with one hand, to avoid the odour of the dead and putrid bodies. In the centre of the picture is Death, robed in black, and flying through the air; the form is that of a woman, and she clearly intimates that by her scythe, the crowds lying dead on the earth beneath her have been deprived of life. All states and conditions are there: rich and poor, young and old, men and women; the strong and blooming, together with the sick and faded, some of every age in short, and all in large numbers. And as Andrea knew that the Pisans were pleased with the invention of Buffalmacco, who caused the figures of Bruno, in San Paolo a Ripa d'Arno, to speak, by making the words issue from their mouths, so he filled his whole work with such inscriptions, the greater part of which have been destroyed by time, and are no longer intelligible; among some still legible, are the following, uttered by old crippled men, whom he has made to exclaim as below:—

“Dacche prosperitate ci ha lasciati,
O morte, medicina d'ogni pena,
Deh viem a darne ormai l'ultima cena”*—

with other words that cannot be deciphered, and verses in the old manner, composed, as I find, by Orgagna himself, who gave his attention to poetry also, and occasionally wrote a sonnet. Around these dead bodies devils are moving; they busily tear the souls of the departed from their mouths, and carry them off to certain fiery gulfs, seen at the summit of a very high mountain: opposite to these devils are angels, who approach others of the dead, which have manifestly belonged to the good, and in like manner, drawing the souls from their mouths, they bear them flying to Paradise. On a scroll, supported by two angels, the following verses are written:

“Ischermo di sapere e di ricchezza
Di nobilitate ancora e di pochezza
Vale neente ai colpi di costei”—

“Since nought of happiness to us remains,
Come, then, O Death!—the cure for every grief—
Give our last supper, and relief from pain.”

with some other words which cannot easily be read.* Beneath this, and in the ornamental border surrounding the picture, are nine angels, who bear other inscriptions, on scrolls prepared for that purpose, some in Latin, some in Italian; they are placed thus on the border, because they would have spoiled the effect if suffered to stand in the midst of the picture, but their not being admitted to the body of the work seems to have displeased the author, by whom they were considered most beautiful, and so perhaps they were, according to the taste of that age. For our part, we omit the greater part of them, that we may not fatigue our readers with matter so far from amusing and so little to the purpose, and besides, as the larger portion of these inscriptions are cancelled, the remainder are nothing more than fragments.† When that portion of the work was completed, Oragna commenced the Last Judgment, wherein he represented Jesus Christ, seated on high amidst the clouds, and surrounded by the twelve Apostles, to judge the quick and the dead. The master has here displayed the different emotions proper to the occasion, with infinite art and most life-like truth. On the one side he has shown the grievous misery of the condemned, who weep bitterly as they are torn away by furious demons,‡ who lead them to the infernal regions; and, on the other, are seen the joy and gladness of the good,

* "The words that Vasari did not take the trouble to read," says the Florentine edition of 1848, "are as follows:—

"Ed ancor non si truova contra lei
O lettore, niuno argomento.
Eh! non avere lo 'ntelletto spento
Di stare sempre in apparecchiato
Che non ti giunga in mortale peccato."

The whole may be translated thus:—

"Nor wisdom's aid, nor riches may avail,
Nor proud nobility, nor valour's arm,
To make thee shelter from the stroke of death;
Nor shall thine arguments, O reader sage,
Have force to change her purpose. wherefore, turn
Thy wealth of thought to its best use—be thine
The watch unsleeping, ever will prepared,
That so she find thee not in mortal sin."

† Of this picture, which is known under the name of the *Triumph of Death*, there is a plate in *Lasinio, Pitture del Campo Santo di Pisa*. See also Rosini, *Descrizione delle Pitture del Campo Santo di Pisa*, Pisa, 1816

whom a choir of angels, guided by the archangel Michael, are happily conducting towards the right hand, or the abode of the blessed. And now is it truly to be lamented, that for want of writers to record the names of all that crowd of persons represented—knights, nobles, and other men of distinction, all evidently drawn and figured from the life—scarcely any, or at least but very few, are known, or can be identified : it is true that the pope in this picture is said to be Innocent IV, the friend of Manfredi,* but of the other figures very few are authenticated. After completing this work, and also certain sculptures in marble, which he executed greatly to his honour in the church of the Madonna, on the Ponte Vecchio, Orgagna returned to Florence, leaving his brother Bernardo working alone in the Campo Santo, where he painted an Inferno, as it is described by Dante ; and this work of Bernardo's having suffered great injury, was restored in the year 1530 by Sollazzino, a painter of our own day.† In Florence he continued his labours, painting a very large fresco on one of the walls of the church of Santa Croce,‡ near the centre of the building. The subject of this work is that which he had previously treated in the Campo Santo of Pisa, in three similar divisions, but the story of St. Macarius, exhibiting the dead kings, and that of the hermits on the mountain, is omitted. Repeating all the other parts of the Pisan pictures, he executed the Florentine work with improved design and greater care than he had bestowed on that of Pisa, but pursuing a similar plan as to the composition, as well as in the manner, inscriptions, and other accessories ; in this respect the only change was in the portraits from life, those of the Florentine picture portraying his friends on one side, whom he placed in Paradise, and his enemies on the other, who were stationed in the Inferno. Among the good may be distinguished the profile of Pope Clement VI, drawn from the life, with the triple-crown on his head : this pontiff was very favourable to the Florentines.

* This must be considered an error of the press, and should be read "enemy", and not "friend" ("nemico", and not "amico"), as our readers will readily perceive.

† See Morrona, *Pisa Illustrata*, for a copper-plate, which proves that Sollazzino departed widely from the original work in this restoration, see also Lasinio, *Pittura del Campo Santo di Pisa*.

‡ This work is lost.

and possessed many of Orgagna's paintings, which he prized greatly. During his pontificate, the jubilee of one hundred years was changed to one of fifty. Also among the blessed is Messer Dino del Garbo,* an eminent physician of that time, attired as was then customary among physicians, and wearing a red cap lined with grey miniver; an angel holds him by the hand. There are, besides, other portraits, of which the originals are not known. Among the condemned, Orgagna has placed Guardi, serjeant of the commune of Florence, whom the devil drags along by a hook; he is distinguished by the three red lilies in his white cap, then the accustomed head-dress of sergeants, beadles, and others of that class. This Andrea did because Guardi had seized his goods for debt. The judge and notary who had acted against him on the same occasion were similarly represented by the painter among the sinners of the Inferno. Near Guardi is Cecco d'Ascoli,† a famous magician of that day; and a little above him, towards the centre of the painting, is a hypocritical friar, who issues from a tomb, and seeks furtively to mingle with the good, but is discovered by an angel, who drives him into the midst of the condemned ‡

Andrea Orgagna had another brother, besides Bernardo, who was called Jacopo, and who devoted himself to sculpture, but with no great success; for this brother Andrea sometimes made designs in relief, and while thus working in clay, he conceived an inclination to do something in marble, and to ascertain if he yet remembered the principles of that art, to which he had given his attention, as we have seen, in Pisa. He now, therefore, applied himself earnestly to this study, and profited so greatly, that he afterwards availed himself of these labours, very much to his credit, as shall be related in the sequel. Andrea next devoted himself, with the utmost

* For an account of this physician and medical writer, see Tiraboschi, *Storia Letteraria*.

† Cecco d'Ascoli, a distinguished mathematician, poet, and physician, was publicly burnt in Florence, for heresy, on the 16th September 1327. The physician Dino del Garbo is accused of having caused, or at least contributed to, this fearful catastrophe. For further details respecting these Florentines, see Villani, *Storie*, lib. 2, cap. xxxix. See also Mazzuchelli, *Scrittori Italiani*, where a much more circumstantial account of this tragedy will be found.

‡ These pictures no longer exist.

diligence, to the study of architecture, believing that he should find this also useful to him at some future day ; nor was he deceived in that expectation—the commune of Florence, having purchased the houses of several citizens, in the year 1355, for the purpose of extending their buildings and enlarging the piazza, caused various designs to be prepared, and Andrea was among the masters who offered their plans to the consideration of the commune. The proposed erections consisted of a building wherein the citizens might assemble during the winter, or in bad weather, for the arrangement of such affairs as they were accustomed to transact in the uncovered arcade, when the weather offered no impediment ; and the commune determined to build a magnificent Loggia, near the palace, for that purpose, together with an edifice for the mint. Among the plans then presented by the best masters of the city, the one universally approved was that of Orgagna, and this the commune accepted, as being more extensive, magnificent, and beautiful, than any other. After his design, therefore, according to the determination of the signori and the commune, the grand Loggia of the piazza was commenced, on the foundations laid at the time of the duke of Athens, the building being diligently and carefully constructed of hewn stone. And on this occasion a method, new to those times, was introduced : the arches, namely, of the vault, instead of being pointed, as they had previously been, were turned in half-circles, after a new and much-lauded manner.* The whole fabric was one of infinite grace and beauty ; and was completed, under the direction of Orgagna,† in a very short time. And if the builders had had the forethought to construct their work beside San Romolo, and had turned its back to the north, it would have been as useful to the whole city as it is beautiful. This they probably neglected to do, from the wish to have it close to the palace gate ; but the consequence is, that during the winter no one can endure to remain in the Loggia, for the sharpness of the wind. Between the arches of the front, and among other

* Many examples prove the rounded arch to have been used long before the time of Orgagna. See the learned dissertation of Niccolini, pp 57 62. See also Lasinio; and Misserini, *Piazza del Granduca*, etc.

† Niccolini denies that Andrea completed the Loggia, but supposes it to have been finished entirely after his design, from reverence to his memory, probably by his brother Bernardo.

ornaments, by his own hand, Gorgagna sculptured seven marble figures in mezzo-relievo, representing the seven theological and cardinal Virtues,* which are so admirably done, that, taken in conjunction with the rest of the work, they prove this master to have been no less excellent as a sculptor, than he was as a painter and architect. In addition to his talents, Andrea was, besides, endowed with a most cheerful disposition and kind heart; no man, of his condition, was ever more amiable, or of pleasanter manners. While occupied with any one of his three professions, Andrea never neglected the other two; thus, while the Loggia was in progress of construction, he painted a picture in distemper, comprising many large figures, with smaller ones on the predella. This picture was intended for that chapel of the Strozzi wherein he had previously executed certain works in fresco, with his brother Bernardo; and here, believing that this painting would offer more conclusive testimony to his skill in art, than could be presented by his labours in fresco, he inscribed his name in the following words:—

“ANNO DOMINI MCCCLVII, ANDREAS CIONIS DE FLORENTIA ME PINXIT.”†

This work being completed, Andrea executed other pictures, also on panel, which were sent to the pope, in Avignon, and are still in the cathedral church of that city. Shortly after, the men of the brotherhood of Orsanmichele, having collected large sums of money by the ordinary alms-giving and in consequence of the mortality which prevailed in 1348, when large donations of money and lands were offered to their Madonna, determined to construct a chapel, or rather tabernacle, around her, enriched not only with marbles, sculptured in all possible ways, and adorned with other rich stones of price, but decorated moreover with mosaics and ornaments of bronze; embellished, in short, to the utmost extent practicable to the art of the period. They resolved that the building should surpass all that had been previously erected

* These Virtues are six, the seventh is the figure of the Virgin. They are declared by Baldinucci to have been designed by Agnolo Gaddi, in 1367, and sculptured by a certain Jacopo di Pisa, about 1368.

† This picture, which still retains its place, and is in good preservation, deserves to be considered one of the best works of the master.—

of that size, as well for the workmanship as the material, and therefore confided the charge of the whole to Orgagna, as being the most excellent artist of that age; and he prepared so many designs for the edifice, that one was at length found to please those who ruled in the matter, and they declared it better than all the others. Thereupon, resigning the undertaking to Orgagna's hands, they referred the whole to his judgment and opinion, wherefore, employing various masters in sculpture, selected from different countries, to execute all other parts of the work, he devoted his own attention, with that of his brother Bernardo, to the figures; and having finished them all, he caused the several parts to be most ingeniously and carefully put together, without cement, but with fastenings of lead and copper, to the end that no spot or blemish should lessen the beauty of the polished and shining marbles. In all this he proceeded with the most perfect success, completing the whole, to his own great honour, as well as to the benefit of the artists who succeeded him; for this work, which, in consequence of the mode of junction discovered by Orgagna, makes the spectator believe the entire chapel to be formed of one block of marble, must have served many succeeding artists as a useful model. And although this chapel is in the Teutonic manner, it has nevertheless so much grace, and is so beautifully proportioned, according to that style, as to hold the first place among the works of the period. The composition consists principally of large and small figures, in mezzo-rilievo, representing angels and prophets surrounding the Madonna, and all most beautifully executed. Wonderful, also, is the casting of the bronze girders and supports, which are all carefully polished: the whole building is clasped around, and upheld, in such sort by these bronze fastenings, that the strength of the work is no less remarkable than its beauty, which last is admirable in all parts of the chapel. But how earnestly Andrea laboured to display the mastery of his genius before the eyes of that rude age, is made more than ever manifest in the large historical piece, executed in mezzo-rilievo, on the back part of this tabernacle, where he has placed the twelve apostles—figures which are each a braccia and a half high; they look up towards the Madonna, who is ascending to heaven in an oviform *Gloria*, surrounded by

angels. In one of these apostles, Orgagna has left us his own portrait, taken as an old man, which he then was ; the beard is shaven, the large capote wound about the head, the face is round and flat, as seen in the likeness above,* which was taken from the relief in question. In addition to this, the following words are inscribed in the marble beneath :—

“ ANDREAS CIONIS PICTOR FLORENTINUS ORATORII ARCHIMAGISTER
EXTITIT HUIUS MCCCLIX.”

It appears that the building of the above-mentioned Loggia, and of the tabernacle just described, with all its workmanship, cost 96,000 florins of gold,† which were extremely well spent, for whether, as regards the architecture, sculpture, or other ornaments, it is certainly not surpassed in beauty by any work of that period ; but is such, that for the part he has taken in it, the name of Andrea Orgagna has been, and ever will be, great and enduring. It was the custom of this master to sign himself *Andrea di Cione, sculptor*, on his paintings ; and *Andrea di Cione,‡ painter*, on his sculptures, desiring that men should be aware of his claims as a sculptor while they were admiring his paintings, and of his talents as a painter while they examined his sculptures. There are numerous pictures in Florence by this artist, some of which are known by the name, as is the painting in San Romeo, before alluded to ; others are recognised by the manner, as, for example, a work in the chapter-house of the monastery degli Angioli.§ Some pictures, which Andrea left unfinished, were completed by his brother Bernardo, who survived him, but not many years. Andrea amused himself, as we have before said, in making verses ; and when he was very old, he wrote certain sonnets, addressed to Burchiello, who was then a youth || Finally, having attained the age of sixty years, he finished the course of his life, in the year 1389 ;¶

* In the second edition of Vasari, that is, published during the life of the author, in 1568.

† In the first edition of Vasari, we read 86,000 ; and this, according to Bottari, is most probably the right reading.

‡ As Francia placed *aurifer* on his pictures, and *pietor* on his works in gold.

§ The fate of this picture is unknown.

|| Burchiello also wrote sonnets to Orgagna, which the reader may see in Burchiello's works, printed in London, 1757.

¶ If this date were correct, the birth of Andrea must be placed in

and from his house, which was in the Via Vecchia de' Corazzai, he was honourably borne to the tomb.*

There lived many excellent masters, both in sculpture and architecture, at the same time with Orgagna; their names are not known, but their works still remain, and are not without merit, nor unworthy of praise. Among these may be noted the monastery of the Certosa, in Florence, built at the cost of the noble family of the Acciaiuoli, and more particularly of Messer Niccola, grand seneschal of the king of Naples; with the tomb of the seneschal (on which may be seen his portrait, taken from nature), and that of his father and one of his sisters, the covering of which is of marble, whereon the portraits of the two personages interred beneath are also very well executed. These works are of the year 1366, or thereabout. By the same masters is likewise the sepulchre of Messer Lorenzo, son of the aforesaid Niccola, who died at Naples, but was brought to Florence and deposited in this tomb, with all the honourable solemnities of funereal pomp. In like manner, and by the same artists, is the sepulchre of Cardinal Santa Croce, a member of the same family; this was placed in the choir, which was then rebuilt, and near the high altar. The cardinal's portrait, extremely well executed, in the year 1390, is sculptured on the tomb.

The Pisan artist, Bernardo Nello di Giovanni Falconi,† was a pupil of Andrea Orgagna: he painted many pictures in the cathedral of Pisa. The Florentine, Tommaso di Marco, was also Andrea's disciple: this master, besides many other works, painted a picture in 1392, which is still in the church of Sant' Antonio di Pisa, appended to the cross aisle.‡

1329; from a document published by Professor Bonaini, in his *Memorie Inedite*, pp. 105-6, we find that Orgagna was dead in 1376, not 1375, as Marmi has it in his note to Baldinucci.

* In the first edition of Vasari, the following epitaph is quoted, as having been written on Orgagna.

"HIC JACET ANDREAS QUO NON PRÆSTANTIOR ALTER
ERE FUIT; PATRIÆ MAXIMA FAMA SUÆ."

† The only authenticated relic of this master, is a portion of one of the historical scenes in the Campo Santo of Pisa, an engraving from which may be seen in Lasinio. See Rosini, *Storia della Scultura*, vol. ii, p. 7.

‡ This painting is no longer in existence. It was destroyed when that part of the church wherein it hung was altered.

After the death of Andrea, his brother Jacopo, who had applied himself to sculpture and architecture, as we have before said, was occasionally employed; as, for example, in the year 1328,* when the tower and gate of San Piero Gattolini were founded and built. It is also asserted that the four stone lions, which were placed on the four corners of the ducal palace of Florence, and entirely covered with gold, are from his hand.† This work was severely criticised, a much heavier weight than was advisable having been laid on those points, without any reason for its being there, and many thought, that if those lions had been made hollow within, and constructed of plates of copper, gilded in the fire, they would have been much better suited to that place, as being much lighter and more durable. The horse, in full relief and gilded, which stands over one of the doors in Santa Maria del Fiore (the door leading to the oratory of the confraternity of St. Zenobius), is also said to be by this master. It was erected, as is affirmed, in memory of Piero Farnese, Captain of the Florentines; thus I will not avouch, but I know nothing to the contrary.‡ At the same period, Mariotto, the nephew of Andrea, painted the Paradise in fresco, still to be seen in the church of San Michele Bisdomini, in the Via de' Servi, in Florence, with the picture of the Annunciation for the altar. He also painted a second picture, which contained many figures, for the lady Cecilia de' Boscoli, which was likewise placed in the same church, near the door.§

But among all the disciples of Orgagna, none was found

* Here there is a manifest confusion of dates. Villani says 1327; but then Andrea Orgagna was not dead;—he was not born, indeed, according to Vasari, who makes him die in 1389, at the age of sixty.

† The Roman edition of Vasari, published in 1759, has a note to the effect that one of these lions, greatly dilapidated, was then still remaining “on the corner next the great fountain” The Florentine edition of 1846, has the following query “On a pedestal, at one corner of the piazza of the Palazzo Vecchio (that opposite to the great fountain), is a lion, half-consumed by time. Can this possibly be one of those sculptured by Jacopo Orgagna?”

‡ This horse, made of wood, covered with canvas, was removed in the year 1842, when the cathedral was restored.

§ The pictures of Mariotto, in San Michele Bisdomini (now San Michelino), were destroyed in the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the church was rebuilt.

superior to Francesco Traini. This master painted a picture on a gold ground, for a nobleman of the house of Coscia, who lies entombed in Pisa, in the chapel of San Domenico, in the church of Santa Catarina. The subject of this work is San Domenico himself,* two braccia and a half in height, and is surrounded by six historical scenes, representing so many events of his life; the whole work is full of animation, and the colouring is beautiful. In the same church, and in the chapel of St. Thomas Aquinas, Francesco Traini painted a picture in distemper, the fanciful invention and peculiar composition of which has been much admired. St. Thomas is here represented sitting, the portrait being taken from life; I say from the life, because the monks of the convent caused a figure of the saint to be brought from the abbey of Fossanuova, where St. Thomas had died in the year 1323.† The saint, then, is seated among the clouds, with certain books in his hand, from which proceed rays of light, whereby the congregated people of Christ are illuminated. These are represented in the lower part of the picture by kneeling figures of doctors and clergy of all ranks, in vast numbers, bishops, cardinals, and popes. Among the latter is the portrait of pope Urban VI. Under the feet of St. Thomas are Sabellius, Arius, Averroes, and other heretics and philosophers, with their books all torn to pieces. On one side of the Saint stands Plato, pointing to the *Timæus*; and on the other is Aristotle, who calls the attention of St. Thomas to his *Ethics*. Above all is Jesus Christ, also in the air, surrounded by the four Evangelists. The Saviour is in the act of blessing St. Thomas, and appears to be sending down upon him the Holy Spirit, filling him with his grace‡ When this work was finished, it obtained high reputation and repeated eulogies for the painter Francesco Traini, he having therein greatly surpassed his master, Andrea, in colouring, har-

* Respecting this picture, all writers have hitherto maintained silence, its fate being unknown; but it has been discovered within the last few years, by Professor Francesco Bonaini. See *Memorie Inedite*, etc., p. 5, *et seq.*

† "St. Thomas Aquinas," says the Roman edition, "died, not in 1323, but in 1274, being then in his forty-eighth year."

‡ This most beautiful picture, although changed from its Gothic form to that of a rectangle, and in some parts restored, is still tolerably well preserved, in the church of Santa Catarina at Pisa.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

mony, and invention.* The drawings of Andrea Orgagna were executed with infinite care, as may be seen in our book.

THE FLORENTINE PAINTER TOMMASO, CALLED GIOTTINO.

[BORN 1324—WAS LIVING IN 1368]

WHEN the arts of design contend among themselves in emulative strife, when artists labour each to surpass the other, there can be no doubt that the many subtle spirits thus incited to study and aroused to exertion, will constantly make new discoveries for the satisfaction of all the varied wishes and tastes of men. And to speak on this occasion more particularly of painting; some, producing works in a dark and unaccustomed manner, but making clearly evident all the difficulties they have overcome, cause the light of their genius thus to shine forth from the shadow. Others display the utmost softness and delicacy, thinking that these must needs be more pleasing to the eye of the spectator, and as this method displays the forms in more striking relief, so it does, without doubt, more readily attract the attention of the multitude: others, in fine, depicting their subjects with graceful harmony, softening their colours and keeping their lights and shadows in due subjection, deserve the warmest praise, and display the treasures of their genius, while they also prove the rectitude of their judgment, as did Tommaso di Stefano, called Giotto.

This master was born in the year 1324, and received the first rudiments of art from his father; but, while still young, he determined to imitate the manner of Giotto, rather than

* Leclanchè tells us that there is a Nativity of the Virgin, by Andrea Orgagna, in the Louvre; but Schorn expresses doubt of its authenticity and does not consider it to be by Orgagna. The latter commentator mentions a picture of the Annunciation, in the Florentine Academy and intimates an opinion that this may be the lost painting from St Romeo. See *ante* page 214.

that of Stefano, his father. And his efforts in that matter succeeded so well, that he not only attained to, and even greatly improved on, the manner of Giotto, but also acquired the surname of Giottino, which he never lost. Nay, many have been of opinion that he was a son of Giotto,* judging from his manner as well as name, but they have been altogether in error, since it is certain, or to be more exact (for certainty in this matter is not to be attained respecting any man), it is the general belief, that Giottino was the son of the Florentine painter Stefano.

Giottino, then, was so earnestly devoted to the art of painting, and pursued it with so much diligence, that if we have not many works from his hand, yet those remaining to us suffice to show that his manner was excellent, and his productions admirable; the draperies, hair, beards, and various other parts of his pictures, exhibit so much softness and delicacy of finish, that the grace of harmony may be truly said to have been added to his art by this master, who possessed the qualities required for its production in a higher degree than either Giotto his master† or Stefano his father‡ In his early youth, Giottino painted in the church of Santo Stefano al Ponte Vecchio in Florence, where he decorated a chapel near the side door, which still gives proof of great ability on the part of the artist, although the work is now much injured by the humidity of the place.§ He next painted the two Saints Cosmo and Damiano, in the church of the Frati Ermini, which is situated near the mills: this work is also greatly injured by time, so that but little of its character can now be distinguished.|| In the old church of Santo Spirito, in the same city of Florence, Giottino painted a chapel in fresco, which was destroyed when the church itself

* For certain remarks on the name, etc., of this painter, see Professor Bonaini, *Memorie Inedite*, p. 63.

† Tommaso Giottino could scarcely have been the scholar of Giotto who died, according to Vasari himself, when Giottino was but thirteen years old. Tommaso was perhaps called the disciple of Giotto, rather because he so scrupulously imitated that master than because he was his pupil.

‡ This somewhat obscure passage is elucidated, to a certain extent, by the remarks of Rumohr on the manner of Giottino. See *Ital. Forsch.* ii, 82; see also Speth, *Kunst in Italien*, i, 336.

§ This work has perished.

|| Neither picture nor church now remain.

was burnt. Over the principal door of the same church this master executed another fresco, representing the descent of the Holy Spirit ; and on the piazza, in front of the building, he painted the tabernacle still to be seen there at the corner of the convent going towards the Via della Cucculia. The subject of this last-named work is Our Lady surrounded by numerous saints. The heads and other portions approach closely to the modern manner ; the artist obviously sought to vary and improve the carnations ; he has imparted considerable grace to all the figures,* and has evinced great judgment in the draperies also, whether as to form or colour. Giotto likewise worked in Santa Croce, where he painted the history of Constantine in the chapel of San Silvestro, a work of great merit, more especially as regards the attitudes and gestures of the figures, which are most beautiful. Behind a marble ornament, constructed to adorn the tomb of Messer Bettino de' Bardi, a military commander of much distinction at that time, Tommaso painted this nobleman after the life ; he is portrayed kneeling, and about to issue from a tomb, whence he has been summoned by the trumpets of the Last Judgment, which are sounded by two angels, who are seen with Christ himself in the air, all admirably well done† The same artist executed a picture of Christ bearing his Cross, with numerous saints about him, for the church of San Pancrazio ; this work is near the entrance to the south aisle, and the figures are precisely in the manner of Giotto ‡ He also painted a Dead Christ (Pietà) in fresco, for the convent of San Gallo, which was destroyed during the siege ; the fresco was in a cloister, and there is a copy of it in the church of San Pancrazio, above-named, on a column beside the Lady chapel. Giotto likewise painted a fresco in Santa Maria Novella, in the chapel of San Lorenzo de' Giuochi, which is near the door of the south aisle ; the subject is the history of San Cosimo and San Damiano, § and the

* The Descent of the Holy Spirit was afterwards whitewashed. The tabernacle was first repainted, and, at a later period, was demolished.

† These works still exist, in tolerable preservation. Vasari does not mention the beautiful Deposition from the Cross, which is beside the monument of Bettino ; but which is certainly a work by the same artist.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

‡ This picture has perished.

§ No vestige of this work remains.

picture is painted on the front of the chapel. In Ognissanti, also, Tommaso executed a San Christofano and San Giorgio, but these works having been injured by the malignity of time, were repainted by other hands, and that in such sort as to prove the ignorance of the Provost, who was but slightly conversant with matters relating to art. In the same church is a fresco of the Virgin with the Child in her arms, from the hand of Giottino; this is in an arch, which has remained uninjured, over the door of the sacristy; the work is a very good one, having been executed with great care.* By these and other productions, Giottino had acquired so much renown, that the spirit of his master Giotto was declared to have descended on this disciple, the correctness of his design, the vivacity of his colouring, and his close imitation of the elder master's composition and manner, being all cited in support of that opinion. On the 2nd† of July, in the year 1343, the Duke of Athens was driven out of Florence by the people, after having been compelled to resign the signory, and restore their liberty to the Florentine citizens. Giottino was then forced by the twelve Reformers of the State, or induced by the entreaties of Messer Agnolo Acciaiuoli,‡ a most distinguished citizen of that time, to express the contempt of the city for the said duke and his principal followers, by painting their effigies on the tower of the palace of the Podestà. Among these figures, were those of Messer Ceritieri Visdomini, Messer Maladiasse, his Conservator, and Messer Ranieri di San Gimignano, all bearing upon their heads the ignominious cap worn by those condemned to death by the sentence of justice. Around the head of the duke himself, various rapacious animals and beasts of prey were depicted, to signify the nature and qualities of the man; while one of his followers held the palace of the Priors of the city in his hand, which he, as a false traitor to his country, was proffering to the duke. Each of these figures had the arms and ensigns of his family painted beneath him, with inscriptions, which the lapse of time render it difficult now to decipher.§ The manner in

* These two last-mentioned works have both perished.

† The Duke of Athens was expelled from Florence on the 26th of July, the festival of St. Anne. *Ed. Flor.* 1846

‡ This noble Florentine was also bishop of the see.—*Ibid.*

§ Of this work, some few unintelligible strokes alone remain; but the reader who is curious to know all the names of those thus derisively

which the artist executed this work, which he painted with the utmost care, gave universal satisfaction; the drawing was more particularly admired. He afterwards painted San Cosimo and San Damiano, for the Black Friars of Campora, a place without the gate of San Piero Gattolini. These figures were destroyed when the church was whitewashed. There is a tabernacle, moreover, on the bridge of Romiti, in the Valdarno, which is very finely painted in fresco, by the hand of Giotto.* We find it further recorded, by many who have written of this artist, that he also gave his attention to sculpture, and executed a figure in marble, for the Campanile of Santa Maria del Fiore, in Florence: this was placed in the side towards where the orphan house now stands, and was four braccia in height. In Rome, also, he is said to have produced an historical painting, which he completed very successfully. This work is in San Giovanni Laterano; it exhibits the pope, occupied in various ministrations, but is now grievously injured by time. In the palace of the Orsini, Giotto filled a hall with the figures of celebrated men; and on a column in the church of Araceli, to the right of the high altar, he executed a San Ludovico, of great merit.†

This master also painted a picture in the lower church of San Francesco, at Assisi. The only place not already occupied by other artists, was an arch over the pulpit; and there Giotto depicted the Coronation of Our Lady, with numerous angels around her, all exhibiting so much grace in the outlines, beauty in the heads, and harmony in the colouring (which last was a quality peculiar to this painter), that the work suffices to prove Giotto fully equal to any master that had then appeared.‡ Around the arch of the Coronation, Tommaso painted stories from the life of St Nicholas. In the monastery of Santa Clara, in the same city, and in

exhibited, will find them in Baldinucci, sec. ii. p. 59, together with the inscriptions. See also Villani, lib. vii, cap. xxxiii.

* This tabernacle was destroyed in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the work of Giotto perished with it.—*G. Montani*

† All the works executed by Giotto in Rome are believed to have perished.

‡ Fea considers this coronation to have been the work of a certain Frate Martino, whom he believes to have been the scholar of Simon of Siena. See his *Descrizione della Basilica Assisiata*.

the centre of the church, he painted a fresco, representing the saint supported in the air by two angels, who might be taken for living and breathing forms. St. Clara is restoring a child from the dead, while many female figures stand around, all full of astonishment. The faces of these women are extremely beautiful; their vestments and head-dresses, which are those of the period, are also very graceful and effective. In the same city of Assisi, and over the gate which leads to the cathedral, in an arch on the inside of the gate, Giotto painted a Virgin with the Child in her arms, and that with such truth and life, that she seems to be alive. Our Lady is attended by St. Francis and another saint, the whole exquisitely beautiful. These two works, although the story of Santa Clara remains unfinished (the master having fallen sick, and being compelled to return to Florence), are yet admirable productions, and worthy of the highest praise * Tommaso is said to have been of a melancholy temperament, and a lover of solitude; but profoundly devoted to art, and extremely studious. Some proof of this last assertion, we have in the church of San Romeo, in Florence, where there is a picture in distemper, by this master, which is executed with such earnest love and care, that no better work on panel is known to have proceeded from his hand. The picture is in the cross-aisle of the church, on the north side. It represents the Dead Christ, with the Maries and Nicodemus, accompanied by other figures. These all bewail the death of the departed, some bitterly weeping and wringing their hands, others more subdued in the expression of their grief; but all, both in countenance and attitude, evincing the most profound sorrow, as they look on the sacrifice that has been made for our sins. The most astonishing circumstance respecting this work is not so much that the master has been able to attain so high a region of thought, as that he has found means to realize his conceptions so admirably with the pencil. The painting is, moreover, highly worthy of praise, not only for the invention and composition, but also for the beauty of the heads; for although the artist in depicting all these weeping faces, has necessarily distorted the lines of the brow, eyes, mouth, and every other feature,

* The paintings executed by Giotto in Assisi still remain. They are truly perfect for their time, and merit high praise.—*G. Montani.*

yet he has in no degree altered or injured the beauty of the countenances, which very frequently suffer materially in weeping, when treated by hands not well versed in the best methods of art *. But we shall be the less surprised that Giotto completed his works with so much care and devotion, when we remember that in all his labours this master ever proved himself more desirous of glory than of gain. Giotto was wholly free from that eagerness for large rewards which renders the masters of our own time less careful in the completion of their works: he was, indeed, so far from seeking great riches, that he gave but slight regard even to the conveniences and amenities of life; he contented himself with little, and thought more of serving and gratifying others than himself: wherefore, taking little care of his health, and perpetually enduring heavy labours, he died of consumption at the age of 32, and was buried by his family outside the church of Santa Maria Novella, at the Martello gate, near the burial-place of Bontura.†

The disciples of Giotto, who left more fame than riches, were Giovanni Tossicani, of Arezzo, Michelino.‡ Giovanni dal Ponte, and Lippo § they were all tolerably good masters in their art, but Giovanni Tossicani was greatly superior to the rest: he executed many works after the death of Tommaso, and in his manner, for different cities and churches throughout all Tuscany. In the capitular church of Arezzo, more particularly, Giovanni painted the chapel of Santa Maria Maddalena, belonging to the Tuccerelli family; he also painted a San Jacopo on a column in the capitular church of Empoli, and certain pictures in the cathedral of Pisa were executed by this master, but have

* This picture—a really wonderful work—is preserved in the Gallery of the Uffizj.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846. See also Lanzi, vol. i, pp 65-66.

† In the first edition of Vasari, are the following lines, written on the death of Giotto.—

“Hæc mortem, infandam mortem, quæ cuspide acuta
Corda hominum laceras dum venis ante diem!”

In him, says Lanzi, was cut off the best scion of the Giottescan family of painters.—*G. Montani.*

‡ Among the many artists of this name, it will be difficult to discover which is here alluded to.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

§ The lives of these two artists will also be found in Vasari.

|| Not Tuccerelli, but Tucciarelli, a noble family of Arezzo. The paintings are lost.—*Pettari.*

since been removed to make way for modern paintings. The last work performed by Giovanni Tossicani was a most beautiful annunciation, with St. James and St. Philip, which he executed for the Countess Joanna, wife of Tarlato da Pietramala, in one of the chapels of the episcopal church of Arezzo; but the back of the wall on which the last-mentioned work was placed being towards the north, the painting was almost entirely destroyed by the damp, when the Annunciation was restored by Maestro Agnolo di Lorenzo, of Arezzo. The St. James and St. Philip* were also restored some short time afterwards by Giorgio Vasari (who was then but a youth), and that to his great profit, for from doing so he acquired much useful knowledge—which he could not then obtain from other masters—from examining the methods of Giovanni, and studying the shadows and colouring of that work, injured as it was. There is a monument in this chapel to the memory of the countess who caused it to be built and decorated, on which may still be read the following words:

“Anno Domini 1335, de mense Augusti hanc capellam constituit fecit nobilis domina comitissa Joanna de Sancta Flora uxor nobilis militis Domini Tarlati de Petramala ad honorem Beate Mariæ Virginis.”†

The works of other disciples of Giotto do not require to be mentioned here, since they were but ordinary productions, and do but slightly resemble those of their master or of their con-disciple Giovanni Tossicani. Tommaso Giotto drew admirably well, as may be seen by certain drawings from his hand, preserved in our book, and which are finished with infinite care.

* The Annunciation has perished, but the St. James and St. Philip are still in existence — *G. Montani*.

† If Giotto was born in 1324, how could Tossicani, whose last work was finished in 1335, have been his disciple? The want of documents, or other causes, have made Vasari fall into frequent error when speaking of Giotto's disciples — *Ed. Flor.* 1846.

GIOVANNI DAL PONTE. PAINTER, OF FLORENCE

[BORN 1307—DIED IN 1365]

ALTHOUGH the old proverb, that a spendthrift never lacks the means of spending, is by no means true and can be but little confided in,—on the contrary we are certain that he who will not live a regular life according to his degree, shall finally live in want and die miserably,—yet, it may sometimes be remarked that fortune seems rather to aid those who squander without restraint, than those who are careful and self-denying in all things; or, if the favours of fortune are withdrawn, death is frequently observed to make up for her inconstancy, and to bring a remedy for the misgovernment of the man himself, by intervening exactly at that moment when the spendthrift begins to discover, to his infinite misery, what it is to want that in age which he has squandered in youth: labouring and living wretchedly when he should be reposing and at his ease. Such would have been the lot of Giovanni da San Stefano a Ponte, of Florence, if, after he had consumed his patrimony, wasted the huge gains which fortune, rather than his merits, threw into his hands, and exhausted other possessions reverting to him unexpectedly from various sources, he had not attained the end of his life at the moment when the last portion of his property was expended. Giovanni dal Ponte was a scholar of Buffalmacco,* whom he imitated rather in his attachment to the pleasures of life, than in the effort to become a good painter. Born in 1307, and entered early as a disciple of Buffalmacco, the first works of Giovanni were executed in fresco, for the capitular church of Empoli. They were in the chapel of San Lorenzo, where he depicted certain stories from the life of the saint with so much success, that as a more satisfactory progress was anticipated from so creditable a commencement, he was invited to Arezzo in the year 1344, where he painted an assumption of the Virgin in one of the chapels of the church of San Francesco; and no long time afterwards, being in some credit in that city, on account of

* In the life of Giotto, Giovanni is called the disciple of that master, as we have seen; but a comparison of dates would make his being the scholar of Buffalmacco much more probable

the death of painters then suffered there, he painted the chapels of Sant' Onofrio and Sant' Antonio, in the capitular church of Arezzo, but these works are now ruined by the humidity of the place. Giovanni executed some other pictures in the church of Santa Giustina, and in that of San Matteo; but these were destroyed, together with the churches, when duke Cosmo caused the city to be fortified. It was on this occasion that the beautiful head of Appius Carus and that of his son, in marble, were discovered; they were found at the foot of an old bridge, where the river enters the city, and near the church of Santa Giustina. An ancient epitaph, also very beautiful, was found with them, and all are now carefully preserved among the valuables of the duke.* Giovanni then returned to Florence, arriving at the time when the middle arch of the bridge of Santa Trinità was on the point of being closed; a chapel was built on one of the piles, and dedicated to St. Michael the archangel, when Giovanni was appointed to decorate it, and painted many pictures both within and without, more particularly on the front wall. The chapel was carried away, with the bridge itself, in the flood of 1557. Some affirm that it was from these works, as well as from the place of his birth, that Giovanni received the name of Dal Ponte. This artist likewise executed certain works in Pisa, in the church of San Paolo a Ripa d'Arno; where he painted some frescoes in the year 1355; they were in the principal chapel behind the altar, but are now ruined by damp and time. The chapel of the Scali, in the church of Santa Trinita in Florence, was also decorated by Giovanni dal Ponte, as was another chapel, situated close beside it. One of the stories from the life of St. Paul, near the principal chapel, where the tomb of Maestro Paolo the astrologer stands,† is likewise by him. In San Stefano, at the Ponte Vecchio, he painted a picture; with some others, both in distemper and fresco, for the city as well as neighbourhood of Florence, from which he derived tolerable credit ‡

* Where these antiques now are, is not known; but we may hope that they will one day be discovered in some ducal villa or garden — *Montani*.

† Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli, a celebrated mathematician and astronomer. He was the friend of Columbus, and held similar opinions with him, in regard to the discovery of a new world.

‡ Of all the works of this master, executed in Florence, none now

Giovanni dal Ponte was popular with his acquaintance, but more because he promoted their amusements, than on account of his works. Yet he took pleasure in the society of the learned, more especially of those who studied to attain excellence in the art to which he was himself attached; for although he had not sought to acquire for himself those qualities which he valued in others, yet he never failed to recommend conscientious labour to his brother artists. Having attained the age of fifty-nine years, Giovanni was attacked by a disease of the chest, which carried him off in a very few days. Had he lived longer, it would only have been to suffer many inconveniences from want, since he had scarcely so much remaining as sufficed to give him decent burial in San Stefano dal Ponte Vecchio. His works date about the year 1365.*

In our book of the designs of different artists, ancient and modern, is a drawing in water-colours by Giovanni. It represents St. George on horseback, in the act of killing the dragon, together with a skeleton. From this specimen we can sufficiently judge of Giovanni's method in drawing.

AGNOLO GADDI, PAINTER, OF FLORENCE.

[BORN — WAS STILL WORKING IN 1390.]

THE great honour and utility of becoming distinguished in one of the noble arts is rendered sufficiently manifest in the case of Taddeo Gaddi, who, combining self-government with high talent, not only secured great fame by his labours, but acquired large possessions also, and left the affairs of his family in such a state, that his two sons, Agnolo and Giovanni,

remain; nor is it probable that many of those done for the environs of that city still survive.

* "It is a curious fancy, this of Vasari," remark the Roman and Florentine editors, "of notifying the year *about which* may be dated the works of each artist, and which is invariably the year of their death, or that preceding it, even of those who, dying very old, must needs have worked very many years before." But does not Vasari mean to intimate, by this expression, that the works of the artist bear date down to the year specified, or near it, *and not later?*

were enabled to lay the foundation of those great riches and that elevation of the house of Gaddi, which place it in our day among the most noble families of Florence,* and have established it in high repute through all Christendom. And since Gaddo, Taddeo, Agnolo, and Giovanni have adorned many venerated churches by their talents and the exercise of their art, so it is, without doubt, entirely reasonable that the holy Roman Church and the supreme pontiffs of the same, should have presented—as they have done—the highest ecclesiastical dignities to their successors.†

Taddeo, then, whose life we have written above, left two sons, Agnolo and Giovanni, with many other disciples, but of Agnolo in particular the father hoped that he would become most excellent in the art of painting. In his youth he had given promise of so much talent, that it was believed he would greatly surpass his father, but the event did not justify the opinion thus formed of him. Born and reared in abundance, which is often an impediment to earnest effort, Agnolo displayed more inclination for trade and traffic than for the art of painting; nor should this seem either new or strange, for how frequently has avarice barred the way to many who might have reached the summit of distinction, if the desire of gain had not impeded their progress in the earliest and best of their days. Agnolo first painted in Florence, while still very young, depicting in San Jacopo-tra-Fossi the story of Christ raising Lazarus, in figures little more than a braccio in height. Reflecting that Lazarus had been dead four days, Agnolo formed a vivid conception of the corrupt state in which the body so long dead must be found: he consequently represented the grave-clothes wherewith Lazarus was bound all spotted and discoloured by the decomposition of the corpse. Livid circles of blue and yellow surround the eyes, all which is portrayed with infinite truth, as is the amazement of

* This highly celebrated family, observes Bottari, is now extinct; but the name is preserved, having been taken by the house of Pitti, which succeeded to the possessions of the Gaddi family. The palace of that house was a rich museum of pictures, marbles, medals, and manuscripts, and many galleries and libraries owe their wealth to its collections: the Magliabechiana, in particular, has profited by them.

† Among others of this name, the cardinals Niccolò and Taddeo have been justly celebrated, says Bottari. Their tombs are seen in Santa Maria Novella, in the chapel of the Gaddi family.

the apostles and other figures standing around, whose attitudes are varied and fine, as, holding their vestments to the nose, they seek to shield themselves from the odours of that decayed body. The fear and astonishment of the spectators at this new miracle is no less eloquently expressed than the joy and gladness of Mary and Martha, who behold life returning to the dead body of their brother. This work was considered to be one of such extraordinary merit, that many believed the talent of Agnolo to surpass not only that of all Taddeo's other disciples, but also that of the father himself.* The event nevertheless proved the fallacy of this opinion, for as in youth the desire for renown will often give strength to overcome all difficulties—so, as years increase, we frequently remark the approach of a certain careless negligence, which causes a man to go backwards rather than forwards, and this was the case with Agnolo. Having given so remarkable a specimen of his powers in this work, the Soderini family, hoping great things from such a master, appointed him to paint the principal chapel of the church of the Carmine; he accordingly represented the whole life of Our Lady therein, but so greatly inferior was this work to the Resurrection of Lazarus, that all might perceive how little it was his intention to devote himself studiously to the art of painting—nay, in the whole of this unusually extensive work, there is nothing well done, save only one scene, which depicts Our Lady surrounded by numerous young maidens. they are variously attired in vestments and head-dresses, proper to those times, and as variously employed in different womanly occupations; one spins, another sews, a third is winding threads, while a fourth weaves, and others are employed in other occupations, all which Agnolo composed and executed tolerably well †

In like manner this artist painted the principal chapel of the church of Santa Croce, in fresco, for the noble family of the Alberti, representing every circumstance of the discovery of the cross; and the work certainly displays considerable facility, but very little force of design, the colouring only being good and tolerably well done ‡ But when he afterwards

* No vestige of this work now remains.

† This work also is totally destroyed.

‡ These paintings still remain in tolerable preservation; opinions

painted certain stories from the life of St Louis, in the chapel of the Bardi family, also in fresco and in the same church, he acquitted himself much more creditably. Agnolo Gaddi, then, was an artist who worked capriciously, sometimes with more care, and sometimes with less: thus in Santo Spirito, also in Florence, he painted a Virgin with the Child in her arms, in fresco, within the door which leads from the piazza into the convent, and over a second door of the building, she is accompanied by Sant' Agostino and San Niccolò, and this work is so admirably executed, that one might fancy the figures painted yesterday *

The secret of mosaic had been in a certain manner bequeathed as an inheritance to Agnolo, and he had in his possession all the instruments and other matters needful to the prosecution of that art, and which had been used by Gaddo, his grandfather. Agnolo, therefore, by way of pastime, and because the materials lay thus to his hand, rather than for any other reason, gave a certain degree of attention to mosaic, and when the fancy took him he executed different works in that branch of art. When it was found, then, that many of the slabs of marble which cover the eight sides of the roof of San Giovanni had been injured by time, and that the damp, penetrating to the mosaics formerly placed there by Andrea Tafi, was doing them grievous mischief, the consuls of the guild of merchants resolved to reconstruct the greater part of the roof, that the rest might not be ruined, and to have the mosaic also restored; whereupon they confided the direction of the whole work to Agnolo Gaddi, who commenced it in the year 1346. He first covered the roof with new slabs of marble, which he laid over each other, to the breadth of two fingers; then, cutting each to the half of its thickness, he fastened them into each other with a cement formed of mastic and wax melted together, all which he completed with so much care, that neither roof nor ceiling has suffered the least injury from the rains, from that day to the present time;

vary as to their merit. See Della Valle, *Lecture Suresse*, and Lanzi, *History of Painting*.

* This work also retains its place, and still displays the freshness described by Vasari; but he should have said San Pietro, instead of San Niccolò.

† This secret, with which Giotto, Simon of Siena, and others, were well acquainted, had become extensively known in the days of Agnolo, as is obvious from the magnificent works of the Duomo of Orvieto.

a precaution wholly new. Agnolo then restored the mosaic, and at his recommendation, as well as after his designs, which were of considerable merit, the upper cornice of marble, which is carried round the building immediately beneath the roof, was constructed in the form we now see, that previously existing having been much smaller and of very ordinary character. The hall of the municipal palace was vaulted under the direction of this artist, having before been open to the roof, and thus—to say nothing of the ornament—rendered the building less liable to injuries from fire, by which it had suffered grievously at an earlier period. The battlements of the palace, which formerly had none of any kind, were erected at the same time, and also by the advice of Agnolo. While these works were in progress, the artist did not entirely abandon his painting: on the high altar of San Pancrazio he depicted the Virgin in distemper, with St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, near whom were San Nereo, San Archileo, and San Pancrazio, brothers,* with other saints. But the best part of this work, or rather all that is good in it, is the predella, which is entirely covered by the small figures, composing stories from the lives of the Madonna and of Santa Reparata, divided into eight compartments.† Agnolo also painted a choir of angels surrounding a coronation of the Virgin, for the high altar of Santa Maria Maggiore, in Florence; this he completed in the year 1348, for Barone Capelli, and the work is a tolerably good one ‡ Shortly afterwards he painted, in fresco, a chapel of the capitular church of Prato, which had been rebuilt under the direction of Giovanni Pisano in 1312. As we have before related, the chapel was that wherein the girdle of Our Lady had been deposited, and was decorated by Agnolo with various stories from the life of the Virgin.§ He executed many other

* St. Nereus and St. Archileus, or Achilleus, were brothers; but St. Pancratius was in no way connected with them. He was a Roman youth who was martyred on the spot where his church now stands, at the Gate of San Pancrazio, at Rome.

† This picture is in the Gallery of the Fine Arts in Florence.

‡ The commentators differ as to the fate of this picture, of which nothing certain is known.

§ The most important work of Agnolo now remaining, and in tolerably good preservation. It was restored in 1831, by Sig. Antonio Marini, of Prato.—*Montani.*

works in the churches of that district, and left many specimens of his manner, in various parts of the whole territory, which is full of rich and important monasteries. In Florence, moreover, at a later period, this master painted the arch above the door of San Romeo,* and executed a picture in distemper for the church of Orto San Michele; the subject of this work is the disputation of Christ with the doctors in the temple† About the time when this last picture was completed, many houses were demolished for the purpose of enlarging the piazza de' Signori, and as the church of San Romolo was also taken down, this building was reconstructed from the designs of Agnolo‡ Paintings by this artist are to be seen in many churches of Florence, as well as in the surrounding districts, from all of which he derived large gains, although he painted more because he desired to do as his forefathers had done, than from any love of the art, he having given up his mind to commerce, from which he gained still larger profits. And this became obvious to all, when two sons of Agnolo, resolved no longer to live the life of artists, devoted themselves wholly to merchandise, establishing a house of business for that purpose at Venice, in company with their father, who, from that time forward, exercised his art occasionally for his pleasure only, or to pass the time. In this manner, then, what with his traffic and what with his painting, Agnolo amassed very great riches, but died in the sixty-third year of his life, being attacked by a malignant fever, which put an end to his career in a very few days.

The disciples of Agnolo Gaddi were Maestro Antonio da Ferrara,§ and Stefano da Verona,|| who was a most admirable painter in fresco, as may be seen in various parts of his native city, as also in Mantua, where many of his works are still to be found. Among other peculiarities this master had that of giving an exquisite expression to the countenances of his children, women, and old men, as the observer may remark in any one of his works: his heads were all imitated and

* This work is destroyed.

† This picture is described by Bottari as in good preservation; but it was removed some time after, and its present condition is not known.

‡ See Gaye, *Carteggio Inedito*, vol. i, pp. 499, 502, 508.

§ Antonio Alberto, with whom the Ferrarese school of painting commences.—*Montani*.

|| See Lanzi, *History of Painting*, vol. ii, pp. 88-89.

copied by that Piero da Perugia,* the miniature painter, who illuminated all the books which constitute the library of Pope Pius, in the cathedral of Siena, and who painted in fresco with considerable facility. Michele of Milan was also a disciple of Agnolo, as was Giovanni Gaddi, his brother, who painted in the cloister of Santo Spirito, as Gaddo and Taddeo had done. The works executed in that cloister by Giovanni are, a Disputation of Christ with the doctors in the temple, the Purification of the Virgin, the Temptation of Christ in the Wilderness, and the Baptism of John. This artist died, after having awakened the highest expectations † Cennino di Drea Cennini, of Colle di Valdelsa, ‡ likewise studied painting under Agnolo Gaddi, and being a devoted lover of his art, he wrote a book on the methods of painting in fresco, in distemper, and in every vehicle then known, with the modes of painting in miniature, and the manner in which gold is applied in all these varying methods. This book is now in the hands of Giuliano, a goldsmith of Siena, an excellent master and true friend of the arts. In the first part of Cennini's work, the author has treated of the nature of colours, whether minerals or earths, as he had himself been taught by his master, Agnolo; desiring, perhaps, as he does not seem to have succeeded in attaining to any great eminence in painting, at least to make himself acquainted with the nature of colours, the different glues, chinks, grounds for fresco, &c. with the properties of every kind of vehicle; he further discourses of such colours as are injurious, and to be guarded against in the mixture of colours, and in short of many other matters, concerning which no more need be said here; all those details which were held to be rare and profound secrets

* See Della Valle, *Lettere Sanesi*, vol. ii, p. 242, and Lanzi, *History of Painting*, vol. i, p. 426, and vol. ii, p. 89, for the conflicting statements concerning this painter.

† These paintings are lost, but there is some compensation in the fine fresco, by this master, of Christ on the Cross, with the Virgin and St. John, which Fea discovered in 1798, in the lower church of Assisi.

‡ The treatise of Cennino Cennini was translated into English in 1844, by Mrs. Merrifield. This book was long believed to have been written while the author, then very old, was imprisoned for debt; but this has been shewn to be a fallacy. (See Mrs. Merrifield. *Ancient Treatises on Oil Painting*, vol. i, Introduction, p. 47.) Rumohr informs us, that a painting by Cennini, and which bears his name written by himself, is still existing in the Franciscan convent of Volterra.

in Cennini's day being perfectly well known to all artists in these our times. But I will not omit to remark, that Cennini makes no mention of certain earths, such as the dark terra rossa, nor of cinnabar and various greens—perhaps because they were not then in use; other colours were in like manner wanting to the painters of that age, as umber for example, yellow-lake (*giallo santo*), the smalts, both for oil and fresco painting, with certain yellows and greens, all which have been discovered at a later period. Cennini likewise treats of grinding colours in oil, to make red, azure, green, and other grounds of different kinds,* he speaks of the mordants, used in the application of gold also, but not as applied to figures. In addition to the works which Cennini executed in Florence, with his master, there is a Virgin accompanied by certain saints, from his hand, under the loggia of the hospital of Bonifazio Lupi, the colouring of which was managed so carefully, that it remains in good preservation even to this day †

This Cennino, speaking of himself in the first chapter of his book, has the following passage, which I give in his exact words:—"I, Cennino di Drea Cennini, of Colle di Valdelsa, was instructed in the said art during twelve years, by my master Agnolo di Taddeo, of Florence, who learnt the same from Taddeo his father, which last was the godson of Giotto, and his disciple for four-and-twenty years. This Giotto transmuted the art of painting from Greek into Latin; he brought it to our modern manner, and certainly did more to perfect it than any other had ever done." These are the precise words of Cennino, to whom it appeared, that as he who translates any work from the Greek into the Latin, confers a great benefit on all who do not understand Greek, so did Giotto, in transmuting the art of painting from a manner not known or understood by any one (unless, indeed, that all might easily perceive it to be senseless)—to a manner at once

* This passage of Vasari is considered to be in contradiction to the remarks he afterwards makes (in his life of Antonello da Messina) on the discovery of oil painting; but Lanzi, availing himself of the observations of Morelli, has reconciled this apparent contradiction, as will be seen in the proper place—*Montan.*

† See Gaye, vol i, 528-9. The paintings of Cennini must have been destroyed in 1787, when the hospital was changed into a lunatic asylum, and its form altered.

beautiful, facile, and most pleasing, that may be comprehended and seen to be good at a glance, by whomsoever possesses the slightest degree of judgment and comprehension.

All these disciples of Agnolo did him great honour. He was entombed by his sons, (to whom it is affirmed that he left 50,000 florins, or more) in the sepulchre which he had himself prepared for his burial and that of his descendants, in Santa Maria Novella, in the year of our salvation 1387.* The portrait of Agnolo, by his own hand, may be seen in the chapel of the Alberti, in Santa Croce, in a painting near the door, wherein the emperor Heraclius is depicted bearing the cross: he is represented in profile, with a short thin beard, and on his head is a cap of a red colour, of the form proper to the period. Agnolo Gaddi was not particularly excellent in design, to judge from the specimen presented in certain drawings by his hand, which are to be found in our book.

THE SIENESE PAINTER BERNA.†

[BORN . . . —DIED IN 1381?]

If those who labour to attain excellence in art or science were not too frequently cut off by death in the best of their days, there is no doubt but that many exalted minds would have gained the summit towards which their aims tended, and whither the world, as well as themselves, would have rejoiced to see them arrive. But the brevity of man's life, and the

* Or, according to the Florentine commentators, not until after 1390, at which period they declare Agnolo Gaddi to have been still in existence. The first edition of Vasari gives the following epitaph on this master:—

“Angelo Taddei F. Gaddio ingenii et picturæ gloria honoribus prohibitæ existimatione vere magno Filii mœstiss posuere.”

† Ghiberti calls this artist Barna, an abbreviation of Barnabò Baldinucci and Rumohr agree with him; but the later Florentine editors consider Berna or Barna to be rather an abbreviation of Bernardo or Bernardino. The true name of the painter, they incline to think was **Barna Bertini**.

many accidents to which all, from various causes, are liable often deprive us too early of those who might be most distinguished. Of this we have an instance in the hapless Sienese painter Berna, who, although he died young, yet left so many works, that we might easily believe his life to have been a long one; and these works were of such a character, as to impress on us the conviction that he would have been most eminently distinguished if his death had not been so prematurely hastened. Among the works of this master remaining in Siena are certain historical representations, in fresco,* in two chapels of the church of Sant' Agostino; there was, besides, on one of the walls of the same church, the story of a youth led to execution, than which it is not possible to conceive a more perfect work: the pallor and dread of death were depicted on his face with such truth and reality, that for this only the artist would merit the highest praise; beside the youth was a monk, who was seeking to console the sufferer, and whose attitude was very fine. The whole work, in short, was so admirably executed, and the story so eloquently told, that we clearly perceive the artist to have formed a most vivid conception of the fearful circumstance he describes. He has represented it as it must needs be, full of the bitterest agony, the most cruel terror; reproducing the whole so admirably with his pencil, that the scene itself, taking place before one's eyes, would scarcely awaken more profound emotions. This work has unhappily been destroyed in our own day, the wall having been removed to make way for the chapels, which have been constructed in that part of the church.

In the city of Cortona, besides many works scattered about in different parts of the same, Berna painted the greater part of the walls and ceiling in the church of Santa Margarita,† where is now the convent of the Franciscan monks, called Zoccolanti.‡ From Cortona he went to Arezzo, in the year 1369, and precisely at the moment when the Tarlati, who had formerly been lords of Pietramala, had caused the convent

* These paintings have perished, as have those described immediately after them.

† These pictures have perished.

‡ So called from Zoccolo, a wooden shoe, which the members of the Franciscan order wear.

and church of Sant' Agostino to be erected by Moccio, a sculptor and architect of Siena. Many of the Aretine citizens had constructed chapels and burial-places for their families in the side aisles of the church; and in one of these chapels—that dedicated to San Jacopo, namely—Berna painted various frescoes from the life of the saint.* Among these was most vividly depicted the story of the smuggler Marino, whom avarice had tempted to give his soul to the devil, with whom he had made a written compact to that effect. He is here seen in the act of supplicating San Jacopo to liberate him from the consequences of his promise, but on the other hand is placed the devil—hideous to a miracle—who is pleading his rights with great animation before the saint, and exhibiting the written agreement, which fills Marino with the most deadly terror. The various emotions of all the figures in this work have been admirably expressed by the artist; the face of Marino, more especially, betrays the fears that devour him, but the faith and trust which give him hope of deliverance from San Jacopo are also visible; and the latter, after having inspired him with a true repentance of his sin, and sorrow for the promise he has made, delivers the culprit and restores him to God. Berna painted this same story, according to Lorenzo Ghiberti, in the church of Santo Spirito, in Florence, before the church was burnt; it was in a chapel of the Capponi, dedicated to St. Nicholas. After this the painter executed a large picture of the Crucifixion, for Messer Guccio di Vanni Tarlati, of Pietramala, in one of the chapels of the episcopal church of Arezzo: he here depicted the Virgin, with St. John the Evangelist and St. Francis, at the foot of the cross, in an attitude of the deepest grief; St. Michael, the archangel, is also present. The whole work merits no slight praise for the care with which it was executed, and more particularly because the colours have maintained themselves so admirably well, that the picture might seem to have been finished yesterday. Lower down is the portrait of the above-named Guccio, armed, and kneeling at the foot of the cross.† In the

* These works have also been destroyed in the rebuilding of the church.

† This painting is still in good preservation, in the cathedral of Arezzo; it has been retouched of late years. Montani has a remark, to the effect that the portrait of Guccio—whom the commentators command

capitular church of Arezzo, Berna painted numerous stories from the life of Our Lady, in the chapel of the Paganelli, and among the figures is a portrait, taken from the life, of the Beato Rinieri, a holy man and prophet of that family, who bestows alms on the crowd of poor persons by whom he is surrounded.* In the church of San Bartolommeo, also, this master executed various representations from the Old Testament, together with an adoration of the Magi, and in the church of the Spirito Santo he painted stories from the life of St. John the Evangelist. Among the figures of this last work, Berna has left us portraits of himself and of several of his friends, nobles of Arezzo. On the completion of this undertaking, the artist returned to his native city, where he painted numerous pictures on panel, both large and small; but he did not remain long at Siena, being invited to Florence, where he decorated the chapel of San Niccolò, in the church of the Spirito Santo, a work that was highly praised, and which we have already mentioned, with other pictures which were consumed in the lamentable conflagration of that church. At San Gimignano, in the Valdelsa, Berna painted certain frescoes in the capitular church; they represent stories from the New Testament.† These works he had nearly brought to a conclusion,‡ when he unhappily fell from the scaffold to the floor, and was so grievously injured, that he died in two days, more to the loss of art than of himself, for he departed from this life to a better one. His remains were very honourably entombed in the capitular church aforesaid, by the people of San Gimignano, who solemnized his obsequies with much pomp, and who gave proof after his death of the esteem in which they held him while living, not ceasing for many months after his interment to suspend verses to his honour, in Latin and the mother tongue, on the tomb of the lamented artist. The men of that country have indeed been ever devoted to the *belles lettres*, and they herein rendered the ap-

us to call rather Ciuccio—*has been stabbed in various parts, by his enemies and those of his family.*

* All these works are lost, as are also those of San Bartolommeo and the Spirito Santo.—*Montani.*

† These paintings have been retouched, not to say spoiled, in many parts—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

‡ For a description of these paintings, see Della Valle, *Lettere Senesi*, vol. ii. p. 117. See also Ramohr, *Ital. Forsch.* ii. 109.

propriate reward of Berna's conscientious labours, celebrating him with their pens who had done them honour by his pictures.

Giovanni of Asciano,* a scholar of Berna, completed the work thus left unfinished.† The same artist executed certain paintings in the hospital of Siena, with others in the ancient palace of the Medici, from which he acquired some reputation.‡ The Sienese painter, Berna, laboured about the year 1381. In addition to what I have said of him, he deserves to be lauded and held in honour by all artists, as having been the first who began to depict animals well. A specimen of his talents in this way, may be seen in a sketch filled with wild beasts from different regions, and preserved in our book. His drawings, generally, are of considerable merit. The Sienese painter Luca di Tomè, was also a disciple of Berna. This Luca painted many pictures in Siena and throughout Tuscany, more particularly the chapel of the Dragomanni family, in the church of San Domenico, in Arezzo, with its altar-piece. The chapel, which is of Gothic architecture, was indeed admirably adorned by his picture, and the frescoes which Luca the Sienese, with great judgment and ability, executed therein.§

* A castle in the Sienese territory.—*Montani*.

† Baldinucci places this deplorable event in the year 1380. The first edition of Vasari gives the following epitaph, as written on Berna; but the Florentine commentators remark, that it is obviously of a later period:

“*Bernardo Senensi pictori in primis illustri, qui dum naturam diligenter imitatur, quom vitæ suæ consulit, de tabulato condens diem suum obit. Geminianenses hominis de se optime meriti vicem dolentes poss.*”

‡ The works of Giovanni of Asciano are believed to be all lost.

§ The Livornese edition, published about 1760, and quoted by Ludwig Schorn, declares these works to be still existing. The Florentine editors of 1846, assigning the last *Guida di Arezzo* as their authority, inform us that the picture has long been lost, but say that a part of the frescoes still remains.

THE SIENESE PAINTER DUCCIO *

[The first mention of this master is in 1282—the last in 1339]

THE men who first originate remarkable inventions have at all times received considerable attention from those who write history, and this arises from the fact that the first discovery of a thing is more prized—because of the charm attached to novelty—than all the improvements that are afterwards made although by these last it may be that the matter is brought to its ultimate perfection. Nor is this without reason, seeing that if none made a beginning, there would be no place for the gradual amelioration which brings us to the middle point, and none for those last improvements by which the thing invented attains to the perfection of its beauty. Duccio of Siena, therefore, a painter much esteemed, deservedly appropriated a large amount of the fame which fell to the lot of those who succeeded him for many years after, he being the first to commence the decoration of the pavement of the Sieneſe cathedral with those figures in “*chiaro-scuro*”, wherein the artists of later times have performed the marvellous works that we now see.† Duccio devoted himself to the imitation of the ancient manner,‡ but very judiciously gave his figures a certain grace of outline, which he succeeded in securing notwithstanding the great difficulties presented by the branch of art now in question. Imitating paintings in “*chiaro-scuro*”, Duccio designed and arranged the first commencements of the above named pavement with his own hand; he also executed a picture in the cathedral, which was at first on the high altar, but was afterwards removed to make way for the tabernacle of the Sacrament which we now see there. This picture, according to the description of Lorenzo di Bartolo Ghiberti, represented a coronation of the Virgin, partly in

* For the rectification and completion of this somewhat defective and meagre biography, see Della Valle, *Lettere Senesi*, and Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.* Vasari was not able to discover the masterpiece of this painter, now restored to the cathedral of Siena.—See note, page 242

† Cicognara declares these works to equal the most precious mosaics of Greece and Rome.

‡ Duccio may be considered the great founder of the Sieneſe school, being the first who sought to profit by the bequest left to art by Guido in his wondrous picture 1221.—*Ed. Flo.* 1846.

the Byzantine manner, but partly also in the manner of the moderns. And as the high altar of this church was entirely isolated, the picture was painted on both sides, the artist having represented all the principal events related in the New Testament on the back part, a work which he executed with infinite care in small figures, which are very beautiful.* I have endeavoured to ascertain where this picture now is, but with all the efforts I have made, I have never been able to discover it.† Nor can I find any one who knows what Francesco di Giorgio, the sculptor, did with it when he restored the tabernacle in bronze, together with the marble ornaments by which it is decorated.

Duccio painted many pictures on gold grounds for the city of Siena, and one for the church of Santa Trinità in Florence; this last is an Annunciation ‡ He also executed various works for different churches in Pisa, Lucca, and Pistoja, which were all highly praised, and which gained him great renown as well as large profits. When Duccio ultimately died, what relations, disciples, or property he left, are circum-

* Kohler has given a circumstantial description of this remarkable picture, in the *Kunstblatt* for 1827. No. xlix. See also Della Valle, *Lettere Sanesi*, ii, 75-6.

† This work is said to have been carried in triumph from the house of the artist to its place in the cathedral; nor is it less admired in our own times. When removed, as above related, from the high altar, it remained in a room of the chapter-house until the succeeding century, when evil counsels prevailed so far, that the picture was cut in two, and the heads were appended—the one to the altar of Sant' Ansano, the other to the altar of the Sacrament.—*Masselli*, and the *Flor. Ed.* 1846.

‡ The Roman edition of 1759 declared this Annunciation to be still in good preservation, and in its original place. Ludwig Schorn repeats this in 1832, but the latest commentators inform us, that the only well authenticated work of Duccio now in Italy, is that in the cathedral of Siena. Of another precious work of this master, which the connoisseurs affirm to be of indubitable authenticity, we have the following notice.—“This picture is a triptych, the height of it is about one braccio. In the central picture is Christ on the Cross, with the Virgin and St. John on each side, and two angels weeping above. On the right-hand leaf or panel, and in the upper part, is the Annunciation; while beneath is the Madonna seated, holding the Divine Infant, with angels in adoration around her throne. On the lower part of the opposite panel are Christ and the Virgin seated, with angels around them; and above is St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. The work is of extraordinary beauty. It was purchased in Siena by Giovanni Metzger of Florence, many years since, and was sold in 1845, for a large sum, to Prince Albert, when it was brought to England.

stances alike unknown, but the fact that he bequeathed the invention of "chiaro-scuro" pictures in marble, as a legacy to the art of painting, would of itself be sufficient to secure him infinite praise and glory ; he must assuredly be numbered among those benefactors who have adorned our art and promoted its progress ; since he who first overcomes the difficulties of an extraordinary invention, not only claims our gratitude for his general deserts, but merits, in addition, a more special remembrance for the particular benefit thus conferred.

It is affirmed in Siena that, in the year 1348, Duccio gave the design for the chapel built on the piazza in front of the palace of the Signory ; and we find it recorded, that the sculptor and architect Moccio, an artist of very respectable talent, was the fellow-countryman as well as contemporary of Duccio. Many works were performed by Moccio in various parts of Tuscany, especially in Arezzo, where he constructed a tomb for one of the Cerchi, in the church of St. Domenico, which tomb now serves as the support as well as ornament of the organ of the church. And if it should appear to some persons that the tomb in question is not a work of much excellence, yet if it be considered that the artist erected it while still but a youth, that is in 1356, it must be acknowledged to have some merit. Moccio acted as under-architect and sculptor, in the building of Santa Maria del Fiore, and executed some of the marble ornaments of that church. In Arezzo he rebuilt the church of Sant' Agostino, which was very small, in the manner we now see. The cost of this work was borne by the heirs of Picco Saccone de' Tarlati, as that noble had commanded immediately before his death, which took place at Bibbiena in the Casentino. In erecting the church of Sant' Agostino, the architect constructed no arches for the support of the roof, the weight of which was thrown on the arches of the columns : he thereby exposed his work to great peril, and was without doubt too bold. The same artist built the church and convent of Sant' Antonio, which, before the siege of Florence, was situated at the gate leading to Faenza, but which is now totally ruined ; in his capacity of sculptor, he decorated the door of the church of Sant' Agostino in Ancona, with various figures and ornaments, similar to those which adorn the door of San Francesco, in

the same city ; furthermore, in that church of Sant' Agostino, Moccio erected the sepulchre of Fra Zenone Vigilanti, the bishop and general of the order of St. Augustine ; lastly, he built the loggia for the merchants of Ancona, which has since undergone many changes, now from one cause and now from another, and has received various improvements, with modern ornaments of different kinds. All the works of this artist, although considered much beneath mediocrity in our day, were at that time, and according to the knowledge of those men, held in no small estimation. But returning to Duccio, we close our account of his life with the observation, that the works of this painter were executed about the year of our salvation 1350.*

THE PAINTER ANTONIO VINIZIANO †

[Flourished in the second half of the fourteenth century.]

MANY men, who would gladly remain in the country of their birth, being wounded by the tooth of envy, or oppressed by the persecutions of their fellow-citizens, wander forth to some land, where their talents being acknowledged and appreciated, they there make their home, thus choosing a new country, wherein they then bring forth the fruits of their genius. Nay, they sometimes labour all the more earnestly for distinction, to the end that they may thus in a certain sort take vengeance on those by whom they have been outraged, and not unfrequently become great men by these means, when, had they remained quietly in their native land, they might perchance have attained little beyond mediocrity in the vocation of their choice. Antonio the Venetian, who repaired to Florence† for the purpose of studying the art of

* Late commentators consider the death of Duccio to have taken place in or about 1339.

† Antonio the Venetian.

‡ Baldinucci affirms this painter to have been a Florentine, supporting his opinion by documents found in the Strozzi Library. Fiorillo and Lanzi agree with Baldinucci to a certain extent, but the latter does not consider the question to be satisfactorily decided.

painting under Agnolo Gaddi,* acquired the best methods of that master with so much facility, that he was not only much esteemed for his talents, but also greatly beloved and honoured by the Florentines for his many other excellent qualities. Hereupon, he conceived a wish to make himself known in his native city, hoping there to enjoy the fruit of his labours; he therefore returned to Venice. After giving proof of his ability by various works, both in distemper and fresco, he was commissioned by the Signory to paint one of the walls of their Hall of Council, and this undertaking he completed so admirably, and in so majestic a style,† that he would have received high rewards, had he been treated according to his deserts. But the emulation, or rather the envy, of other artists, and the favour shewn to certain foreign masters by some of the Venetian nobles, caused the matter to go differently. Thus oppressed and discouraged, the poor Antonio took the wiser part, and, leaving his native city, returned to Florence, firmly resolved to see Venice no more, but to consider Florence as his country. Fixing himself, therefore, in that city, he there painted the story of Christ calling Peter and Andrew from their nets, with Zebedee and his sons, in one of the smaller arches of the cloister of Santo Spirito. He also depicted, beneath the arcades adorned by Stefano,‡ the story of Christ performing the miracle of the loaves and fishes. This work Antonio executed with infinite care and devotion, as may clearly be seen by the figure of Christ, the expression of whose countenance, with his whole aspect, declares obviously the compassion that he feels for the multitude, and manifests the ardour of that charity with which he dispenses bread to the people. The feeling displayed by one of the Apostles, also, is very beautiful; he is distributing the bread from a basket, his movements and gestures finely expressing the warmth of his zeal and good will. From this work, the artist may learn ever to paint his figures in such a manner that they shall seem to speak, for otherwise they are but slightly prized. This admirable faculty of giving life to his

* Lanzi remarks that this is not very probable, since if Antonio be of the period assigned to him by Vasari, he must have been much older than Agnolo Gaddi. See *History of Painting*, vol. i, p. 68.

† Quadri, in his *Otto Giorni a Venezia*, does not mention these works and there is reason to fear that they are lost.

‡ The works of Antonio and Stefano have alike perished.

figures, was again exhibited by Antonio on the façade of the church, in a small picture representing the Fall of Manna, and which he painted with so much care, and finished so admirably, that it may be truly called most excellent. He likewise painted stories from the life of San Stefano, on the predella of the high altar, in the church of San Stefano at Ponte Vecchio; and these, too, he completed with so much care and love, that figures more graceful or more beautiful could not possibly be seen, even though they were painted in miniature *. At Sant' Antonio,† moreover, near the bridge of the Carraja, this master painted the arch over the door, which has been destroyed in our own days, by Monsignor Ricasoli, Bishop of Pistoja who caused the whole church to be totally demolished, because it interrupted the view from his palace. But, indeed, if the bishop had not done this, we should still be now deprived of the work, the late flood of 1557 having carried away two arches on that side, as we have before related, together with the end of the bridge whereon the above-named church of Sant' Antonio was erected.

Being invited to Pisa by the intendant of the Campo Santo, on the completion of this work, Antonio there continued the history of the Beato Ranieri, a holy man of that city, which had been commenced by Simon of Siena, and in the completion of which Antonio adhered closely to the designs of that master. In the first part of the work executed by Antonio, is the saint embarking on shipboard to return to Pisa, and accompanied by a large number of persons, all admirably painted. Among these figures is the portrait of Count Gaddo, who had died ten years previously, and that of Neri his uncle, who had been Lord of Pisa. But perhaps the most remarkable of these figures is that of a demoniac: every feature betrays madness; the movements of the body, the glaring eyes, the distorted mouth, displaying its hard-set teeth; all are so truly those of one possessed, that it is not possible to imagine a more animated painting, or one more true to the life ‡ In another part of the work, and beside that just de-

* The altar has been rebuilt, and the painting lost.

† An oratory built in 1350 by Gheri di Michele. See Gaye, vol. i, p. 501.

‡ All this part of the work is totally lost, or injuriously retouched in different places.

scribed, are depicted three figures, standing in the extremity of astonishment at sight of the Beato Ranieri, who causes the devil, in the form of a cat seated on a wine-cask, to appear to a fat innkeeper, who has the air of a jovial companion but is now timidly imploring the protection of the saint.* This also is an extremely fine work, the attitudes, the draperies, the variety and animated expression of the countenances, all, in short, being admirably felt and treated. Near the principal group, are the maids of the hostelry, and these figures could not possibly be executed with more judgment. Antonio has given them the short, scanty clothing, the rapid movements, and other peculiarities proper to the serving-women of an inn, so that nothing more real could well be imagined † There is, likewise, a very pleasing picture, representing the canons of the Pisan cathedral receiving San Ranieri at their table: all the figures are good, and the vestments of the priests, which are entirely different from those now worn, are graceful and beautiful. At the death of the saint, moreover, which is afterwards depicted, the expression of grief in the weeping bystanders is admirably rendered, as are the movements of the angels, who are bearing the soul of the departed to heaven. This last-mentioned group is surrounded by resplendent light; and the whole is a very fine conception.‡ Nor, in truth, can any one behold without astonishment the priests who bear the body of the saint to the cathedral: they are singing, and in all their attitudes, gestures, and the movement of their persons, represent a company of choristers with extraordinary truth and reality § In this picture there is said to be the portrait of the Bava-

* The circumstances alluded to in this painting are explained by Rosini, in the *Descrizione del Campo Santo*, and by Totti, in his *Dialogo del Campo Santo Pisano*.

† The Florentine commentators reproach our author for this description, declaring that no such women are to be seen in the picture, and charging him with having *imagined* their presence; but Vasari very probably described the work after a drawing of Antonio's, which the painter may have altered to a certain extent in the execution.—*Schorn*

‡ The portion of this work which exhibits the death of the saint, with that which shews the removal of the body, have suffered greatly. There are, nevertheless, some precious remains still existing, which have been carefully transferred to the drawings of our artists.—*Montani*.

§ See the *Etruria Pittrice* (where the lower part of this painting is figured), vol. i, pl. 12.

rian.* In like manner, the miracles performed by Ranieri, as he was borne to his tomb in the cathedral, and those which he worked after having been laid within the sepulchre, have been delineated by Antonio with infinite care and devotion. The painter has here represented men receiving their sight, the lame restored to the use of their limbs, and those possessed by demons set free, with many other miracles, all expressed with extraordinary animation. But, among all these figures, none surprises more, or merits more attention, than that of one suffering from hydropsia; the haggard visage, the shrivelled lips, the swollen body, all are so lifelike, that the devouring thirst caused by dropsy, and the other characteristics of that malady, could scarcely be more vividly displayed in the living body itself. A ship, which Antonio painted in this picture, was also the cause of great marvel in those times: this vessel, being assailed by a storm, is saved from shipwreck by the saint; the movements of the mariners, with all the proceedings customary on the occurrence of such accidents, being represented with much spirit. Some cast the precious merchandise, which they have procured by so many fatigues, without one thought of its value, to the insatiable deep; others hurry to the different cares required by their bark, which is in danger of being dashed to pieces, all are employed, in short, in various nautical offices, which it would occupy too much time to describe. Let it suffice to say, that the whole is so fine, and all these different actions are performed with so much vivacity, as to render the work a marvel.†

In the same place, and beneath the Lives of the Holy Fathers, painted by Pietro Laurati of Siena, Antonio depicted the body of the Beato Oliverio, and that of the Abate Panunzio,‡ with various events from their lives, on a sarcophagus which is intended to represent marble. This painting is also extremely well done; indeed, all the works executed by Antonio in the Campo Santo are such, that they have been universally, and with great justice, acknowledged

* The Emperor Ludovic: the Bavarian, who died in 1347.

† Almost all the figures in this part of the work are portraits of historical personages, whose names are given in Rosini, *Descrizione del Campo Santo*

‡ The Beati Onofrio and Panuzio. — *Ed. Flor.* 1832-38.

to be the best of all the various productions executed in that place, during so long a series of years, by so many excellent masters.

In addition to the many admirable qualities hitherto attributed to this master, may be further adduced the fact, that he executed his whole work in fresco, and never retouched any portion of it when dry. One consequence of this being, that the colours of his paintings remain fresh and life-like to the present day. And herein they may serve as a lesson to artists, teaching them the great injury done to fresco paintings by retouching them with other colours when they are dry. For we find it proved, beyond a doubt, that the pictures, so retouched, acquire a look of age, and are yet deprived of all the purifying effects of time; for being thus covered with colours which have a different body from those beneath, and which are tempered with gums, as tragacanth, or eggs, glue, and other matters of similar character, which cloud and tarnish the colours below, the lapse of time and the action of the air are prevented from exercising their purifying influence over that which is really worked in fresco on the wet stucco, as they would have done, if these colours had not been afterwards laid on dry. After having completed this undertaking, for which, as indeed worthy of all praise, he was honourably rewarded by the Pisans, Antonio returned to Florence, where he painted a tabernacle* at Nuovoli, outside the gate leading to Prato, for Giovanni degli Agli. The subjects are a Dead Christ, the Adoration of the Magi, with numerous figures, and a Last Judgment; all extremely beautiful. He was afterwards invited to the Certosa, where he painted the picture of the high altar for the family of the Acciaiuoli, who had built that convent. This work was consumed by fire in our own day, in consequence of the carelessness of a sexton, who, having left the thumbel full of embers suspended to the altar, caused the picture to be burnt. The altar was then reconstructed by the monks, entirely of marble, as we now see it. In the same place, and on a wardrobe or press in the same chapel, Antonio painted a transfiguration of Christ, in fresco, which is very beautiful †

Our artist had meanwhile been always strongly disposed to

* No trace of these paintings is now left.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832.

† This fresco has likewise perished.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846 49

the study of natural history, and that of the science of botany in particular, which he had studied in Dioscorides. He took especial pleasure in investigating the nature and properties of plants, and finally, abandoning the practice of painting, he betook himself to the distillation of simples, applying himself earnestly to the acquirement of all particulars respecting them. Thus, from a painter, Antonio became a physician, and exercised this profession during a long time. Finally, being attacked by a disorder of the stomach, or as others say, by disease contracted while attending a patient sick of the plague, Antonio finished the course of his life in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and in the year 1384,* when a grievous pestilence raged in Florence. No less expert as a physician than excellent as a painter, and having made many useful experiments in the latter capacity, Antonio left honourable memorials of his existence in both these arts.† He drew extremely well with the pen, and so admirably in “chiaro-scuro”, that some drawings in our book, of the works executed by this painter in the cloister of Santo Spirito, are considered the best of that period. The Florentine, Gherardo Starnina, was a disciple of Antonio, whom he imitated closely. Paolo Uccello was also his disciple, and did him no small honour. In the Campo Santo of Pisa, the portrait of Antonio Viniziano may be seen, painted by his own hand ‡

* “Documents assure us,” say the Florentine commentators, “that Antonio was painting in the Campo Santo in 1386; he could not, then, have been dead in 1384 —” q. e. d.

† In the first edition of Vasari, vol. i, p. 202, the following epigram on Antonio appears, under the name of an epitaph:—

“Annis qui fueram pictor juvenilibus, artis
Me medicæ reliquo tempore cepit amor.
Natura invidit dum certo coloribus illi
Atque hominum multis fata retardo medens
Id pictus paries Pisis testatur et illi
Sæpe quibus vitæ tempora restitui.”—*Bottari*.

‡ Alluding to Vasari's account of this painter, Lanzi remarks, and with reason, that the life of Antonio gives little proof of that injustice to artists who were not his compatriots, with which Vasari has been so bitterly reproached.—Vol. i, p. 68, English edition.

THE PAINTER JACOPO DI CASENTINO

[Flourished in the middle of the fourteenth century.]

THE fame of Giotto, the renown attached to his works, and to those of his disciples, having for several years been much bruited abroad, many persons, desirous of acquiring honour and riches by the art of painting, and incited to study by nature and inclination, began to labour for the amelioration of the art, most of them being firmly persuaded that by their efforts the attainments of Giotto, Taddeo, and all the other painters, would be far surpassed. Among these was a certain Jacopo di Casentino, who belonged, as we find recorded, to the family of Messer Cristoforo Landino, of Prato Vecchio, and was sent by a monk of Casentino, who was intendant of Sasso della Vernia, to acquire the art of painting under Taddeo Gaddi, when that master was working in the convent so called. In this vocation Jacopo succeeded so well, that in the course of a few years, having accompanied Taddeo to Florence, where he executed many works in company with Giovanni da Milano, for the service of their common master, he was appointed to paint the tabernacle of the Madonna in the Mercato Vecchio, with the altar-piece, in distemper. The oratory which stands at the corner of the piazza of San Nicolo, on the Via del Cocomero, was also painted by Jacopo di Casentino, but both these works were restored a few years since by a master greatly inferior to Jacopo. The tabernacle at Santo Nofri (Sant' Onofrio?) belonging to the Guild of Dyers, and situated at the corner of the wall of their garden, opposite to San Giuseppe,* was also decorated by Jacopo di Casentino. In the meantime the vaulted arches of Orsanmichele were in process of construction on the twelve columns, a low rustic roof being placed over them, that the building, which was to serve as the granary of the commune, might be proceeded with so soon as should be possible. Jacopo di Casentino was selected as a person well versed in such matters, to decorate the arches with figures of the patriarchs, certain of the prophets, and the heads of the tribes, sixteen figures in all, beside the various ornaments. This work he

* This tabernacle, also, was afterwards restored, and by a worse master than either of the others — *Ed. Flor.* 1832.

executed on a ground of ultramarine, but it is now nearly ruined. On the walls beneath, and on the pilasters, he then painted numerous miracles performed by the Madonna, with other pictures, which are recognized by their manner.*

Having completed this undertaking, Jacopo returned to Casentino, whence, after producing many works in Prato Vecchio, Poppi, and other places in that valley, he repaired to Arezzo. This city was then under its own government, with a council of sixty citizens, chosen from the most esteemed and richest, to whose care the whole administration of public affairs was committed. Here Jacopo depicted a story from the life of St. Martin,† in the principal chapel of the cathedral; and in the Duomo Vecchio, which is now destroyed, he painted various pictures, among which, in the principal chapel, was the portrait of Pope Innocent IV. In the church of St. Bartholomew, moreover, this master painted on the wall the pictures above the high altar, with the chapel of St. Mary of the Snows, a work executed for the chapter-house belonging to the canons of the deanery‡. For the ancient confraternity of San Giovanni di Peducci, also, Jacopo di Casentino painted numerous stories from the life of that saint, but these works have been covered with whitewash. He decorated the chapel of San Cristofano in the church of San Domenico, in like manner, taking for his subject the Beato Masuolo liberating from prison a merchant of the Fei family, by whom the chapel was erected. This Beato Masuo'o, who was a prophet, had predicted many misfortunes while he was yet alive, to the people of Arezzo. In the church of St. Augustine, also, Jacopo painted stories in fresco from the life of San Lorenzo, in the chapel and at the altar of the Nardi family, a work in which he displayed an admirable method and extraordinary facility.

This master gave his attention to architecture likewise,

* Slight traces only of these works now exist

+ The Roman edition of 1759, and even that of Florence published in 1832-38, affirm that this picture was in existence at those dates, although by no means in good condition. but the latest Florentine edition—that of 1846-49—declares it to have perished.

‡ On this façade, and in the angle to the right of the spectator, is a Dead Christ, with St John and the Virgin in half-length figures. This is the only painting by Jacopo di Casentino now remaining in Arezzo. - *Ed. Flor* 1846-49.

and, by order of the sixty citizens forming the council above named, he reconducted the water which rises at the foot of the hill of Pori, three hundred braccia from Arezzo, beneath the walls and into the city. In the time of the Romans this water had been originally brought in for the service of the theatre, of which we still see some vestiges; and from this edifice, which was on the heights where the fortress now is, the water was led to the amphitheatre of the same city, which was in the plain. All these buildings and aqueducts were ruined and destroyed by the Goths. This water, then, having been again brought in beneath the walls, as we have said, by Jacopo di Casentino, that master constructed the fountain then called the Guizianelli, but now, by a corruption of the name, the Viniziana fountain. This work endured from 1354 to 1527, and no longer, partly because, in the pestilence of that period, and in the war succeeding it, many of the citizens turned the water aside at different points to their own gardens, and for other private uses, but principally from the fact that Jacopo had not carried it sufficiently deep beneath the earth. From these causes the fountain is not now in the state that it should be.

While the aqueduct was in progress Jacopo did not discontinue his paintings, but executed various works in the palace, which was then in the old citadel, but is now entirely destroyed. His subjects were taken from the lives of the bishop Guido and of Piero Sacconi, men who, whether in peace or war, had done great and highly estimated services to the city. He also painted the life of St. Matthew, beneath the organ of the capitular church, with other works in considerable numbers. While thus executing various designs in different parts of the city, Jacopo di Casentino instructed Spinello of Arezzo in the principles of his art, as he had himself been instructed in them by Agnolo, and as Spinello afterwards taught them to Bernardo Daddi, who, labouring constantly in his native city, adorned it with very beautiful works in painting; for which cause, and on account of his many excellent qualities, he was much esteemed by his fellow citizens, who confided to him several offices of trust in the magistracy, and employed him in other public affairs. The paintings of Bernardo were numerous, and highly prized; those in the chapels of San Lorenzo and San Stefano, in the

church of Santa Croce, which belong to the families of Pulei and Berardi, were among the number, with many other pictures in different parts of the city. Bernardo also executed certain frescoes over the gate which opens on the road leading to Florence. This master ultimately died laden with years, and received honourable interment in Santa Felicità in the year 1380.

But to return to Jacopo di Casentino. In addition to what is here said, we may remark that in his day, that is, in the year 1350, the Company and Brotherhood of painters took its rise. And it happened on this wise: the masters of that period, as well those attached to the old Byzantine manner as those who adopted the new method of Cimabue, meeting together in considerable numbers, and reflecting that the arts of design had regained their existence in Tuscany, nay, rather, in Florence itself, resolved to establish a society, which they called by the name of St. Luke the Evangelist, and placed under the protection of that saint; and this they did partly that they might the more effectually render thanks and praise to God in his temple for that revival of their art, and in part, also, that they might occasionally assemble, the better to provide for the succour, whether spiritual or temporal, of such as should need their aid, a custom still in use among many of the Florentine guilds and fraternities, but which was formerly much more extensively prevalent than it now is. The first oratory of this society was the principal chapel of the hospital of Santa Maria Novella, which had been made over to them by the Portinari family; and the first governors of the brotherhood, who had the title of captains, were six, besides two counsellors, and two treasurers; all which may be seen in the ancient book of the Company which was then commenced, and the first chapter of which begins thus:—"These ordinances and regulations were determined on and established by good and discreet men exercising the art of painters in the city of Florence, and at the time of Lapo Gucci, painter, Vanni Ciuuzzi, painter, Corsino Buonaiuti, painter, Pasquino Cenni, painter, Segna d'Antignano, painter, Bernardo Daddi, and Jacopo di Casentino, painters, were the counsellors, Consiglio Gherardi and Domenico Pucci, painters, the treasurers."

The society being established in this manner, Jacopo di Casentino, with the consent of the captains and other members, prepared the altar-piece of their chapel, choosing for his subject the evangelist St. Luke, who is painting a picture of the Virgin. In the predella are the men of the society on one side, and on the other the women, all kneeling.* From these beginnings, sometimes assembling together and sometimes not, the Company of painters has continued until it has arrived at its present condition, as is narrated in the new canons of the same, approved by that benignant protector of the arts of design, our most illustrious lord, Duke Cosmo.

At length, laden with years, and worn with many labours, Jacopo returned to Casentino, and died at Prato Vecchio, in his eightieth year; he was buried by his kindred and friends in Sant' Agnolo, an abbey belonging to the order of Camaldoli, and close to Prato Vecchio. His portrait, by the hand of Spinello, was in the Duomo Vecchio, in an Adoration of the Magi;† and in our book will be found a specimen of his manner in drawing‡.

THE PAINTER SPINELLO ARETINO.

[BORN—WAS STILL FLOURISHING IN 1408.]

ON one of the many occasions when the Ghibellines were driven out of Florence, Luca Spinelli fixed his dwelling in Arezzo, where a son was born to him, whom he called Spinello. This child was so powerfully impelled to become a

* This work is no longer to be found.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832.

+ The portrait and picture perished with the cathedral, in the year 1561.—*Ed. Rom.* 1750.

‡ In the first edition of Vasari, is the following epitaph on Jacopo di Casentino.—

“ Pingere me docuit Gaddus, componere plura
Apte pingendo corpora doctus eram.
Prompta manus fuit; et pictum est in pariete tantum
A me: servat opus nulla tabella meum.”

Bottari.

painter by nature herself, that when still but a youth, and almost without any teaching, he had acquired more than many, long practised under the discipline of the best masters, are able to obtain. Nay, what is still more, having contracted an intimacy with Jacopo di Casentino, when that artist was painting in Arezzo, and having acquired some little practice from his instructions, Spinello, before he had reached the age of twenty, was a better master, even at that early period, than Jacopo himself, who was already an old painter. Thus, beginning to acquire the name of a good artist, Spinello was employed by Messer Dardano Acciaiuoli, who, having caused the church of San Niccolo to be erected in the Via della Scala, behind Santa Maria Novella, for the papal councils,* and having buried his brother the bishop therein, had the whole painted in fresco by Spinello. The subject chosen was the life of San Niccolo, Bishop of Bari, and the master completed it in the year 1334, having worked on it continuously during two years.† In this undertaking Spinello acquitted himself so well, both as to colour and design, that the work had maintained itself, even to our own days, in excellent preservation; the expression of the faces, as well as the colour, retaining all its beauty, when the paintings were in great part destroyed by fire. Certain inconsiderate persons had thoughtlessly filled the church with straw, using it as a barn, when the building took fire, as we have said. Moved by the fame of this work, Messer Barone Capelli, a citizen of Florence, commissioned Spinello to paint various stories in fresco in the principal chapel of Santa Maria Maggiore.‡ The subjects were taken from the life of the Virgin, with some others from that of Sant' Antonio, the abbot, near to which was also painted the consecration of that very ancient church, a ceremony which had been performed by Pope Pascal, the second of that name.§ This work, also, Spinello

* The Florentine Council, under Pope Eugenius IV, was held in this hall.—*Bottari*

† From two inscriptions cited by Richa, we learn that this church was built by Dardano, but painted by Leone Acciaiuoli.

‡ The paintings of Spinello in Santa Maria Maggiore have been long destroyed.

§ This church was not consecrated by Pascal II, but by Pope Pelagius as was proved by an inscription formerly existing near the choir, but now no longer legible.

executed so carefully, that it would seem to have been the work of one day, rather than of many months, as was the fact * Near the above-named pontiff is the portrait of Messer Barone, taken from the life, in the dress of those times, and painted with infinite judgment and ability. Having finished this chapel, Spinello executed various frescoes in the chapel of St. James and St. John the apostles, in the church of the Carmine, where, among other subjects, he represented the wife of Zebedee and mother of James demanding of Jesus that he should cause one of her sons to sit on the right hand of the Father in the kingdom of heaven, and one on the left, while immediately beyond are Zebedee, James, and John, who abandon their nets to follow Christ, all which is depicted with admirable truth and grace. In another chapel of the same church, which is near the principal chapel, Spinello painted stories from the life of the Madonna, also in fresco. The particular subjects chosen are the miraculous appearance of the apostles before the Virgin when she is approaching her death; and the moment of her departure, when she is borne to heaven by angels. This picture is very large, and as the chapel is but ten braccia in length and five in height, it could not contain the whole story; it was necessary therefore to continue that part representing the Assumption of the Virgin on one of the sides, where Christ and the angels receive her, an arrangement which was managed by Spinello with great ability. In a chapel of Santa Trinità this artist painted an extremely beautiful Annunciation, and in the church of Sant' Apostolo he executed a picture in distemper for the high altar, wherein he depicted the Holy Spirit descending on the apostles in tongues of fire. In Santa Lucia de' Bardi, Spinello painted a small picture, with one of larger size, for the church of Santa Croce; this last was for the chapel of St. John the Baptist, which had been painted by Giotto.†

After these things, the great name which Spinello had ac-

* Certain commentators consider this an equivocal kind of praise; but the meaning of Vasari is sufficiently elucidated by his remarks on fresco painting, in the life of Antonio Veneziano. Bottari observes, that these works were destroyed in his time, with the exception of those in the choir; and these also have since been covered with whitewash, as we are informed by the latest Florentine editors.

† Of all the works here enumerated, none now remain.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

quired by his Florentine labours, caused the council of sixty citizens, by which Arezzo was governed, to recal him to that city, where he was appointed by the commune to paint the Adoration of the Magi, in the church of the Duomo Vecchio, without the walls of Arezzo, together with the story of St. Donatus destroying a serpent by the force of his word, in the chapel of San Gismondo. He further painted various figures on some of the pilasters of that Duomo, and on one of the walls he represented the Magdalen in the house of Simon anointing the feet of Christ, with other pictures, of all which we need make no further mention, since that ancient temple, once filled with sepulchral monuments, bones of saints, and other memorable things, is now totally destroyed. I will, nevertheless, here record, that some remembrance at least may be retained of it, that this building was erected by the people of Arezzo more than thirteen hundred years since,* when they were first converted to the faith of Christ by St. Donatus, who was afterwards bishop of the city. The church was dedicated to his name, and was enriched, both inside and out, with the spoils of antiquity. The ground plan of this building,† of which we have elsewhere spoken at length, was divided externally into sixteen parts, but within the church, these divisions were eight only; all were filled with the spoils of the temples which had previously been dedicated to idols. To be brief, this church, at the time when it was demolished, was as beautiful as it was possible that any temple could be.

After the many pictures he had painted in the Duomo, Spinello worked in the church of San Francesco, where he depicted Pope Honorius approving and confirming the rule of the saint in the chapel of the Marsupini, and here he drew the portrait of Pope Innocent IV, from nature, having by some means obtained the likeness of that pontiff. In the same church he also painted various stories of St. Michael the archangel in the chapel dedicated to that saint, which is now used as the belfry; and a little below, in the chapel of Messer Giuliano Baccio, Spinello painted an Annunciation,

* With regard to the error of Vasari respecting the Duomo Vecchio of Arezzo, see the note to the Introduction, p. 20.

† Of the large church, that is, which, together with the lesser one, constituted the ancient Duomo of Arezzo.—*German Translation of Vasari.*

with other figures, which are greatly admired.* All the works in fresco which Spinello executed in this church were painted with infinite boldness and facility; they were completed between the years 1334 and 1338. In the capitular church of Arezzo, this master painted the chapel of St. Peter and St. Paul, with that of St. Michael the archangel,† which is immediately below. He also decorated the chapel of SS. Jacopo and Filippo in fresco, for the Brotherhood of Santa Maria della Misericordia; this is on the same side of the church; over the principal door of the brotherhood's house, which is in the piazza, he painted a Dead Christ (Pietà), with a San Giovanni,‡ works executed at the request of the rectors of that Brotherhood, which had its origin in this wise: a certain number of good and honourable citizens had begun to gather alms for the poor who were ashamed to beg for themselves, and to solace all who needed their help in every possible manner. These citizens, thus succouring the sick and infirm, burying the dead, and performing many similar acts of charity, acquired so much credit for their good deeds during the plague of 1348,§ that large donations were made to them, and extensive possessions were left them by will, insomuch that one third part of all the riches of Arezzo passed into the hands of that fraternity. The same thing occurred in the year 1383, when there likewise raged a terrible pestilence. Spinello was a member of this society, and as it frequently came to his turn to visit the sick, bury the dead, and perform other pious duties, as the best citizens ever have done, and still continue to do, in that city, he desired to leave some memorial of these things in his paintings, and to that end he executed a picture for the Brotherhood on the façade of SS. Laurentino and Pergentino. The subject of this work is a Madonna, whose mantle, opening in front, discloses the people of Arezzo sheltered beneath it, and among them are the portraits of many men belonging to the chiefs of that brotherhood, each bearing the wallet on his

* The Annunciation is the only picture, of all this master's works, which now remains in the church of San Francesco.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832.

† These pictures have perished.—*Ibid.*

‡ This painting is still in tolerable preservation.—*Ibid.*

§ Rondinelli cites documents which shew that the Confraternity of the Misericordia was founded a full century earlier than the date here

shoulder, and carrying in his hand the wooden mallet with which the brethren knock at the doors, when they go to seek alms * For the Company of the Annunciation, Spinello painted the large tabernacle which is on the outside of the church, with part of a portico opposite to it, and an altar-piece in distemper,† for the same Company, the subject of which is an Annunciation. The picture, which is now in the church of the nuns of San Giusto, is also by Spinello; it represents the marriage of St. Catherine, with the infant Christ, whom the Virgin holds in her arms, with six stories, in small figures, from the life of St. Catherine. This work has been highly commended.‡

Being afterwards invited to the celebrated abbey of Camaldoli, in the Casentino, Spinello painted the picture of the High Altar for the hermits of that place. This work was removed in the year 1539, when, the church having been entirely rebuilt, a new painting was executed by Giorgio Vasari, who likewise decorated the principal chapel of that abbey, in fresco, painted two pictures for the church, and adorned the cross aisle, also with fresco paintings, at the same period. Summoned thence to Florence by Don Jacopo d'Arezzo, abbot of San Miniato-sul-Monte, which belonged to the order of Monte Oliveto, Spinello painted stories in fresco from the life of San Benedetto on the ceiling and four walls of the sacristy belonging to that monastery, together with the altar-piece, in distemper. These works are executed with all that facility which the long and careful practice of Spinello had given him, and with a perfection of colouring resulting in like manner from the laborious and diligent study which this master gave to his vocation, and which is in truth needful to all who would acquire any art perfectly.§

* The church of SS. Laurentino and Pergentino, the patron saints of Arezzo, was rebuilt in the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the painting of Spinello was destroyed.—*G. Montan.*

† The tabernacle is still in existence; the fate of the picture in distemper is not known. The portico was taken down, and the work of Spinello was consequently destroyed.

‡ This picture was afterwards taken into the convent, and is now lost, as we have said above.

§ The fresco paintings of the sacristy in San Miniato are still in good preservation. Forster informs us that there is also a *Life of Christ*, by Spinello, in the laboratory of Santa Maria Novella. See *Kunstblatt* for 1830, No. 17

The abbot, Don Jacopo, afterwards left Florence to take the government of San Bernardo, a monastery belonging to the same order, in his native city of Arezzo, and built upon the site of the Colosseum, which had been made over to those monks. The arrival of the abbot occurred at the moment when the building had just been completed, and here he caused Spinello to paint, in fresco, the two chapels which are beside the principal chapel, with two others, which stand one on each side of the door leading from the transept into the choir. In one of these four chapels, that beside the principal chapel, is an Annunciation in fresco, painted with infinite care, and on a wall near is the Virgin ascending the steps of the temple, accompanied by Joachim and Anna. In the opposite chapel is a crucifix, with the Madonna and San Giovanni bewailing the crucified Saviour, and a figure of San Bernardo in adoration at the foot of the cross. On the inner wall of the same church, and near the altar of the Virgin, Spinello painted the Madonna with the child in her arms: a work of great beauty. This master executed many other paintings for the same church, over the choir of which he depicted the Virgin, Santa Maria Maddalena, and San Bernardo, with infinite truth and animation.*

In the capitular church of Arezzo, in like manner, Spinello painted many pictures, those of the chapel of San Bartolommeo, for example, where he represented stories from the life of that saint, and in the corresponding chapel of the opposite aisle—that of St. Matthew—he decorated the walls with events from the life of St. Matthew, and painted the four evangelists in medallions on the ceiling. The mode in which our artist delineated these last figures is extremely fanciful, since he has placed heads of animals on the human bust and limbs of the evangelists; on that of St. John is the head of an eagle; St. Mark has the head of a lion; the head of an ox is on the figure of St. Luke; St. Matthew only retaining the face of a man, or rather, that of an angel.†

The people of Arezzo had constructed a church on numerous columns of marble and granite, to honour and preserve the memory of the many holy martyrs put to death by Julian the Apostate on the spot where they built it, and

* All these works in San Bernardo at Arezzo are destroyed.—*Rom. Ed.*

† The pictures here described have totally perished.—*Ed. Flor 1832*

which was outside their city. This they dedicated to St. Stephen,* and here Spinello painted a great number of figures and stories with infinite diligence, and with so much care as to the colouring, that they had remained fresh and in excellent preservation, even to our own days, when they were destroyed,† only a few years since. But, besides the stores of San Stefano, which were in figures larger than life, there was another remarkable work in that place; this was a St. Joseph, in the story of the Adoration of the Magi, whose delight, as he watches the kings while they open their treasures and offer them to the Divine Child, is expressed with a truth and beauty all but miraculous. In the same church was a Virgin presenting a rose to the infant Christ, which being ever considered a most beautiful figure, as it really is, was held in so much reverence by the Aretines that when the church of St. Stephen was thrown down, they caused that part of the wall to be cut out, without regarding the difficulty or expense, and having ingeniously bound and secured it, they bore it into the city and placed it in a small church, to the end that it might continue to receive the honour and devotion which had ever been paid to it‡. Nor need this occasion surprise, since it was one of the peculiarities of Spinello, and a thing natural to him, to give an air of simple and graceful modesty to his figures, which imparts to them an expression of piety and holiness; insomuch that the saints of this master—but more particularly his figures of the Virgin—have a certain sanctity about them, and breathe a kind of divinity, by which men are moved to hold them in the highest veneration. A proof of this may be seen, not only in the Madonna here described, but also in the Virgin which is at the corner of the Albergotti;§ in that on the outer wall of the capitular church in the Seteria,|| and in the one which stands on the side of the canal.¶

* This church was a small oratory, close to the Duomo Vecchio; it was destroyed in October of the year 1561.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

† When the church was demolished, together with the Duomo Vecchio.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832.

‡ This small church still retains the picture here described, which is called the Madonna del Duomo. The church is said to have been designed by Vasari himself.

§ This picture has perished.

|| This work is also lost.

¶ This picture still remains but is much injured.

There is a painting, moreover, by the hand of Spinello, on one of the walls of the hospital of the Spirito Santo; it represents the Holy Ghost descending on the apostles, and is a very fine work; the same may be said of the two paintings beneath this descent of the Holy Spirit, where SS. Cosimo and Damiano are represented cutting off the sound leg of a dead Moor, to apply it to the body of a patient from whom they have just taken an injured limb. The *Noli me tangere* also, which is between these two paintings, merits equally to be praised, and is exceedingly beautiful.* Spinello likewise painted an admirable Annunciation for the Brotherhood of the Puracciuoli,† on the piazza of Sant Agostino; it will be found in one of the chapels: the colouring of this work is beautiful, and in the cloister of the same convent Spinello executed a Virgin in fresco, with St. James, and St. Anthony. On his knees before these figures is a soldier armed, with these words:—

“Hoc opus fecit fieri Clemens Pucci di Monte Catino, cujus corpus jacet hic, etc. Anno Domini 1367, die 13 mensis Maii”‡

The picture, in the same church, representing St. Anthony with other saints, is also perceived, by the manner, to be from the hand of Spinello, who shortly afterwards painted, at the hospital of San Marco (which building has now been given to the nuns of Santa Croce, their convent, which was outside of the city, having been demolished), an entire portico, with many figures, among whom he has placed the portrait of Pope Gregory IX, taken from nature, and representing the Pontiff St. Gregory standing beside a Misericordia.§

The chapel of SS. Jacopo and Filippo, in the church of San Domenico, in the same city (Arezzo), the first chapel, that

* These paintings of the hospital are now almost entirely obliterated. *Ed. Flor.* 1832.

† This Brotherhood is that which takes charge of foundlings, and infants otherwise friendless. The Annunciation is still preserved. — *Rom. Ed.* and that of 1846.

‡ The figure of the soldier still remains. Of the inscription, a more accurate copy has been furnished to us by the courtesy of the sculptor, Signor Ranieri Bartolini. — “Hoc opus fecit fieri Clemens Pucci di Monte Catino, cujus corpus jacet hic tumulatum, SS. Jesu Christi anni Domini MCCCCLXXVII, die XV mensis Martii.” Vasari is therefore in error, both as regards the year and month — *Ed. Flor.* 1846.

§ These paintings have perished. — *Masselli.*

is, after entering the church, was decorated in fresco by Spinello, with figures boldly and beautifully painted, as is also the St. Anthony, depicted by the same master, on the façade of the church dedicated to his name; this is a half-length, and is so finely done that it almost seems to be living.* It is surrounded by four stories from the life of the saint. The same stories, with many others from the life of Sant' Antonio, have, in like manner, been painted in the chapel of that saint, which is in the church of San Giustino.†

In the church of San Lorenzo, and on one of the walls, this master painted events from the life of the Virgin, of whom he also depicted a seated figure on the outside of the church, a very graceful work in fresco. In an hospital opposite to the convent of the nuns of Santo Spirito, and near the gate which opens on the road leading to Rome, is a portico, entirely painted by the hand of Spinello. Among the pictures of this arcade is one of Christ lying dead in the arms of the Maries, which evinces so much genius, together with so profound a judgment in the art of painting, that it proves Spinello to have equalled Giotto in design, while he greatly surpassed him in colouring. In the same place, our artist has represented Christ seated; this work is a theological allegory, very ingeniously expressed; the three Persons of the Trinity being so placed within a sun, that the same beams and the same splendour appear to proceed from each of the three. But the paintings of this portico—to the great loss of all who love the art of painting—have suffered the fate of so many other works, having been destroyed with the building, which was demolished to make way for the fortification. For the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, Spinello painted a Tabernacle in fresco, which is still to be seen outside the church; the subjects chosen are the Trinity, St. Peter, and SS. Cosimo and Damiano, the latter clothed in such vestments as it was customary for physicians to wear at that time.‡ While these works were

* The pictures in the chapel of San Domenico are still in existence, those in the church of St. Anthony are destroyed—*Montani, in the Florentine Edition of 1832.*

† The pictures of San Giustino, with those (so much commended) of San Lorenzo and the Hospital, have all perished—*Ibid.*

‡ These pictures are still in existence, but have been retouched by Franchini of Siena.—*Masselli.*

-proceeding, Don Jacopo d'Arezzo was made general of the Confraternity of Monte Oliveto, which appointment he received nineteen years after he had caused Spinello to execute the different paintings in Florence and Arezzo, to which we have before alluded. And as Don Jacopo, after the manner of his predecessors, lived for the most part at Monte Oliveto di Chiusuri, that being the principal seat of the order, and the most important monastery within the territory of Siena, he conceived the wish to have a very beautiful picture executed for that place; wherefore, having sent for Spinello, by whom Don Jacopo had formerly found that he was admirably served, the general caused him to paint a picture in distemper, for the principal chapel, and in this the master depicted an immense number of figures of middle size, very judiciously executed, and on a ground of gold. The picture was surrounded by a rich ornament or framework in mezzorilievo, carved in wood by the Florentine, Simone Cini, and further adorned with mouldings in stucco, tempered with a rather stiff glue, and treated in such a manner that the whole succeeded perfectly, and was very beautiful. It was afterwards gilt all over with gold by Gabriello Saracini, and this same Gabriel inscribed the three names of the artists, at the foot of the picture, in the following manner :—

“Simone Cini Fiorentino fece l'intaglio, Gabriello Saracini la messe d'oro, e Spinello di Luca d'Arezzo la dipinse l'anno 1385.”*

* Of this very rich picture, respecting which no intelligence could for a long time be procured, we ourselves discovered the two lateral compartments, in the year 1840, at Rapulano, in the territory of Siena. On the suppression of the convent, these relics had been transported to a small chapel, which was afterwards used as a hay-loft, and where they were shamefully abandoned for many years. They were ultimately purchased by Signor Ramboux, now Inspector of the Gallery of Cologne. These two portions, when united, form a picture four braccia high and three wide, adorned with the richest *intagli*, entirely covered with gold. On one side are San Nemisio with St. John the Baptist; on the other, San Bernardo with Santa Lucilla. Above are the Prophets Daniel and Isaiah, small half-lengths. Beneath these figures, the soele was divided into four compartments, in each of which is portrayed an event from the life of the saint who is depicted above:—the Martyrdom of San Nemisio, namely, the Banquet of Herod, the Death of San Bernardo, and the Martyrdom of Santa Lucilla; all executed in a manner entirely worthy of a great and experienced master. These stories are divided

This work being completed, Spinello returned to Arezzo, having received great kindness from the general and his monks, and being moreover very largely rewarded. But he did not long remain in Arezzo, the city being then much disturbed by the Guelphic and Ghibelline parties, and having been recently sacked.* Spinello therefore proceeded with his family, including his son Parri, who was also a painter, to Florence, where he had many relations and friends. Here Spinello painted a tabernacle, principally for his amusement; the subject of the work, now half-ruined, is the Annunciation; the tabernacle stands on the Roman road, without the gate of San Piero Gattolini, where you turn to go to Pozzolatico: this master also executed other pictures in another tabernacle near the hostelry of Galluzzo.

Spinello was thence invited to Pisa, for the purpose of finishing the decoration of certain spaces left unoccupied in the Campo Santo, beneath those wherein the life of San Ranieri had been depicted; these he connected with those painted by Giotto, Simon of Siena, and Antonio Veneziano, by the delineation of six stories in fresco, taken from the lives of San Petito and Sant' Epiro.† In the first of these the painter has chosen the moment when Sant' Epiro, then a youth, is presented by his mother to the Emperor Diocletian; he is further seen when appointed by the emperor to command

from each other by slight pilasters, on each of which are represented minute figures of saints standing erect. Above the predella, in raised and gilded letters, are the words—"Maister. Simon. Civ. De. Florentia. Intgliavit Gabrielus. Saraceni. De. Senis. Avrauit. MCCCXXX..." The rest of the date is not clear, but seems rather to be a 3 or 4, than a 5. The part of the inscription on which was the name of the painter Spinello is wanting, because the middle part of the picture is lost; but there was certainly a figure of the Virgin in that portion of the work. The middle of the predella, however, is still in existence, having been conveyed, in the year 1810, from the convent of Monte Oliveto to the public Gallery of Siena, where it now is. It is a most beautiful fragment, representing the death of the Virgin, who is surrounded by figures of Jesus Christ and the Apostles.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

* The sack of Arezzo took place in 1384, which confirms the conjecture hazarded by us in the preceding note, wherein we express an opinion that the date on the picture of Monte Oliveto was 1384, not 85, as given by Vasari.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

† Della Valle and others, correcting these names, write "Efeso" and "Potito"; Ciampi reads "Efisio" and "Potito". The little now remaining of these works is very much discoloured.—*Id. Flor.* 1832, and 1846.

the armies which are to proceed against the Christians ; and, once again, when Christ appears to him as he rides forth on horseback, and showing him a white cross, commands him not to persecute the followers of that ensign. In another story, the angel of the Lord is seen giving to the Saint, who is still on horseback, the banner of the Faith, a white cross on a field of red—Epiro having prayed of God to give him a sign, that he might carry it against his enemies—which cross has been the banner of the Pisans from that time to the present. Near this story is another, wherein Sant' Epiro is exhibited doing battle against the pagans. The combat rages fiercely, but armed angels are contending on the side of the saint, to assure him the victory. In this work Spinello produced many results which merit high commendation, when it is considered that in those days the art had not yet acquired its full force, nor attained to any sufficient method of vividly expressing, by colours, the movements of the soul. Among many other instances of what is here alluded to, may be mentioned the two soldiers who, having seized each other by the beard with one hand, hold their naked swords in the other, each seeking to deprive his antagonist of life ; the whole face and every movement of each manifest his eager desire for victory : their proud defiance, and the courage by which they are animated, could not possibly be expressed with greater truth. Among those who fight on horseback also, there is a knight, admirably well done, he is transfixing his opponent, who has fallen backwards from his terrified horse, and is pinning his head to the earth with his lance. In another story, Sant' Epiro is again seen to appear before the Emperor Diocletian, who examines him respecting his faith, and afterwards commands him to be put to the torture ; he is placed in a fiery furnace, wherein he remains unhurt, while the ministers of the emperor's will, who are represented in most life-like motion on every side, fall a prey to the fury of the flames. All the history of the saint in brief, is here depicted, to his decapitation, after which his soul is borne to heaven : the last picture, showing the bones and relics of San Petito, when they are carried from Alexandria* to Pisa. The whole work, whether as

* From a place near Cagliari, in Sardinia, where, according to Della Valle, these martyrs met their death.—*Montaxi, Ed. Flor. 1832.*

regards invention or colouring, is the most perfectly executed, the most highly-finished, and the most beautiful of all that Spinello produced; the care with which it was done is made manifest by the fact, that it is so admirably preserved, as to astonish all who behold it by its freshness. Having completed these works of the Campo Santo, the master painted stories from the lives of San Bartolommeo, Sant' Andrea, San Jacopo and San Giovanni the apostles, in a chapel of San Francesco,* the second from the principal chapel namely, and he would possibly have remained still longer in Pisa, where his works were appreciated as well as highly paid for, had not that city been thrown into commotion and uproar, because Messer Pietro Gambacorti† had been killed by the Lanfranchi, who were citizens of Pisa; but public affairs standing thus, Spinello, who was now become old, returned with all his family to Florence. He remained there a year and not more, during which period he painted stories from the lives of SS. Filippo and Jacopo, in the chapel dedicated to those saints, in the church of Santa Croce, and which belongs to the Macchiavelli family. He further painted the death of the saints, with the altar-piece for the same chapel; but as he greatly desired to return to Arezzo, his native city, or to speak more exactly, the city which he considered his native place, he executed his work in Arezzo, whence he sent it finished to Florence in the year 1400.‡ Spinello was seventy-seven years old or perhaps more, when he returned to Arezzo, where he was most amicably received by his friends and relations, and was esteemed and honoured to the end of his life: which endured until he had reached the age of

* These paintings met the fate of the many other pictures in that suppressed church—*Ibid.*

† The death of Gambacorti happened in the year 1392. Professor Tomei of Lucca is in possession of a picture painted the year before that date; it represents the Virgin with four saints, and has the following mutilated inscription.—

"S. PINXIT SPINELLUS LVCE . . . ARITIO . . . A 1391"; that is—"HOC OPUS. PINXIT. SPINELLUS. LVCE DE ARITIO. IN A. 1391."

Ed Flor. 1846.

‡ From the days of Biscioni (see his notes to the *Riposo* of Borghini), these paintings have been no longer to be seen in Santa Croce. The picture of the altar may be in existence, but its history is not known.—*Montana.*

ninety-two. He was old, as we have said, when he returned to Arezzo, and possessing sufficient riches, he might have lived very well without labour, but having been ever accustomed to action, he was unable to remain idle, and undertook to paint certain stories from the life of St. Michael, for the Brotherhood of Sant' Agnolo in that city. These he sketched roughly, in the red colour, on the intonaco of the wall, (as the old artists almost always did), and painted one story in a corner with all the colours by way of pattern, which gave entire satisfaction. Having then agreed respecting the price with those who had charge of the work, Spinello painted the whole of the wall, besides the high altar, where he represented Lucifer fixing his seat in the North, with the fall of the angels, who are changed into devils as they descend to the earth. In the air appears St. Michael in combat with the old serpent of seven heads and ten horns, while beneath and in the centre of the picture is Lucifer, already changed into a most hideous beast.* And so anxious was the artist to make him frightful and horrible, that it is said,—such is sometimes the power of imagination—that the figure he had painted appeared to him in his sleep, demanding to know where the painter had seen him looking so ugly as that, and wherefore he permitted his pencils to offer him, the said Lucifer, so mortifying an affront? The artist awoke in such extremity of terror, that he was unable to cry out, but shook and trembled so violently, that his wife, awakening, hastened to his assistance. But the shock was so great that he was on the point of expiring suddenly from this accident, and did not in fact survive it beyond a very short time, during which he remained in a dispirited condition, with eyes from which all intelligence had departed. It was thus that Spinello closed his career, leaving his friends in heavy sorrow for his death, and bequeathing to the world two sons; one of whom was the goldsmith Forzore, who lived in Florence, where his labours in *Niello*,† obtained universal admiration; the second, Parri, following the example of his father, devoted himself to painting, and, as respects accuracy of design, greatly surpassed

* The Fall of the Rebellious Angels was engraved by Lasinio in 1821.

† Forzore is mentioned, in the life of Agostino and Agnolo, as the scholar of the goldsmith Cione

him.* The Aretines deeply regretted the unhappy chance which caused the death of Spinello, and deprived them of so much talent and excellence as were united in his person; although it is true that he had then attained to a great age, being ninety-two years old when he died. He was entombed in Sant' Agostino d'Arezzo, where there is still to be seen a stone with his escutcheon, bearing a hedgehog, which he had fancifully selected for his crest.† Spinello drew better than he painted, as may be seen in our book of the drawings of different ancient masters, where there are two evangelists and a St. Luke, in chiaro-scuro, very beautifully drawn by his hand. The portrait of this artist, given above, was copied by myself from one that was in the Duomo Vecchio, before that church was destroyed. His works date from 1380 to 1400.‡

* The life of Parri will be found in the second part of this work.

† Neither tomb nor stone are now to be seen; but, according to the first edition of Vasari, the following epitaph was placed upon the sepulchre of Spinello:

"SPINELLO ARRETINO PATRI OPT. PICTORIQUE SUÆ ÆTATIS NOBILISS. CUJUS OPERA ET IPSI ET PATRIÆ MAXIMO ORNAMENTO FUERUNT, PII FILII NON SINE LACRIMIS POSS "

If this inscription ever was placed there, it must have been at least a century after the death of the artist.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832.

‡ There is an important work by Spinello in Siena, with which neither Vasari nor Baldinucci appears to have been acquainted. It is in the hall called the Baha, in the public palace of Siena, and represents the principal events in the life of Pope Alexander III (Rolando Bandinelli of Siena), in sixteen stories. These works, for the security of which from further injury, measures are at length about to be taken, were contracted for with Spinello and Parri his son, on the 18th of June 1407, the remuneration assigned to these masters being fourteen florins per month; but the pictures were not commenced until March of the year 1408. These dates, it will be remarked, prove that of 1400, cited by Vasari as the year of Spinello's last labours, to be an error.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

GHERARDO STARNINA, PAINTER OF FLORENCE.

[BORN 1354—DIED 1408]

It is an established truth, that he who wanders far from his country, dwelling for a certain time in a land of strangers, frequently experiences a beneficial change in his character and disposition ; for, being subjected to the influence of different habits, and observing various customs, the man who is even perverse of nature learns to become tractable, gentle, and patient, much more readily than he would have done had he remained in his own country. Nay, it is certain that he who desires to mould and refine men for the life of the world, need seek no more effectual fire, and no better test than this, wherein such as are rude of nature become mild and are softened, while the gentle become still more delicately refined. The Florentine painter, Gherardo di Jacopo Starnina, was of good race, and not of bad disposition, but his manners were exceedingly harsh and rude, a circumstance which injured himself more than others, but from which he would nevertheless have suffered very serious consequences, had he not timely betaken himself to Spain, where he remained for a long period. Here he learned to be gentle and courteous, his character becoming so greatly ameliorated in those countries that he seemed to have changed his nature, insomuch that when he returned to Florence, he was received with the utmost kindness by many who hated him to the death before his departure, but who continued to estimate him highly ever after his return, to such extent had he rendered himself agreeable and courteous.

Gherardo was born in Florence, in the year 1354, and, giving proof as he grew up of a natural inclination for the art of painting, he was placed with Antonio of Venice, that he might learn the principles of design. In the course of years Gherardo not only acquired the practice of drawing and painting, but having given a specimen of his ability in certain works, executed in a very good manner, he left Antonio, and began to labour in his vocation on his own account. The paintings in the chapel of the Castellani, in the church of Santa Croce, were executed at the cost of Michele di Vanni, an honourable citizen of that family ; and here Gherardo

Starnina depicted various stories in fresco, from the life of Sant' Antonio the abbot, with others from that of the bishop San Niccolo.* These works Gherardo completed with so much care, and in so good a manner, that they caused him to become known, as an excellent painter, to certain Spaniards then dwelling in Florence for their affairs, and what was more important, they took him with them into Spain, and presented him to their king. This monarch saw and received Starnina very willingly, and the rather as there was then a considerable dearth of good painters in that land (*in quella provincia*). Nor was it very difficult to induce Gherardo to quit his country, seeing that after the matter of the Ciompi,† and when Michele di Lando was made Gonfaloniere, he had had sharp words, and was at strife with many in Florence, so that he was, to a certain extent, in danger of his life. Having departed, therefore, to Spain, where he executed numerous works for the king of that country,‡ he received so large a remuneration for his labours, that he became rich and honoured. Being then desirous to show himself among his relations and friends in that improved condition, he returned to Florence, where he was very amicably received by all his fellow-citizens, who thenceforward showed him great favour. Nor did any long time elapse before Starnina was appointed to paint the chapel of San Girolamo, in the church of the Carmine, where he depicted various stories from the life of that saint; in one of these, that namely wherein San Girolamo appears with Paolo and Eustachio, the figures are dressed in certain vestments worn by the Spaniards of that time, the whole work exhibiting much originality of invention, with infinite grace and animation in the attitudes and expression of the figures. Among other scenes is one representing Girolamo receiving his first lessons; it exhibits a schoolmaster, who has caused one of his scholars to take

* Of the paintings executed in this chapel, those of the ceiling only remain.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

† This occurred in 1378. See the *Cronache* of that period, with the *Storie di Machiavelli*, book iii.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832 and 1846.

‡ The author of the work entitled *Les Arts Italiens en Espagne* (Rome, 1 25, quarto), informs us, that the Camerino of the Escorial has an oratory, painted by Gherardo. The picture is a large composition, representing the Adoration of the Magi, and is the only work of this master now to be found in Spain.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846-48.

another on his back, and whips the latter so cruelly with his rod, that the poor boy, kicking with the pain and crying out, seems attempting to bite the ear of the one who holds him; all this Gherardo has expressed with a most life-like truth, as was his custom in all that he painted, however whimsical and eccentric the scenes to be delineated. In like manner and with equal truth Starnina has portrayed the circumstances connected with the death-bed of San Girolamo. The saint, who is on the point of death, is dictating his testament; many monks, painted with admirable force and beauty, are around him, some of whom Gherardo represents writing, while others, fixedly regarding and earnestly listening to their master, seem to be storing up all his words with the utmost reverence and affection.* This work, having acquired fame and rank among artists for the painter, while his agreeable manners and character had won him a great reputation, the name of Gherardo became renowned throughout Tuscany, or rather through all Italy. He was consequently invited to Pisa, to paint the chapter-house of San Niccolo in that city; but, unwilling to leave Florence, he sent Antonio Vite of Pistoja in his stead: and this Antonio, having studied his art under Starnina himself, had acquired the manner of that master, and executed a picture of the Crucifixion in the aforesaid chapter-house, completing it, after the fashion which we now see, in the year 1403, to the great satisfaction of the Pisans.† Gherardo finished the chapel of the Pugliesi, as we have said, and the stories from the life of San Girolamo, which he executed therein, were highly appreciated by the Florentines; the painters preceding him never having expressed the various affections there displayed, as he had done, nor did the attitudes of earlier masters equal the grace of those there seen. In the year 1406, therefore, when Gabriel Maria, lord of Pisa, sold that city to the Florentines‡ for 200,000 scudi, (after Giovanni Gambacorta had sustained a siege

* This work has now been for some time entirely obliterated.—*Ed. Ferr.* 1832 38.

† Lanzi remarks that, among all the painters of repute, Antonio Vite was he who adhered the longest to the manner of Giotto.—*Ibid.* 1846.

‡ Now destroyed.

§ Gabbriello Maria Visconti. See Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, ix, 36, and Sismondi, *Hist. del Rep. Ital.* vol. viii, p. 141.

of thirteen months, and had ultimately been persuaded to consent to the sale), the commune of Florence caused Gherardo Starnina to paint a picture in commemoration of that event. Accordingly, on the façade of the palace belonging to the Guelphic party, Starnina depicted St. Dionysius* the bishop, and two angels, with the city of Pisa—a faithful portrait—beneath. This work the master executed with so much care in every part, more particularly as to the colouring in fresco, that in despite of the air, the rains, and the unfavourable exposure of a northern aspect, that picture remains in good preservation to the present time; it has ever been considered worthy of the highest praise, and is still so considered, because the colours retain their freshness and beauty as perfectly as if but just painted † By these and other works Gherardo Starnina had attained to the summit of honour, both in his own country and others, when envious death, ever the enemy of great deeds, cut him off in the most successful period of his labours, thereby destroying the confident hope of many still better things, which the world had promised itself from his hand. Gherardo unexpectedly attained the end of his career at the age of forty-nine,‡ and was buried with most honourable obsequies in the church of San Jacopo-sopra-Arno.¶

The disciples of Starnina were Masolino da Panicale, who was first an excellent goldsmith and afterwards a painter; and

* Because the acquisition of Pisa by Florence was made on the festival of that saint—that is, on the 9th of October.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-38.

† Some vestiges of this work still remain.—*Ibid.* 1846-49.

‡ Baldinucci also declares Gherardo to have died at this age, assigning 1403 as the year of his death; but in that case he could not have painted the pictures which took their origin from the occurrence of 1406. Richa and Bottari suspect that, instead of “aged forty-nine”, it should be fifty-nine. In the first edition of Vasari, the death of Starnina is placed in 1408.—*Ibid.* 1832-38.

¶ In Vasari's first edition, appears the following epitaph on Gherardo, but it would seem to be a composition of even more modern times than some of those previously cited as written on other masters. The Roman, Sienese, and other editions of Vasari, declare this epitaph supposititious:—

“Gerardo Starninæ Florentino summæ inventioni et elegantiae pictori. Hujus pulcherrimis operibus Hispaniæ maximum decus et dignitatem adeptæ viventem maximis honoribus et ornamentis auxerunt et fatis functum egregiis verisque laudibus merito semper concelebrarunt.”—*Bottari, Della Valle, etc.*

others, of whom we need make no further mention, as they did not distinguish themselves.*

The portrait of Gherardo is in the above-described story of San Girolamo, in one of the figures standing around the saint when he died, a profile, the head wrapped in a hood, and wearing a cloak, fastened at the throat. There are certain drawings, done with the pen on parchment, by Starnina, in my book, which are not without merit.

THE FLORENTINE PAINTER LIPPO.†

[BORN ABOUT 1354—DIED ABOUT 1410.]

INVENTION has ever been and ever will be considered the true mother of architecture, painting, and poetry; nay, rather of all the higher arts, and of all the wonders produced by the genius of men. To her it is that we owe the ever-varying fantasies and caprices of those fertile minds, whose best delight is in the search after variety in all things. And the novelties thus discovered ever redound to the high praise of all who, taking an honourable direction, possess the art of presenting their ideas and inventions clothed in forms of unwonted beauty, yet partially veiled and shadowed; an effect which many have the dexterity to secure, when imparting the praise which they bestow on others, or when expressing blame; which they find the means of conveying, without offering an open outrage. The Florentine painter Lippo was a man of most rare and varied invention; however unfortunate his works, and however unhappy his life, which did not long endure. He was born in Florence about the year of our salvation 1354, and although it was somewhat late before he commenced the study of painting, since he had already attained the period of manhood, he was yet so well aided by nature, which disposed him to the study of art, and by his genius, which was most

* The life of Masolino will be found in the second part of the present work.

† Filippo, or Philip.

admirable, that he made wonderful progress in a very short time. Lippo commenced his labours in Florence, at San Benedetto, a large and handsome convent, now in ruins, belonging to the order of Camaldoli, and situated beyond the gate which opens on the road to Pinti. Here he executed many figures which were considered exceedingly beautiful : one chapel, more particularly, painted entirely by his hand, was held to be very fine, and served to demonstrate the great results that may be obtained by the conscientious labours of him who adds earnest study to his desire of fame and glory. From Florence this artist was invited to Arezzo, where he decorated the chapel of the Magi, in the church of Sant' Antonio, in fresco, representing the Adoration of the Infant Christ by the Kings, in a very large picture. In the cathedral also, Lippo painted the chapel of San Jacopo and San Cristofano, for the family of the Ubertini ; and all these works, whether for the invention displayed in the composition of the stories, or for the colouring, were extremely beautiful.* In particular it may be said of this master, that he was the first who began to sport, so to speak, with the figures, and to arouse or awaken, in this sense, the spirits and minds of those who came after him, a thing which not only had never been done before his time, but had never even been indicated or apparently thought of. Having at a latter period executed many works in Bologna, with a picture in Pistoja, which was tolerably good,† Lippo returned to Florence, where, in the year 1383, he painted different events from the life of St. John the Evangelist, in the chapel of the Beccuti, in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore. On the wall beside this chapel—which is to the left of the principal chapel—there follow six stories from the life of the same saint, also by Lippo. This work is extremely well composed, and the figures are ingeniously arranged. Among other things may be specified a St. John, who causes his own vestment to be placed over certain dead bodies by St Dionysius the Areopagite, when the dead all return to life at the name of Jesus Christ, to the unspeakable astonishment of those who are present, and who can with difficulty believe their own eyes. Some of these figures of the dead also display very extraordinary ability

* Long since wholly perished.—*Ed Flor.* 1832 and 1846

† No memorial of this work remains.—*Ibidem.*

in the foreshortening, which proves clearly that Lippo perceived, and sought in some degree to elucidate certain difficulties in the art of painting.* It was by Lippo, moreover, that the leaves of the tabernacle in the Baptistery of San Giovanni were painted; that whereon are the angels with the San Giovanni in relief by Andrea, namely, and where Lippo depicted various stories from the life of St. John the Baptist, which were very carefully executed.† This master likewise took great pleasure in working in mosaic, and in the aforesaid Baptistery of San Giovanni, over the door leading to the Misericordia, he commenced a picture in this manner between the windows, which was considered very beautiful; nay, it was judged to be the best work in mosaic that had then been executed in that place: in the same church Lippo also restored certain mosaics which had been injured. He painted numerous figures in fresco likewise for the church of San Giovanni fra l'Arcora, which stood without the gate that opens on the road leading to Faenza, but the church was totally ruined at the siege of Florence. This work was near a Crucifixion, painted by Buffalmacco, and was considered exceedingly fine by every one who beheld it. In some of the small alms-houses at the gate of Faenza were certain frescoes by the hand of this master; and in Sant' Antonio, within the same gate, and near the hospital, he depicted a crowd of paupers in various attitudes and under different circumstances, all delineated with very great ability. Within the cloister of the same church, Lippo painted a vision of Sant' Antonio, of most original invention, and beautifully executed; the saint is depicted as contemplating all the allurements and snares of the world, by which the appetites and desires of men are taken captive, and themselves led away after the various delights and enjoyments of earth; a work which he completed with infinite ability.‡ This master executed numerous mosaics also for different parts of Italy, and in the Guelphic quarter of Florence, he produced a figure in this manner, the head of which was glazed.§ There are

* The paintings of Lippo in Santa Maria Maggiore had ceased to exist in the days of Cinelli. See *Bellezze di Firenze*.

† The tabernacle of Andrea Pisano being removed, the fate of these works can no longer be ascertained.

‡ All the works here described have perished.—*Masselli*.

§ No vestige of these mosaics now remains.—*Ibid*.

besides many works in the city of Pisa by the hand of Lippo • But, notwithstanding these varied labours, it may be truly said that this artist was extremely unfortunate, not only because the greater part of his works were utterly destroyed in the siege of Florence, and have now perished almost everywhere, but still more for the unhappy manner in which the course of his life was terminated, and which happened on this wise : Lippo was a litigious and quarrelsome person, who loved discord better than peace, and one morning he used most offensive words to one of his adversaries, with whom he had to appear before the tribunal of the Mercanzia ; in the evening therefore, as he was returning to his house, this man waylaid him, and stabbed him in the breast with a knife, in such a manner that he died miserably of his wounds a few days after.† His paintings date about the year 1410.

At the same time with Lippo, there was another painter in Bologna, a very clever man, called Lippo Dalmasi.‡ Among other things, this Lippo Dalmasi painted a Madonna in the year 1407, which may be seen in the church of San Petronio, at Bologna, and is held in high veneration. The arch over the door of San Procolo is also painted in fresco by his hand, and in the church of San Francesco he depicted a colossal picture of Christ, between St. Peter and St. Paul, for the tribune of the high altar. This work is graceful, and in a good manner ; beneath it the artist has inscribed his name in large letters. The drawings of Lippo Dalmasi are tolerably good, as may be seen in our book : he taught the art to Messer Galante of Bologna, who afterwards drew much better than himself, as may also be seen from a specimen in our book, where there is a drawing from the life by his hand—a figure in a short vestment with wide sleeves.

* Morrona, in his *Pisa Illustrata*, makes no mention of these works, an omission from which we may reasonably conclude that they are no longer in existence.

† The epitaph on Lippo, given in Vasari's first edition, is as follows :

“Lippi Florentini egregii pictoris monumentum. Huic artis elegantia artis (forse nominis) immortalitatem peperit: fortunæ iniquitas indignissime vitam ademit.”—*Ed. Flor.* 1832 and 1846.

‡ Lippo Dalmasi painted a great number of Madonnas in Bologna, where they are still held in the highest veneration ; insomuch that many have been cut from the walls, and enshrined in places of greater security —*Bottari.*

DON LORENZO, PAINTER, MONK OF THE ANGELI
OF FLORENCE*

[FIRST NOTICED AS A PAINTER 1410—DIED . . .]

It appears to me that permission to pursue some honourable occupation must needs prove a great solace to a good and upright man who has taken monastic vows. Music, letters, painting, or any other liberal, or even mechanical art, involving nothing blameable, but rather, useful to others, as well as satisfactory to himself; any of these must, in my opinion, be a valuable resource to him; for, after having performed all his religious duties, the monk so gifted passes his time creditably, as well as happily, in the pleasant labours of his favourite occupation. And to this may be added, that not only is such an one esteemed and valued while he lives by every man who is not envious or malignant, but is honoured by all men after his death for his works, and for the good name which he leaves to the remembrance of those who survive him. It is, moreover, to be observed, that he who spends his time in this manner, passes the hours in quiet contemplation, secure from the molestation of those ambitious desires by which the idle and unoccupied, who are for the most part very ignorant, are constantly beset, to their frequent shame and sorrow. And if it should happen that a virtuous man should sometimes be persecuted by the envious and wicked, yet such is the force of goodness, that while time destroys and renders nugatory the malice of the evil-doer, the name of the upright man remains clear and bright throughout all ages †

The Florentine painter Lorenzo was a monk of the order of Camaldoli, and belonged to the monastery of the Angeli,

* Rumohr observes, that among the works which Vasari attributes to this artist, is the picture of the Bartolini chapel, in the church of Santa Trinità in Florence, which is now restored to its place.

† In the first edition, this passage concludes with the words—"This happened to the Florentine Fra Lorenzo of the Angeli, who executed many works in the Camaldoline monastery of his order; and as in life he was highly esteemed, so, now that he is dead, the monks of the Angeli retain his hands as relics, and as a perpetual memorial of him." By this sentence, the introduction is more closely connected with the narrative.

which was founded in the year 1294,* by Fra Guittone d'Arezzo, who belonged to the order (military as well as religious) of the Virgin Mother of Jesus, or, as the monks of that order are vulgarly called, the Joyous Friars (Frati Gaudenti). In his earliest years Lorenzo devoted himself with so much zeal to the arts of design and painting, that he was afterwards deservedly enumerated among the best of the age in that vocation. The first works of this painter-monk, who adhered to the manner of Taddeo Gaddi and his disciples,† were executed in his own monastery of the Angeli, where, in addition to many other pictures, he painted that of the High Altar, which is still to be seen in their church, and was finished, as we learn from letters written on the lower part of the framework, in the year 1413, when it was placed where it still remains.‡ Don Lorenzo then painted a Coronation of the Virgin in a picture which was in the monastery of San Benedetto, outside the gate of Pinti. This monastery likewise belonged to the order of the Camaldolines, and was destroyed at the siege of Florence, in 1529. He had also previously selected the same subject for the picture of his own church of the Angeli. The picture painted for San Benedetto is now in the first cloister of the aforesaid monastery of the Angeli, in the chapel of the Alberti, on the right hand.§

* Del Migliore gives the date of the contract for the foundation of this monastery, 14th January 1295. See *Firenze Illustrata*, p. 326.

† "And was a very laborious man," adds the first edition of Vasari "as we still see proved by the infinite number of books, adorned with miniatures by his hand, yet remaining in the monastery of the Angeli and in the hermitage of Camaldoli, and by the many pictures in distemper, also by Don Lorenzo, preserved in the same places."—*Schorn*.

‡ This picture was removed towards the end of the sixteenth century, to make way for that of Alessandro Allori, which still occupies the place. It was then lost sight of, and accounted lost; but in the year 1840, while making an artistic pilgrimage in the Val d'Elsa, we had ourselves the good fortune to discover this picture, banished to the church of the abbey of San Piero at Cerreto, near Certaldo, which abbey had been united to the monastery of the Angeli by Pope John XXIII. in the year 1414. We have to remark, however, that at the moment of our discovery, the learned Prussian, Dr. Gaye, was announcing to the public, without our knowledge, that he also had discovered this important work. See *Carteggio Inedito di Artisti*, etc., vol. ii, p. 433.—*Ed. Flo.* 1846.

§ A picture painted at the same period with that described in the preceding note, but much smaller, was also discovered by us in a chapel of the suppressed Adeln abbey, situated at no great distance from that of Cerreto, and which also once belonged to the Camaldoline monks of Florence.—*Ibid.*

At the same time, or perhaps at an earlier period, this master painted, in fresco, the chapel of the Ardinghelli, in the church of Santa Trinità, in Florence, together with the altar-piece, which was highly celebrated at the time. Here he executed the portraits of Dante and Petrarca, both from nature. In San Pietro Maggiore he painted the chapel of the Fioraventi,* with an altar-piece for one of the chapels of San Piero Scheraggio,† and the chapel of the Bartolini family, in the church of the Trinity. In San Jacopo-sopra-Arno there is also a picture by Lorenzo, admirably painted, and finished with extreme diligence, according to the manner of those times ‡ In the Certosa, outside of Florence, our clerical artist gave further proof of his ability and experience in art, and in San Michele, at Pisa, a monastery of his own order, he painted several pictures, which have considerable merit.§ In the church of the Hermits (Romiti), in Florence, which also belongs to the Camaldolines, Don Lorenzo painted a Crucifixion, on panel, among other pictures, with a St. John, which were held to be very fine works. This church of the Romiti is now ruined,

* Of the two last-mentioned works nothing is now known.—*Montani*.

† The altar-piece of San Piero Scheraggio has been removed, and its fate is unknown; but an undoubted work of Lorenzo the Monk, in the highest preservation, was seen by ourselves in November of last year, in the subterranean oratory of the church of Monte Oliveto, near Florence. It is divided into three compartments, in the manner of a triptych. In the central division is the Virgin enthroned, with the Divine Child standing on her knees upright, and in the act of benediction; behind the throne are two angels in adoration, and in the remaining compartments are St. John the Baptist, St. Bartholomew, St. Thaddeus, and St. Benedict. In the three tabernacles above are the Redeemer in the centre one, with the announcing Angels, and the Virgin receiving the Annunciation, in the other two. Beneath the Madonna are written the following words:—

“AVE GRATIA PLENA DOMINUS TECUM AN. D. MCCCCX.”

This picture was pointed out to us by Signor Luca Bourbon del Monte, and by his advice has now been more suitably placed in the sacristy.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

‡ Of this work, as a whole, nothing positive is now known, but there are three fragments in the sacristy, which certainly made part of it. The subjects of these are Christ Crucified, with two Angels, who catch the precious blood flowing from the transfixed hands. St. John the Baptist and the Virgin Mother, are also represented, both evincing the most profound grief.—*Ibid.*

§ These works, with those of the Certosa, have perished.—*Ibid.*

together with the monastery, and has left no other memory than its name, which is still retained, that part of the city beyond the Arno being called the Camaldoli, from that holy place. Finally, having fallen sick of a grievous imposthume,* from which he suffered during several months, Don Lorenzo died, at the age of fifty-five, and was honourably interred by his brethren the monks, as his virtues well merited, in the chapter-house of their subterranean monastery.

Experience has sufficiently proved that from one sole germ, the genius and industry of men, aided by the influences of time, will frequently elicit many fruits, and thus it happened in the aforesaid monastery of the Angeli, of which the monks were ever remarkable for their attainments in the arts of design and painting.† Don Lorenzo was not the only excellent master among them : on the contrary, there flourished for a long space of time in that monastery many brethren of merited distinction in art, some of whom preceded him: among them was one whom I can by no means pass over in silence, —a certain Florentine monk called Don Jacopo, who lived long before Don Lorenzo, and was a good and worthy brother of his order, as well as the best writer of large letters that had ever then been known in Tuscany, or indeed in all Europe ; nor has his equal been seen even to the present day. And of this we have still proof, not only in the twenty large choral books which he left in his monastery, and which are the most beautiful, as respects the writing, as they are perhaps the largest, to be found in Italy, but also in many other works from his hand, preserved in Rome, Venice, and other cities in different parts of Italy. Some that may be particularly specified are in San Michele and San Mattia di Murano, a monastery of his own order of the Camaldolines. For these his labours this good father well merited the homage paid to him by Don Paolo Orlandini, a learned monk of the same monastery, who wrote a large number of Latin verses to his honour, many years after Don Jacopo had himself passed to a better life. His right hand, moreover, that namely with

* Brought on, as was believed, by the attitude demanded by his work, which kept him constantly leaning on his chest.

† We have ourselves discovered the works of a Camaldoline monk, hitherto unknown, in the miniatures of the choral books belonging to the church of Santa Croce ; the name of this master was Don Simon.—*Ed. Flor. 1846.*

which he had produced those admired works, was preserved, with the utmost veneration, in a tabernacle, together with that of another monk called Don Silvestro,* who adorned the same books with miniatures, no less excellent—the knowledge of those times considered—than the writings of Don Jacopo. I have myself often examined these books, and have been astonished at the accuracy of design, and beauty of execution displayed in works of a period when the arts of design were almost wholly lost, for the productions of these monks date from about the year of our salvation 1350, a little more or a little less, as may be seen on any one of the books themselves.† It is said, and there are still some old men who remember the fact, that when Pope Leo X came to Florence, he demanded to see these books, which he examined minutely, remembering to have heard them much praised by Lorenzo the Magnificent, his father. It is further related, that after he had considered them attentively, and with great admiration, as they all stood open upon the desks of the choir he remarked, “If these works were according to the Romish Church, and not, as they are, according to the rule and custom of the monastic, and especially the Camaldoline order, we would gladly take certain portions of them (giving the just recompense to the monks) with us to Rome, for the church of San Piero.” Two very beautiful books, by the same monks, were indeed formerly in that cathedral, where they probably still remain. There are, moreover, many specimens of ancient embroideries, worked in a very beautiful manner, preserved in the same monastery of the Angeli. These also were done by the ancient fathers of that place,‡ while they were shut up in perpetual seclusion, not bearing the name of monks, but that of hermits, and never coming forth from

* This is no fable. In the sacristy of the monastery of the Angeli, we have ourselves seen two hands, with the arms, perfectly well preserved; but it is not easy to say to whom they have belonged, especially as Vasari, in his first edition, attributes them to Don Lorenzo, with these words:—“The monks of the Angeli retain his hands as a relic and memorial of him.” And they certainly do seem to have belonged to one person, not only because one is the right and the other the left hand, but also from their resemblance in size and form.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

† The choral books of the monastery of the Angeli were appropriated to the Mediceo-Laurenziana Library, but almost all were first rapaciously deprived of their miniatures.—*Ibid.*

‡ They are no longer there, nor can their fate be ascertained.

their convents any more than do the nuns and sisters of our own days. This close seclusion continued until the year 1470.

But to return to Don Lorenzo: that master taught his art to the Florentine, Francesco, who, after his death, painted the Tabernacle at the corner of Santa Maria Novella, at the upper end of the Via della Scala, going towards the hall of the pope.* He had, besides, another disciple, who was a Pisan, and who painted a portrait for the chapel of Rutilio di Ser Baccio Maggiolini, in the church of San Francesco, at Pisa. The subject of this work was a Virgin, with San Piero, San Giovanni Batista, San Francesco, and San Raineri; and on the predella of the altar were three stories in small figures; it was finished in 1315,† and was held to possess considerable merit for a work in distemper.‡ In my book of drawings I have the Theological Virtues, done in "chiaro-scuro," by Don Lorenzo; they are well drawn, in a beautiful and graceful manner, insomuch that they are perhaps better than the drawings of any other master whatsoever belonging to those times. There was a tolerably good painter who flourished in Don Lorenzo's day, Antonio Vite, of Pistoja, namely, who painted, among other pictures (as we have said in the life of Starnina), various stories in the palace of the Ceppo, at Prato, from the life of Francesco di Marco, founder of that pious place.§

* This tabernacle is still to be seen, somewhat injured, it is true, but not so much as to prevent our perceiving the force of design, delicacy of execution, and grace of colouring, exhibited by the painter.—*Ed. Flor* 1846.

† This is obviously an error of the press. Vasari must have written 1415.—*Ibid.*

‡ The church being suppressed, this work has most probably perished.—*Montan*

§ In the first edition of Vasari, the life of Don Lorenzo terminated thus—"Fra Lorenzo was sincerely mourned by the monks of his monastery, who deposited him in their usual sepulchre, etc.; nor was there wanting one who honoured him after his death with the following epitaph:—

"Egregie minio novit Laurentius uti
Ornavit manibus qui loca plura suis
Nunc pictura facit fama super æthera clarum,
Atque animi eundem simplicitasque boni."

Ed. Flor. 1846-49.

TADDEO BARTOLI,* PAINTER, OF SIENA.

[BORN 1363—DIED 1422.]

ARTISTS who have endured heavy labours in the hope of acquiring fame from the art of painting, deserve that their works should be placed, not in a dark unfavourable position, for which the works themselves receive blame from those whose judgment extends no farther; but rather in situations of honour, and where the advantages of light and air permit them to be properly seen, and duly appreciated; as have been and still continue to be, the works of Taddeo Bartoli, a Sienese master, painted for the chapel of the palace of the Signory in Siena.

Taddeo was the son of Bartolo di Maestro Fredi,† who was a painter of mediocre reputation in his day, and who decorated one entire wall of the capitular church of San Gimignano (on the left hand of the entrance) with stories from the Old Testament. On this work—which, to say the truth, is not a very good one—we may still read the following epitaph: Ann. Dom. 1356, Bartolus Magistri Fredi de Senis me pinxit.” At this time Bartolo must have been very young, since, in another picture, executed in the same place, also by him, but in the year 1388, we perceive that he had acquired a much better manner, both in design and colouring. This work is in the church of Sant’ Agostino, on the left hand as you enter the church by the principal door; the subject is the Crucifixion of Our Lord, with certain saints. Some of the heads are tolerably good, but the feet of the figures are in the old manner. Many other works from the hand of Bartolo are to be seen in the same district ‡

But to return to Taddeo: having been appointed, as we have said, to paint the chapel in the palace of the Signory,§ in his native city of Siena, as the best master of his time, the

* For many valuable observations respecting this artist and his works, the reader is referred to Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen*, vol. ii, p. 218.

† The various questions raised with regard to the name, etc., of this painter, are discussed in the *Lettere Senesi* of Della Valle, vol. ii, p. 197, *et seq.*

‡ Few remains of this work now exist

§ The paintings in this chapel are still in good preservation; as, to the honour of the Sienese people, are many others of much older masters. See Della Valle Rumohr, etc.

work was executed by him with so much care, and was held in such esteem on account of the place it occupied, that Taddeo was not only largely remunerated by the signoria, but greatly increased his fame and glory thereby. As a further consequence of this success, he was appointed to paint numerous pictures in his own country, to his infinite honour and profit. He was, moreover, invited with great favour by Francesco da Carrara, signor of Padua, to perform certain works in that most noble city: Francesco having requested the presence and aid of the artist from the Signoria of Siena. Taddeo repaired to Padua accordingly, where he executed various pictures and other works, more particularly in the Arena and the Santo,* all which he completed very carefully, to his own honour and the satisfaction of Francesco, as well as that of the whole city.† Having then returned to Tuscany, he painted a picture in distemper in San Gimignano, and this work is very much in the manner of Ugolino Sanese; it is now behind the high altar of the capitular church, and faces the choir of the priests.‡ Taddeo afterwards proceeded to Siena, but did not remain there long, having been invited to Pisa by one of the Lanfranchi family, who was then warden of the Duomo; he consequently proceeded thither, and painted a fresco in the chapel of the Annunciation, wherein he depicted the Virgin ascending the steps of the temple; the priest, in robes of ceremony, awaits her at the summit. This work is very gracefully done, and in the head of the priest our artist has given the portrait of the aforesaid warden, with his own likeness in the figure standing near him.§ Having completed this picture, Taddeo was commissioned by the same warden to paint a Coronation of the Virgin, over the chapel of the Campo Santo.¶ Numerous angels are round the throne, in beautiful attitudes, and the colouring of the whole is very fine.

* The church of Sant' Antonio.

† The Marchese Selvatico informs us that he has not been able to find any work in Padua, that could be confidently attributed to the Sienese artist.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846.

‡ There are two pictures by Taddeo in the capitular church of San Gimignano, one of which bears his name.—*Ibid.*

§ These paintings are no longer in existence.—*Montani.*

¶ It is over the door of the Aulla chapel. The intonaco of this picture having fallen away, there remain only some of the angels' heads, but the whole composition of the story, drawn in outline with cinnabar on the plaster beneath, may still be distinguished.

For the chapel of the sacristy in the church of San Francesco, at Pisa, this master likewise painted a picture in distemper, the subject of which is Our Lady with certain saints. On this work he inscribed his name, and the year when it was painted, namely 1394.* About the same time, Taddeo Bartoli executed some pictures in distemper at Volterra,† with one at Monte Oliveto, where he also painted an Inferno in fresco: in this he availed himself of the inventions of Dante, in so far as relates to the separation of the condemned, and the modes of their punishment; but as respects the place of torment itself, he either could not or would not imitate the descriptions of the poet.‡ Taddeo likewise sent a picture to Arezzo, where it may be seen in the church of Sant' Agostino; in this he depicted the portrait of Pope Gregory XI, by whom the pontifical court, after having been held for so many decades of years in Avignon, was re-established in Italy. When he had finished these works, the master returned to Siena, but did not make a long stay there, being invited to Perugia, to work in the church of San Domenico, where he painted the chapel of Santa Caterina in fresco, representing the whole life of that saint. In San Francesco also, near the door of the sacristy, he painted some figures of which there is now but little to be discerned; but they can nevertheless be recognized as a work of Taddeo's, seeing that he always painted in the same manner. The death of Biordo,§ lord of Perugia, who was killed in the year 1398, occurring soon after these pictures were completed, Taddeo returned to Siena, where, perpetually labouring, he devoted himself so earnestly to the studies connected with his art, and made such well-sustained efforts to render himself an efficient painter, that if the result did not fulfill his expectations, we may safely affirm that this arose from no

* This picture was seen by Da Morrona, but was afterwards lost sight of. It has now been happily recovered, and is in the hands of Signor M. Supino of Pisa.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846-49.

† Taddeo was in Volterra in 1411, but what he did there cannot now be ascertained, nor whether the works which he executed in the church of San Francesco yet remain; but in the sacristy of the Oratory of Sant' Antonio is a picture with various saints by his hand, and bearing his name.—*Ibid.*

‡ These pictures have perished.—*Ibid.*

§ Ammirato, in the sixteenth book of his *Storie*, calls this Captain of Free Companies, Biordo de' Michelotti. See lib. xvi, p. 871.

defect or negligence in the duties of his vocation, but proceeded from the frequent indispositions brought on by a painful complaint, which afflicted him so grievously, that he could not fully attain to the ends he had proposed to himself. Taddeo died at the age of fifty-nine, after having taught the art to a nephew, called Domenico. His works date about the year of our salvation 1410. This Domenico Bartoli, nephew and disciple, as we have said, of Taddeo, devoted himself earnestly to his art, and painted with more facility than his uncle had done, he also displayed a richer fertility of invention in his stories, which he varied more extensively than had been usual with Taddeo. In the hall of the pilgrims in the great hospital of Siena are two large historical pictures, in fresco, by Domenico Bartoli,* who has managed the perspective, and treated all the accessories and ornaments with very great ability. This painter is said to have been singularly modest and amiable; his manners were gentle and his disposition remarkable for the most liberal kindness, all which brought no less honour to his name than did his proficiency in the art of painting. The works of this master were performed about the year of our Lord 1436, and the last which he executed were, a picture in the church of Santa Trinità, in Florence, of which the subject is the Annunciation; and the altar-piece for the high altar of the church of the Carmine.†

It was at the same time that Alvaro di Piero‡ of Portugal

* The stories here alluded to are six, and are all in existence, with the exception of the last.

† The fate of the works executed in Santa Trinità is unknown. The picture painted for the Carmine, probably perished in the year 1771, when the church was burnt.

‡ None of the commentators on Vasari have been able to enlighten us materially on the subject of this Portuguese painter. Count Raczyński, in his book called *Les Arts en Portugal* (Paris, 1846), says no more than that he saw one picture by this master in the "Hotel Borba", and that it is mentioned by Taborda, in his *Regoli dell' Arte della Pittura*, Lisbon, 1815. Nor could the Viscount di Juromenha communicate to Raczyński any intelligence, beyond the assertion that "*Alvaro Pires was painter to the King Don Emanuele*". But if this painter were contemporary with the Bartoli—and his manner proves him to belong to the first half of the fifteenth century—how could he be painter to Emanuel of Portugal, whose reign dates from 1495 to 1521? Whatever may be the fact as regards this incongruous history, we are happy to have some account to offer of a precious picture by Alvaro, which we have lately seen in a chapel of the church of Santa Croce in Fossabanda, distant half a mile

nourished; his manner closely resembled that of the above-named painters, but his colouring was more brilliant and his figures less majestic. Alvaro painted many pictures in Volterra, and there is one by his hand in Sant' Antonio of Pisa, with others in other places, but as they are of no great excellence we need say nothing more of them. In our book there is a drawing by Taddeo Bartoli, which represents Christ with two Angels, and is done with the practised hand of a master.*

LORENZO DI BICCI, PAINTER, OF FLORENCE.

[BORN 1350—DIED 1427.]

WHEN men who distinguish themselves in any honourable vocation, join excellence of character and the grace of pleasing manners to their abilities for action; above all, when they unite with these qualities, an obliging disposition and a courtesy which renders them ever prompt and ready to oblige those who require their services—they are nearly sure of securing all that, in a certain sense, can be desired in

from Pisa. This painting, the figures of which are of the size of life, represents the Virgin enthroned, with the Divine Infant standing upright on her knee. They are surrounded by eight Angels, two of whom offer gifts to the Child, while two are sounding the lute and psaltery with infinite grace of action. The colouring of this work is clear and brilliant, as Vasari describes that of this master to be, the style of the drawing is pure, and the whole work is executed in a firm, energetic manner, giving evidence of more ability in the artist, than he would be inferred to possess from the few words of Vasari. Beneath is the following inscription:—

“ALVARO . PIRES . D . EVORA . PINTOR .”

A very fine work of Taddeo Bartoli, unmentioned by the writers of his life, is still to be seen over the central door of the cathedral at Montepulciano. It is a large triptych, and the following inscription may still be deciphered:—

“THADEUS BARTOLI DE SENIS DEPIN [XIT] QUESTA OPERA AL
TEMPO DI MESSER

* A picture by Taddeo was taken to Paris in 1812, and still remains in the Louvre. It represents the Virgin, the Infant Jesus, and four Saints, on a gold ground.

this world, to their no small credit as well as advantage : and this was the case with the Florentine painter, Lorenzo di Bicci. This artist was born in Florence, in the year 1400,* and precisely at the moment when Italy began to be tormented by those wars which, no long time afterwards, conducted her to her ruin : the foundation of his subsequent credit was laid almost in his childhood, seeing that he acquired excellent habits and manners under the discipline of his father, and was instructed in his art by Spinello, so that even from boyhood he enjoyed the reputation of being a good painter, and was moreover early considered a courteous and honourable, as as well as a clever man. Lorenzo, while still but a youth, had executed various works in fresco, in Florence, as well as the neighbourhood, by way of acquiring practice ; these attracted the attention of Giovanni di Bicci of the house of Medici, who, remarking his good manner, commissioned him to paint those figures of eminent men which are still to be seen in tolerable preservation, in one of the halls of the old house† of the Medici family, which fell into the possession of Lorenzo, brother of Cosmo the elder, when the great palace was built. This work being finished, the young painter, proceeding as do certain physicians, who make experiments in their art on the hides of the poor country-folks, took all occasions to practise himself in painting, where the work was not likely to be too minutely examined, and for some time accepted every opportunity of employment that fell into his hands ; wherefore he painted a tabernacle at the bridge of Scandicci, outside the gate of San Friano, a work of which the manner may still be seen ; and at Cerbaia he executed the figure of

* He must have been born much earlier ; a fact, of which the following proofs may suffice, though many others might be adduced. We find him registered, in public documents, as early as 1370, when he was a payer of taxes. He had a son born to him in 1373, and was the disciple of Spinello, who died in 1400, or 1408. The date of his admission is so differently stated by different commentators, that it does but serve to show the doubtful state of the question ; some declaring him to have been registered as a painter in 1370, others in 1390, while others, again, assign 1409 as the date of his first appearance in the book of the Company of Painters. All agree, however, in the assurance that Vasari is here in error.

† Afterwards called Palazzo Ughi, now divided into several houses. No trace of Lorenzo's figures now remains.—*Schorn*, and the *Ed. Fir* 1849.

the Virgin, on the wall, beneath a portico, with numerous saints, all very creditably done. Being afterwards appointed by the Martini family to paint a chapel in the church of San Marco in Florence, Lorenzo depicted various stories from the life of the Madonna, on the walls, with a figure of our Lady, surrounded by different saints, on the altar-piece. In the same church, and above the chapel of San Giovanni Evangelista, which belongs to the Landi family, he painted a fresco of the angel Raphael with Tobit.* The succeeding year, 1418, he executed a very large work in fresco for Ricciardo di Messer Nicolo Spinelli, on that façade of the convent of Santa Croce, which is turned towards the piazza. This represents St. Thomas seeking the wound in the side of Christ, with all the other apostles around, and who, reverently kneeling, are attentively regarding the occurrence. Near to this story, and also in fresco, is a figure of St Christopher,† twelve braccia and a half high, which is a rare thing, for with the exception of the St. Christopher of Buffalmacco, no larger picture had ever then been seen; nor, being so large, had there ever been one more truly proportioned in all its parts, or of better execution,‡ although the manner is certainly not good. Both these works were moreover painted with so much care and ability, that although they have been for many years exposed to the air, and swept by the rains and storms—the aspect being north—they have lost nothing of the freshness of their colouring, nor have they suffered injury in any part. The same master also painted a Crucifixion, with several figures, within the door, which stands between the above-mentioned works, and which is called the Porta del Martello; this he did at the request of that Ricciardo before mentioned and of the intendant of the convent: on the walls around he further depicted the Confirmation of the

* The frescoes were destroyed when the church was rebuilt. The altar picture was lost before the time of Bionni, who notifies the fact, in his annotations on the *Riposo* of Borghini, p. 215.—*Bottari*. Note to the Roman edition of Vasari.

† These paintings are still in existence, but have suffered greatly.—*Ed. Rom.*

‡ Della Valle remarks, that Vasari must have forgotten the St Christopher of Taddeo Bartoli when he wrote this, since the last-named work is superior to both those described above, whether as to proportion or execution.

Rule of St. Francis by Pope Honorius, with the martyrdom of certain friars belonging to that order, who had gone to preach the faith to the Saracens. The arches and ceiling he decorated with portraits from the life of certain French kings, devout brethren of the order of St. Francis; with many learned men of the same order, and others distinguished by the dignity of their station as bishops, cardinals, and popes; among whom, on two medallions on the ceiling, are the portraits, taken from nature, of the popes Nicholas IV and Alexander V.* Now, as regards these figures, although Lorenzo robed them all in garments of grey, yet he found means to vary them so admirably, by the great practice which he had attained in his art, that all are nevertheless different; some have a tinge of red, others of blue, some are of darker, others of brighter hue, all in brief are of varied tints, and merit the consideration of the observer. We find it further related, that Lorenzo executed this work with surprising readiness and facility. One day the intendant, who supplied him with his food, sent to tell him that dinner was ready exactly at the moment when he had prepared the intonaco for a figure, and had just commenced it—"Pour out the soup", replied the artist, "I'll finish this figure, and be with you instantly." It has therefore not been without good reason, that Lorenzo is said to have displayed a rapidity of execution, an extent of practice in the handling of his materials, and a decision in his treatment of subjects, which have never been surpassed by any master.† The tabernacle in fresco, which stands at the corner of the convent, belonging to the nuns of Foligno, is also by the hand of Lorenzo, as are the Madonna and different saints which are over the door of the church attached to the same convent: among these figures is that of St. Francis espousing Poverty.‡ In the church of the monks of Camaldoli, in Florence, he also painted various stories representing the martyrdom of different saints, a work which he executed for the Brotherhood of the Martyrs; he likewise decorated two chapels§ in the same church, one on each side of the

* The portraits in the centre of the ceiling still remain, but the building was altered during the French occupation, when the exterior paintings were destroyed.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832

† Lanza calls Lorenzo "the Vasari of his day," for this reason.

‡ The two last mentioned works have perished.

§ All destroyed, together with the church and convent, at the time of the siege.—*Ed. Flor.* 1845-9.

principal chapel. These paintings gave so much satisfaction to the whole city, that when the master had finished them he was commissioned by the Salvestrini family (which is now entirely extinct, since there does not remain, to my knowledge, any other member of it than a monk of the Angeli of Florence, called Fra Nemesio, a good and upright man), to paint one of the walls in the church of the Carmine. Here Lorenzo depicted certain martyrs, who, having been condemned to death, are despoiled of their clothing, and compelled to walk barefooted to the place of their punishment, over thorns and thistles, which the minions of the persecutors are strewing on their path. In another portion of the work the martyrs are seen in varied and distorted attitudes, placed each on his cross. This picture, which was the largest that had then been executed, was completed in all its parts with so much accuracy of design and facility of treatment, according to the degree of knowledge possessed by those times, that I do not wonder at the many distinguished artists who have found means to profit by the study of certain qualities to be seen in this work, many parts of it exhibiting, with much truth, all the various emotions awakened by nature in those who are made to suffer a violent death.

Having finished this undertaking, Lorenzo painted many other figures in the same church, with pictures in two chapels of the transept:* and about the same time, he decorated the tabernacle at the corner of the Cuculia, with that which stands on the Via de' Martelli, beside the houses. In the church of Santo Spirito, moreover, Lorenzo painted a fresco over the door of the Martello, the subject of which is Sant' Agostino presenting to his monks the rule of their order.† In the chapel of the Neri Compagni family, in the church of Santa Trinità, he also painted a fresco, representing stories from the life of San Giovanni Gualberto; and in the principal chapel of Santa Lucia, on the Via de' Bardi, this master depicted certain stories, likewise in fresco, from the life of that saint, a work which he executed for Niccolo da Uzzano,‡

* These works of the Carmine have long been destroyed.—*Bottari*. Ed. Rom. 1750.

† Of these tabernacles the first is still in existence, and the figures are visible, but much injured. The second has perished, nor does any trace of the fresco of Santo Spirito now remain.—*Ibid.*

‡ The celebrated chief of the aristocratic party in Florence, and prin

whose portrait he placed in the picture, together with those of other citizens.* This Niccolo built himself a palace† close to the church of Santa Lucia, which was erected after the designs, and under the direction of Lorenzo; the same citizen commenced the construction of a magnificent high-school or college, between the convent of the Servi and that of St. Mark, on the spot where the Lions now stand.‡ But this last-named and truly praiseworthy undertaking, rather than that of a magnificent prince than of a private citizen, did not attain to its completion, because the money, which Niccolo left in immense sums, deposited in the "Monte" of Florence, for the building and endowment of this college, was consumed by the Florentines in their wars, and for the other necessities of their city. It is true that this evil of fortune can never obscure the memory, or do wrong to the greatness of soul and generosity, of Niccolo da Uzzano; but it cannot be denied, that the public interest received a serious injury from the hindrances opposed to the completion of this important work; wherefore, whoever shall desire in like manner to benefit the world, and leave an honourable memorial of his existence, let him perform his work himself, while he has life, and not confide the execution of it to posterity and his heirs, since it rarely happens that a matter thus left to be accomplished by a man's successors, is completed at all points as he would have had it done himself.

But to return to Lorenzo: in addition to the works above enumerated, he painted a tabernacle in fresco on the bridge of Rubaconte, the subject chosen being a Virgin, with certain other saints, all tolerably well done.§ No long time after this, Ser Michele di Fruosino, being appointed director of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, in Florence (an hospital that was founded by Folco|| Portinari, a citizen of Florence), and finding that the wealth of the hospital had increased, determined that its church, dedicated to Sant' Egidio, which was then outside

cipal opponent, after Tommaso degli Abizzi, his friend, of the Medici, who sought to raise themselves by the favour of the people. The pictures here described have perished.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832 and 1849

* These paintings have now been whitewashed.—*Ibid* 1832

† The palace is now called the Capponi palace.—*Ibid* 1846

‡ The school of sculpture now stands on this site.

§ This tabernacle is no longer to be seen.

|| Folco, father of Dante's Beatrice.

the city of Florence, and very small, should therefore be enlarged in proportion. He accordingly took counsel concerning the matter with Lorenzo di Bicci, who was his intimate friend, and on the 5th of September, in the year 1418, the new church was begun. This building was completed in the manner in which we now see it, within the space of one year, and was afterwards solemnly consecrated by Pope Martin V, at the prayer of the said Ser Michele, who was himself of the family of the Portinari, and was the eighth director of that hospital. The ceremonial of this consecration was then depicted by Lorenzo, as Ser Michele desired, on the façade of the church, where portraits of the Pope, and of several cardinals, taken from nature, are still to be seen.* This work being a new and beautiful performance, was at that time very highly praised, and the artist obtained the privilege of being the first to execute paintings in the principal church of his native city, Santa Maria del Fiore, namely: here therefore, beneath the windows of each chapel, Lorenzo depicted the saint to whom the chapel was dedicated,† after which, on the pilasters, and in different parts of the church, he painted the twelve Apostles, with the crosses of the consecration, that temple having been most solemnly consecrated in that same year by Pope Eugenius IV, who was a Venetian ‡ The superintendants of the church then commissioned him, by command of the commune, to paint a tomb in fresco on the wall of the same church, in imitation of marble, to the memory of Cardinal Corsini, whose portrait, taken from nature, was painted on the sarcophagus, above which he executed a second of similar character, as a memorial of Macstro Luigi Marsili,§ a most famous theologian, who was sent as ambassador, with Messer Luigi Guicciardini, and

* This work still remains; one part of it, that to the right of the spectator, is in a very bad condition; the portion to the left, on the contrary, is tolerably well preserved, and is the best work of the master now remaining.—*Ed. Flor.* 1849.

† Of these figures, some were restored, others repainted by Professor Antonio Marini, in 1840-41.—*Ibid.*

‡ This occurred on the 25th March 1436. No trace of the apostles here described now remains.—*Ibid.*

§ These monuments are still in existence. For various details respecting them, see Carteggio Inedito, *Goye*, vol. i, p. 537. — *Ibid* : 446-49.

Messer Guccio di Gino, most honourable cavaliers, to the Duke of Anjou.

Lorenzo was afterwards invited to Arezzo by Don Laurentino, abbot of San Bernardo, a monastery of the order of Monte Oliveto, where he painted stories in fresco from the life of San Bernardo, in the principal chapel, for Messer Carlo Marsupini;* but being then about to paint the life of San Benedetto in the cloister of the convent (after, I should observe that he had completed the principal chapel of San Francesco, which he decorated for the elder Francesco de' Bacci, and where he executed the ceiling and half of the arch entirely alone), Lorenzo was attacked by a complaint of the chest; hereupon he caused himself to be removed to Florence, leaving Marco da Montepulciano to paint those stories in the aforesaid cloister of San Benedetto according to the designs which he had made, and which he left with Don Laurentino. This, Marco did accordingly, as well as he was able, and finished them on the 24th of April, in the year 1438, executing the whole in "chiaro-scuro", as may be seen written thereon by his own hand, in words and verses no less stupid and ungraceful than was the picture.† Lorenzo having thus returned to his native city, was no sooner restored to health than he recommenced his labours, and on the same façade of the convent of Santa Croce whereon he had previously depicted the St. Christopher, he now painted the Assumption of the Virgin into Heaven, where she is surrounded by a choir of angels; beneath is St. Thomas, receiving the girdle.‡ In the execution of this work, Lorenzo, who was still ailing, obtained the assistance of Donatello,§ then a youth; and, by

* The learned and celebrated secretary of the Florentine Republic, and an ornament to his native city. He died in 1453.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832.

† The works left by this master, in Arezzo, still remain, as do most of those executed by Marco da Montepulciano.

‡ This picture is lost.

§ Donatello was certainly not a youth at this time. The Roman and Florentine commentators cite documents to prove that he was invited to execute the statue of St. John the Baptist in 1423, for the people of Orvieto: "Scientes virum virtuosum M. Donatum de Florentia intagliatorem figurarum, Magistrum lapidum, atque intagliatorem figurarum in ligno, et eximium Magistrum omnium trajectorum," etc. (See *Storia del Duomo d'Orvieto*, p. 299, doc. 64.—Note to Schorn's *German Translation of Vasari*, and *Ed. Flor.* 1846) The latest writers on this question say that he was old when this picture was executed, being born in 1386. The work in which he is here said to have assisted Lorenzo, is lost.

help so efficient, the picture was finished in such sort, during the year 1450,* that I consider it to be the best work, whether for design or colouring, that Lorenzo ever produced.

No long time after its completion, Lorenzo being old and exhausted, died at the age of sixty years, or thereabout. He left two sons, who both pursued the study of painting. The one, whose name was Bicci,† assisted him in many of his labours;‡ the other, who was called Neri, painted the portraits of his father§ and himself, in the chapel of the Lenzi family, in the church of Ognissanti, on two medallions, with letters around them, which give the name of both. And this artist, painting certain stories from the life of Our Lady, in the before-mentioned chapel of the Lenzi, took great pains to imitate the different vestments worn at that period, those of men, as well as of women. He likewise painted the picture, in distemper, for the altar of the chapel || In the abbey

* According to Manni. See his notes to Baldinucci. Lorenzo died in 1427. Other commentators are of opinion that his death should be placed even later than the date given by Vasari. Baldinucci leaves the question undecided, and Lanzi follows Vasari.

† This artist is registered in the ancient book of the Company of Painters, date 1424. Baldinucci cites the funeral registers of the Carmelites, to show that he died on the 6th of May 1452, and was buried in the church of the Carmine, where the family of Bicci had its sepulchre.—*Schorn*, and the *Ed. Flor.* of 1849.

‡ Vasari was not able to cite any painting executed wholly by Bicci di Lorenzo, and we owe the discovery of a work, by this master, to the researches of Signor Galgano Garganetti. The picture represents SS. Cosimo and Damiano, and, until the year 1842, was appended to a pilaster of the Florentine Cathedral. It is now in the first corridor of the Gallery of the Uffizj. It was painted for Antonio Ghezzi della Casa, to whom, as appears by a resolution of the 22nd of June 1430, the wardens of Santa Maria del Fiore granted permission for its being suspended on one of the pilasters of that church. Annexed, was the condition that Ghezzi should be understood to have acquired no right of property, or any other right in the said church, by such concession, but that "the wardens aforesaid should have power to remove the said picture from that place at their pleasure and without the consent of the said Anthony." "Operarii ad eorum beneplacitum ipsam (tabulam) de dicto loco removeri possint, si re consensu dicti Antonii."—*Ibid.* of 1846-9.

§ The Florentine Editors of 1846 accuse Vasari and Baldinucci of error, as regards the genealogy of the Bicci family. They cite documents, which prove that Neri, whom Vasari calls the son of Lorenzo, was the son of Bicci, the first-named son of Lorenzo, and, consequently, the grandson of the latter artist.

|| The fresco paintings have perished long since. The fate of the picture in distemper is not known.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832 B.

of San Felice, which is situated on the piazza of Florence, and belongs to the order of Camaldoli, Neri also painted various pictures.* with one for the high altar of San Michele d'Arezzo, belonging to the same Order† At Santa Maria delle Grazie, moreover, without the city of Arezzo, this master painted a Madonna in the church of San Bernardino. Under her mantle she is sheltering the people of Arezzo, and on one side is San Bernardino kneeling, with a wooden cross in his hand, such as he was accustomed to carry when he went through the streets of Arezzo, preaching to the people. On the other side of Our Lady, and near her, are San Niccolò and St. Michael the Archangel. Various stories from the life of San Bernardino are depicted in the predella, with certain miracles performed by the saint, more particularly those worked by him in that place‡ The same master painted the picture of the High Altar, in the church of San Romolo, in Florence; and in the church of Santa Trinità§ he painted the life of San Giovanni Gualberto, in fresco, in the chapel of the Spini, with the picture in distemper which is over the altar.¶ From these paintings, we perceive clearly

* One, at least, of these pictures is lost, but that in the chapel, to the left of the high altar, representing various saints, with a tabernacle in the centre, for the sacrament, is, without doubt, by Neri — *Ed. Flor.* 1846-48.

† Still in good preservation. It was for some time on the high altar, then in the sacristy, but in 1846 this picture was removed to the first altar on the right of the entrance. Beneath it is the following inscription:—

“HOC OPUS FECIT FIERI DOMINUS JOHANNES DE PARTINA ABBAS HUIUS ABBATIE ANNO DOMINI MCCCCLXVI.”

Ed. Flor. 1849

‡ It is to be lamented that this picture has suffered such irreparable injury from the hands of an ignorant and barbarous restorer (ritoccatore). Beneath it is the following inscription —

“HOC OPUS FECIT FIERI MICHAEL ANGELUS PAPII MAGISTRI FRANCISCI DE SALTARELLI (?) DE ARITIO PRO REMEDIO ANIMÆ SUÆ ET SUORUM. A.D. MCCCCLVI DIE VIII MENSIS MARTII.”

Ed. Flor. 1846.

§ Lanzi, *Hist.* vol. 1, p. 71, says of this picture, that it could not dishonour the father, and was certainly executed with much more care than was usual with the son. But the church of San Romolo in Piazza having been destroyed, the subsequent fate of the painting is unknown.

¶ This work has also been lost, and the fresco paintings have perished — *Ed. Flor.* 1849.

that if Neri had been granted length of days, and had not died at the age of thirty-six, he would have produced more numerous and better works than did Lorenzo his father.* But this Lorenzo, as he was the last of the masters who adhered to the ancient manner of Giotto, so shall his life be also the closing one of this first part of my work, which, with the aid of the blessed God, I have here brought to a conclusion.

* His grandfather, that is, as we have before shown. See *ante*, p. 297.
-*Ed. Flor.* 1849.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SECOND PART.

WHEN I first undertook to write these lives, it was not my purpose to make a mere list of the artists, or to give an inventory, so to speak, of their works. Nor could I by any means consider it a worthy end of my—I will not say satisfactory—but assuredly prolonged and fatiguing labours, that I should content myself with merely ascertaining the number, names, and country of the artists, or with informing my reader in what city or borough precisely, their paintings, sculptures, or buildings, were to be found. This I could have accomplished by a simple register or table, without the interposition of my own judgment in any part. But I have remembered that the writers of history,—such of them, that is to say, as by common consent are admitted to have treated their subject most judiciously,—have in no case contented themselves with a simple narration of the occurrences they describe, but have made zealous enquiry respecting the lives of the actors, and sought with the utmost diligence to investigate the modes and methods adopted by distinguished men for the furtherance of their various undertakings. The efforts of such writers have, moreover, been further directed to the examination of the points on which errors have been made, or, on the other hand, by what means successful results have been produced, to what expedients those who govern have had recourse, in what manner they have delivered themselves from such embarrassments as arise in the management of affairs; of all that has been effected, in short; whether sagaciously or injudiciously, whether by the exercise of prudence, piety, and greatness of mind, or by that of the contrary qualities, and with opposite results; as might be expected from men who are persuaded that history is in truth the mirror of human life. These writers have not contented themselves with a mere dry narration of facts and events, occurring under this prince or in that republic, but have set forth the grounds of the various opinions, the motives of the different resolutions, and

the character of the circumstances by which the prime movers have been actuated; with the consequences, beneficial or disastrous, which have been the results of all. This is, without doubt, the soul of history. From these details it is that men learn the true government of life; and to secure this effect, therefore, with the addition of the pleasure which may be derived from having past events presented to the view as living and present, is to be considered the legitimate aim of the historian.

Moved by these considerations, I determined, having undertaken to write the history of the noblest masters in our arts, to pursue the method observed by these distinguished writers, so far as my powers would permit; imitating these ingenious men, and desiring, above all things, to honour the arts, and those who labour in them. I have endeavoured, not only to relate what has been done, but to set forth and distinguish the better from the good, and the best from the better, the most distinguished from the less prominent qualities and works, of those who belong to our vocation. I have further sought, with diligence, to discriminate between the different methods, manners, and processes adopted and displayed by the different painters and sculptors, not omitting to notify their various phantasies, inventions, and modes of treatment, all which I have investigated to the best of my ability, that I might the better make known to those who could not pursue the enquiry for themselves, the sources and causes of the different methods, as well as of that amelioration and deterioration of the arts which have been seen to take place at different periods, and by the agency of different persons.

In the First Part of these Lives I have spoken of the nobility and antiquity of these our arts, as at that point of our work was desirable, omitting many remarks by Pliny, and other writers, of which I might have availed myself, if I had not preferred—perhaps in opposition to the opinion of many readers—rather to permit that each should remain free to seek the ideas of others in their original sources. And this I did to avoid that prolixity and tediousness which are the mortal enemies of attention. But on this occasion it appears to me becoming that I should do what I did not then permit myself—namely, present a more exact and definite

explication of my purpose and intention, with the reasons which have led me to divide this collection of Lives into Three Parts.

It is an indubitable fact, that distinction in the arts is attained by one man through his diligent practice; by another, from his profound study; a third seeks it in imitation; a fourth, by the acquirement of knowledge in the sciences, which all offer aid to the arts; others arrive at the desired end by the union of many of these; some by the possession of all united. But as I have sufficiently discoursed, in the lives of various masters, of the modes, processes, and causes of all sorts, which have contributed to the good, the better, or the excellent results of their labours, so I will here discuss these matters in more general terms, and insist, rather, on the qualities which characterize periods, than on those which distinguish individuals. To avoid a too minute inquiry, I adopt the division into three parts, or periods—if we so please to call them—from the revival of the arts, down to the present century, and in each of these there will be found a very obvious difference. In the first, and most ancient, of these periods, we have seen that the three formative arts were very far from their perfection; and that, if it must be admitted that they had much in them that was good, yet this was accompanied by so much of imperfection, that those times certainly merit no great share of commendation. Yet, on the other hand, as it is by them that the commencement was made; as it was they who originated the method, and taught the way to the better path, which was afterwards followed, so, if it were but for this, we are bound to say nothing of them but what is good—nay, we must even accord to them a somewhat larger amount of glory than they might have the right to demand, were their works to be judged rigidly by the strict rules of art.*

In the second period, all productions were, obviously, much ameliorated; richer invention was displayed, with more correct drawing, a better manner, improved execution, and more careful finish. The arts were, in a measure, delivered from that rust of old age, and that coarse disproportion, which the

* The praises which the author had previously bestowed on the works of the first period, and which might seem excessive, are here justified, and moderated at the same time.—*Ed. Flor.* of 1832-8.

rudeness of the previous uncultivated period had left still clinging to them. But who will venture to affirm that there could yet be found an artist perfect at all points? or one who had arrived at that position, in respect of invention, design, and colour, to which we have attained in the present day? Is there any one who has been able so carefully to manage the shadows of his figures, that the lights remain only on the parts in relief? or who has, in like manner, effected those perforations, and secured those delicate results, in sculpture, which are exhibited by the statues and relievi of our own day? The credit of having effected this is certainly due to the third period only; respecting which it appears to me that we may safely affirm the arts to have effected all that it is permitted to the imitation of nature to perform, and to have reached such a point, that we have now more cause for apprehension lest they should again sink into depression, than ground for hope that they will ever attain to a higher degree of perfection.

Reflecting attentively within myself on all these things, I conclude that it is the peculiar nature, and distinctive characteristic of these arts, that, rising from mean beginnings, they should proceed to elevate themselves, by gradual effort, and should finally attain to the summit of perfection; and I am confirmed in this opinion by the perception of an almost similar mode of progression in others of the liberal arts. And since there is a close relationship between them all, I am strengthened in the conviction that this, my view, is the just one. With respect to painting and sculpture more especially, their fate, in older times, must have been so exactly alike, that we have only to make a certain change in the names, when the same facts might be related of each. For if the writers who lived near to those times, and who could see and judge of their works, be worthy of credit, the statues of Canacus were stiff, hard, without life or movement of any kind, and therefore very unlike the reality. The same thing has been affirmed respecting the works of Calamis, although they are described as possessing somewhat more of softness than those of the first-named artist. Then came Miron, who, if he did not very closely approach to the successful imitation of nature, did yet impart to his works such an amount of grace, and correct proportion, that

they could be justly called beautiful. In the third degree, there followed Policletus, with the other masters so highly celebrated, and by whom, as is affirmed—and we are bound to believe—the art was carried to its entire perfection. A similar progress must have been perceived in painting also. Writers declare, and it is reasonable to suppose that they do so on just grounds, that the works of those artists who painted with one colour only, and from that circumstance were called Monochromatists, did not display a very high degree of perfection. In respect to the works of Zeuxis, Polygnotus, Timanthes, and others, who used only four colours, the outlines, contours, and lineaments of their figures were invariably commended; yet there doubtless remained something still to be desired. But in the works of Erion,* Nicomachus, Protogenes, and Apelles, everything was seen to be perfect, and most beautiful; nothing better could be even imagined, these masters having not only depicted the forms, attitudes, and movements of their figures most admirably, but also attained the power of eloquently expressing the affections and passions of the soul.

But, to leave these masters, respecting whom we are compelled to confide in the opinions of others, who do not always agree among themselves; nay, what is worse, whose testimony, even as to the periods, is frequently at variance;—let us come to our own times, wherein we have the guidance of our eyes—a much safer and better conductor and judge than hearsay. Do we not clearly see to what extent architecture had been ameliorated, from the Greek Buschetto—to begin with one of the most distinguished masters—to the German Arnolfo,† and to Giotto? For our perfect conviction of this truth, we need only to glance at the fabrics of the earlier period: the pilasters, the columns, the bases, the capitals, and the cornices, with their ill-formed members, as we see them, for example, in Santa Maria del Fiore, in Florence; in the exterior incrustations of San Giovanni; at San Miniato al Monte; in the cathedral of Fiesole; the Duomo of

* This name is not to be found among the Greek Painters enumerated by Pliny, and by his copyist Adriani. There is, indeed, an "Echion." "Erion," therefore, is to be accounted an error of the press.

† It has already been shown that Buschetto was not a Greek, and Arnolfo not a German.

Milan; the church of San Vitale at Ravenna; that of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome; and the Duomo Vecchio, outside the city of Arezzo; wherein, with the exception of those few fragments from the antique, which remain in different parts, there is nothing which deserves to be called good, whether as regards arrangement or execution. But, by the masters above named, architecture was, without doubt, greatly ameliorated, and the art made considerable progress under their influence, since they brought the various parts to more correct proportion, and not only erected their buildings in a manner which imparted strength and durability, but also added the grace of ornament to certain parts of them. It is, indeed, true that their decorations were complicated, confused, and very far from perfection, so that they could scarcely be said to contribute in any great measure to the beauty of the fabric. In the columns, for example, the measure and proportion required by the rules of art were not observed, nor were the orders distinguished, whether Doric, Corinthian, Ionic, or Tuscan; all were mingled together, after a rule of their own, which was no rule at all, and were constructed of excessive thickness, or exceedingly slender,* as seemed good in their eyes. Their inventions were partly confused notions of their own, partly as irregular adaptations of the ancient relics with which they were acquainted. Their plans were derived in part from good sources, but partly also from their own caprices; insomuch, that when the walls were raised, they sometimes presented a very different form from that of their so-called model. But, notwithstanding all this, whoever compares the labours of that period with those of an earlier day, will see that they had materially improved in all respects, even though there should still be found many particulars wherein the critics of our times find cause for dissatisfaction; as, for example, the small oratories constructed of brick, covered over with stucco, at San Giovanni Laterano, in Rome.

The same remarks may be applied to sculpture, which, at the first moment of its revival, had some remains of excellence. Being once freed from the rude Byzantine manner,

* This confusion of order, and deformity of parts, proceeded principally, as we have remarked elsewhere, from the circumstance that fragments of ancient edifices were employed for the construction of the new ones; yet some of these—as the Baptistery of Pisa—may safely invite comparison with buildings of an earlier date.

which was, indeed, so coarse that the works produced in it displayed more of the roughness of the raw material, than of the genius of the artist; those statues of theirs being wholly destitute of flexibility, attitude, or movement of any kind, and their draperies entirely without folds, so that they could scarcely be called statues—all this became gradually ameliorated, and when Giotto had improved the art of design, the figures of marble and stone improved also: those of Andrea Pisano, of his son Nino, and of his other disciples, were greatly superior to the statues that had preceded them; less rigid and stiff, displaying some approach to grace of attitude, and in all respects better. The works of the two Sienese masters, Agostino and Agnolo, may here be particularized, (by whom, as we have before related, the sepulchre of Guido, bishop of Arezzo, was constructed), and those of the Germans, by whom the façade of the cathedral of Orvieto was executed: upon the whole, therefore, sculpture was at this time perceived to make some little progress,—its figures received less rigid forms; the vestments were permitted to flow more freely; certain of the attitudes lost a portion of their stiffness, and some of the heads acquired more life and expression. There was, in short, a commencement of effort to reach the better path, but defects still remained in great numbers on every point; the art of design had not yet attained its perfection, nor were there many good models for the artists of those times to imitate. All these impediments and difficulties considered, the masters of those days, and who have been placed by me in the first period, deserve all the praise and credit that can be awarded to their works, since it must not be forgotten that they had received no aid from those who preceded them, but had to find their way by their own efforts. Every beginning, moreover, however insignificant and humble in itself, is always to be accounted worthy of no small praise.

Nor had painting much better fortune during those times; but the devotion of the people called it more frequently into use, and it had more artists employed; by consequence, the progress made by it was more obvious than that of the two sister arts. Thus we have seen that the Greek, or Byzantine manner, first attacked by Cimabue, was afterwards entirely extinguished by the aid of Giotto, and there arose a new one,

which I would fain call the manner of Giotto, since it was discovered by him, continued by his disciples, and finally honoured and imitated by all. By Giotto and his disciples, the hard angular lines by which every figure was girt and bound, the senseless and spiritless eyes, the long pointed feet planted upright on their extremities, the sharp formless hands, the absence of shadow, and every other monstrosity of those Byzantine painters, were done away with, as I have said; the heads received a better grace, and more softness of colour. Giotto himself, in particular, gave more easy attitudes to his figures; he made some approach to vivacity and spirit in his heads, and folded his draperies, which have more resemblance to reality than those of his predecessors; he discovered, to a certain extent, the necessity of foreshortening the figure, and began to give some intimation of the passions and affections, so that fear, hope, anger, and love were, in some sort, expressed by his faces. The early manner had been most harsh and rugged; that of Giotto became softer, more harmonious, and—if he did not give his eyes the limpidity and beauty of life, if he did not impart to them the speaking movement of reality, let the difficulties he had to encounter plead his excuse for this, as well as for the want of ease and flow in the hair and beards: or if his hands have not the articulations and muscles of nature, if his rude figures want the reality of life, let it be remembered that Giotto had never seen the works of any better master than he was himself. And let all reflect on the rectitude of judgment displayed by this artist in his paintings, at a time when art was in so poor a state; on the large amount of ability by which alone he could have produced the results secured; for none will deny that his figures perform the parts assigned to them, or that in all his works are found proofs of a just—if not a perfect—judgment, in matters pertaining to his art. The same quality is evinced by his successors, by Taddeo Gaddi, for example, whose colouring is distinguished by greater force, as well as more softness, whose figures have more spirit and movement, whose carnations are more life-like, and his draperies more flowing. In Simon of Siena we mark increased facility in the composition of the stories. In Stefano the Ape* (Stefano Schimmi), and in Temmaso his

* The ape of nature, as has been explained.—*Ed Flo* 1832.

son, we see important ameliorations of the practice in design, as well as in the general treatment and harmony of colouring. By these masters the study of perspective, also, was promoted, to the great benefit of art. They displayed some fertility of invention, with softness and harmony of colouring, but adhered closely to the manner of Giotto. Not inferior to these in ability or practice were Spinello Aretino, Parri, his son, Jacopo di Casentino, Antonio Veneziano, Lippo, Gherardo Starnina, and the other masters who succeeded Giotto, and imitated his manner, outline, expression, and colour; these they perhaps improved, in some degree, but not to such an extent as to give the impression that they proposed to originate a new direction. He, therefore, who shall carefully consider this my discourse, will perceive that these three arts—Sculpture, Painting, and Architecture—have, up to the times here alluded to, been, so to speak, but roughly sketched out, and have wanted very much of their due perfection; insomuch, that if they had not made further progress, the slight improvements here enumerated would have availed but little, neither would they have merited to be held of much account. Nor would I have any to suppose me so dull of perception, or endowed with so little judgment, as not to perceive that the works of Giotto, of Andrea Pisano, of Nino, and all the rest, whom, because of their similitude of manner, I have placed together in the first part, could claim but a small amount of praise, if compared with those of their successors, or that I did not perceive this when I commended them. But, whoever will consider the character of the times in which these masters laboured, the dearth of artists, with the difficulty of obtaining any assistance of value, will admit—not only that they are beautiful, as I have said—but even that they are wonderful; and will doubtless take infinite pleasure in the examination of those first beginnings, those gleams of light and good which then began to be rekindled in the paintings and sculptures of the day. The victory of Lucius Marcius, in Spain, was assuredly not so great, but that the Romans had won much more important triumphs, yet, as they had regard to the period, to the place, to the peculiarities of the occasion, to those engaged, and the number of the combatants, it was admitted to be stupendous, and is even yet held to be worthy of the praises which have been

perpetually and largely bestowed on it by the different historians. And thus it has appeared to me, that, for all the above-named causes, I am bound, not only to describe the lives of the older masters with all possible diligence, but likewise to apportion to each his due measure of praise, with all love and confidence, as I have done. Nor do I think that it can be wearisome to my brother artists to hear these, my narrations, or to see the manner of those masters considered, nay, they may possibly derive no small aid from my work. The conviction of this would be most grateful to me, and I should consider it the dearest reward for my labours, in which I have sought no other end than their benefit, and to administer—so far as I am able—to their enjoyment.

And now that we have raised these three arts, so to speak, from their cradle, and have conducted them through their childhood, we come to the second period, in which they will be seen to have infinitely improved at all points: the compositions comprise more figures; the accessories and ornaments are richer, and more abundant; the drawing is more correct, and approaches more closely to the truth of nature; and, even where no great facility or practice is displayed, the works yet evince much thought and care; the manner is more free and graceful; the colouring more brilliant and pleasing, insomuch that little is now required to the attainment of perfection in the faithful imitation of nature. By the study and diligence of the great Filippo Brunelleschi, architecture first recovered the measures and proportions of the antique, in the round columns as well as in the square pilasters, and the rusticated and plain angles. Then it was that the orders were first distinguished one from another, and that the difference between them was made manifest. Care was taken that all should proceed according to rule; that a fixed arrangement should be adhered to, and that the various portions of the work should each receive its due measure and place. Drawing acquired force and correctness, a better grace was imparted to the buildings erected, and the excellence of the art was made manifest: the beauty and variety of design required for capitals and cornices were restored; and, while we perceive the ground plans of churches and other edifices to have been admirably laid at this period, we also remark that the fabrics them-

selves were finely proportioned, magnificently arranged, and richly adorned, as may be seen in that astonishing erection, the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore, in Florence, and in the beauty and grace of its lantern; in the graceful, rich, and variously ornamented church of Santo Spirito; and in the no less beautiful edifice of San Lorenzo; or again, in the fanciful invention of the octangular church of the Angioli; in the light and graceful church and convent belonging to the abbey of Florence; and in the magnificent and lordly commencement of the Pitti Palace, to say nothing of the vast and commodious edifice constructed by Francesco di Giorgio, in the church and palace of the Duomo, at Urbino; of the strong and rich castle of Naples; or of the impregnable fortress of Milan, and many other remarkable erections of that time. And if, in certain portions of the works executed during that period,—in the cornices, for example, in the light carving of foliage, and delicate finish of other ornaments,—we fail to perceive the exquisite refinement and grace exhibited in later times, as will be seen in the Third Part of my book, we are yet bound to admit that they are, to a certain extent, good and beautiful, although we may not accord to them the praise due to those who afterwards displayed a perfection of lightness, richness, grace, and refinement, equalled only by the best architects of antiquity. We do not, then, consider the second period perfect; for we have seen later times produce works superior, and may therefore reasonably affirm that something was still wanting. Certain individual works then executed are indeed so admirable, that nothing better has been accomplished, even to our own times, nor perhaps will be in times to come—as, for example, the lantern of the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore; or, for grandeur, we may instance the noble cupola itself, wherein Filippo had not only the courage to imitate the ancients as to the vastness of the erection, but even surpassed them in the height of the walls. But we are here speaking in general terms of a period, and are not permitted to infer the excellence of the whole from the undisputed goodness, or even perfection, of a part.

What is here said of architecture, may, with equal propriety be affirmed of painting and sculpture, in both of which are still to be seen many extraordinary works executed by the masters of the second period, as that of Masaccio in the

church of the Carmine, for example, where the artist has depicted a naked figure shivering with the cold, besides many spirited and life-like forms, in other pictures. But, speaking generally, the second period did not attain to the perfection exhibited by the third, and of which we propose to speak in due time. For the present we have to occupy ourselves with the second, wherein—to speak first of the sculptors—the art made so decided an improvement on the manner of the first, as to leave but little remaining for the third to accomplish. The method adopted by the masters of the second period was so much more efficient, their treatment so much more natural and graceful, their drawing so much more accurate, their proportions so much more correct, that their statues began to assume the appearance of living men, and were no longer lifeless images of stone, as were those of the earlier day. Of this there will be found proof in the part we are now about to treat, wherein the works of the Sienese, Jacopo della Quercia, will be remarked as possessing more life and grace, with more correct design, and more careful finish; those of Filippo Brunelleschi exhibit a finer developement and play of the muscles, with more accurate proportions, and a more judicious treatment—remarks which are alike applicable to the works produced by the disciples of these masters. Still more was performed by Lorenzo Ghiberti, in his work of the gates of San Giovanni: fertility of invention, judicious arrangement, correct design, and admirable treatment, being all alike conspicuous in these wonderful productions, the figures of which seem to move and possess a living soul. Donato also lived at the same period, but respecting this master, I could not for some time determine whether I were not called on to place him in the third epoch, since his productions are equal to good works of antiquity;—certain it is, that if we assign him to the second period, we may safely affirm him to be the type and representative of all the other masters of that period; since he united within himself the qualities which were divided among the rest, and which must be sought among many, imparting to his figures a life, movement, and reality which enable them to bear comparison with those of later times—nay even, as I have said, with the ancients themselves.

Similar progress was made at the same time in painting

which the excellent and admirable Masaccio delivered entirely from the manner of Giotto, as regards the heads, the carnations, the draperies, buildings, and colouring; he also restored the practice of foreshortening, and brought to light that modern manner which, adopted in his own time, has been followed by all artists, and is pursued by our own, even to this day; gradually receiving the addition of a better grace, more fertile invention, and richer ornament; embellished and carried forward, in short, as may be seen more particularly set forth in the life of each artist, nor can we fail to remark that a new mode of colouring and foreshortening was introduced, with more natural attitudes, and a much more effectual expression of feeling in the gestures and movements of the body, art seeking to approach the truth of Nature by more correct design, and to exhibit so close a resemblance to the countenance of the living man, that each figure might at once be recognized as the person for whom it was intended. Thus the masters constantly endeavoured to reproduce what they beheld in Nature, and no more; their works became, consequently, more carefully considered and better understood. This gave them courage to impose rules of perspective, and to carry the foreshortenings precisely to the point which gives an exact imitation of the relief apparent in Nature and the real form. Minute attention to the effects of light and shade, and to various difficulties of the art, succeeded, and efforts were made to produce a better order of composition. Landscapes, also, were attempted. Tracts of country, trees, shrubs, flowers, the clouds, the air, and other natural objects, were depicted, with some resemblance to the realities represented, insomuch that we may boldly affirm, that these arts had not only become ennobled, but had attained to that flower of youth from which the fruit afterwards to follow might reasonably be looked for, and hope entertained that they would shortly reach the perfection of their existence.

We will now then, with the help of God, give commencement to the life of Jacopo della Quercia, the Sienese, and afterwards narrate those of other architects and sculptors until we reach that of Masaccio, who, being, as he was, the first to ameliorate the practice of design among painters, may be said to have contributed largely to the new revival of art. I have selected Jacopo della Quercia for the honoured leader

of this Second Part, and, following the order of the different manners, I will gradually proceed to lay open and elucidate, in the lives themselves, the difficulties of these beautiful, laborious, and most honourable arts.

THE SIENESE SCULPTOR, JACOPO DELLA QUERCIA.

[BORN 1374?—DIED 1438.]

THE sculptor Jacopo, son of Maestro Piero di Filippo of Quercia, a place in the neighbourhood of Siena, was the first—after Andrea Pisano, Orgagna, and the other masters above named—who, devoting himself to sculpture with a more earnest study, began to show that a near approach might be made to Nature herself; and it was from him that other artists first took courage to hope that it was possible, in a certain measure, to equal her works. The first labours of this master which require to be mentioned, were executed in Siena, when he was but nineteen years old, and the occasion was as follows:—The Sienese army, then in action against the Florentines, was commanded by Gian Tedesco, nephew of Saccone da Pietramala, and by Giovanni d'Azzo Ubaldini, when the latter general fell sick in the camp; he was consequently brought to Siena, where he died. The Sienese deeply lamented the loss of their captain, whom they honoured with a most superb and solemn funeral; they caused an edifice of wood-work to be constructed, in form of a pyramid, on the summit of which was placed a statue of Giovanni on horseback, larger than life, which was executed by Jacopo. This work displayed considerable judgment, as well as fertility of invention; Jacopo having discovered a method of proceeding which had not before been in use: he formed the skeleton and body of the horse, namely, from pieces of wood and small planks, which were afterwards swathed and wrapped with hay, tow, and hemp, being well bound and secured with ropes, when all was covered with clay mixed with a cement formed of paste, glue, and the shearings of woollen cloth. This mode of treatment certainly was, and

is, the best for such things, seeing that they are required to have an appearance of massiveness and solidity, yet when completed and dried, are in fact very light, and being whitened over, they have a sufficient resemblance to marble to render them very pleasing to the eye, as was the case with this horse of Jacopo's ; to which may be added, that figures thus made, and with this cement, are not liable to crack, as they would do if formed from the clay merely. The models used by sculptors, in our own day, are prepared in this manner, to the great convenience of the artists, who have the exact form and the just measurements of the sculptures they are executing constantly before their eyes, an advantage for which they owe much gratitude to Jacopo, who is said to have been the inventor of this method.

Having completed the statue here described, Jacopo, still working in Siena, prepared two tables, in the wood of the lime-tree ; and in this work he carved the figures, their hair, beards, &c. with such extraordinary patience, that it was a marvel. These tables were placed in the cathedral, and when they were finished, the artist executed the figures of some of the prophets, not of large size, which are now to be seen in the façade of that church.* In the works of this building he would, doubtless, have continued to labour, had not pestilence, famine, and the discords of the Sienese citizens, brought the city to a very unhappy condition: they had more than once risen tumultuously, and at length they expelled Orlando Malevolti, by whose favour Jacopo had been honourably employed in his native city. The master departed from Siena, therefore, being invited, by means of certain friends, to Lucca, where he constructed a mausoleum for the wife of Paolo Guinigi, who was then lord of that city, and who had died some short time previously. This tomb is in the church of San Martino, and on the basement are figures of boys in marble, supporting a garland; these are so finely executed, that they seem rather to be of flesh than stone. On the sarcophagus is the figure of the lady buried within, also finished with infinite care, and at her feet, in the same stone, is a dog in full-relief, as an emblem of her fidelity to her husband.†

* These prophets still remain, but of the carved tables no authentic account can be discovered.—*Schorn*.

† Sercambi tells us that this lady, Ilaria, daughter of Carlo Marchese

When Paolo Guinigi left, or rather was driven out of, Lucca, in the year 1429, and the city remained free, this sepulchre was removed from its place; and such was the hatred borne to the name of Guinigi by the Lucchese, that it was almost totally destroyed; but their admiration of the beautiful figure and rich ornaments restraining them to a certain extent, they some time afterwards caused the sarcophagus, with the statue, to be carefully placed near the door leading into the sacristy, where they now are,* but the chapel of the Guinigi was taken into the possession of the commune.

Jacopo had, meanwhile, heard the rumour of what was intended by the guild of the cloth-workers in Florence, who were proposing to have a second door of bronze constructed for the Baptistery of San Giovanni, the first having been executed, as we have said, by Andrea Pisano. He had, consequently, repaired to Florence to make himself known, since this work was to be confided to the artist who, in preparing the required specimen of bronze, should give the most satisfactory evidence of his talents and capabilities. Arrived in Florence, therefore, Jacopo not only prepared the model, but presented one admirably executed story, entirely completed and polished. This work gave so much satisfaction, that, if he had not had those most excellent artists Donatello and Filippo Brunelleschi for competitors, and who did, without doubt, surpass him in the specimens they presented, that great work would have been entrusted to him.† But as the affair concluded differently, our artist left Florence and proceeded to Bologna, where, by the favour of Giovanni Bentivoglio, he received a commission from the wardens of that building to execute the principal door of the church of San Petronio. This door is in marble, and as Jacopo did not wish to alter the manner in which the work had been commenced, he continued it in the Gothic style, adding the stories in relief which

del Carretto, was buried in December 1405; but the work of Jacopo was not executed until the year 1413 — *Ed. Flor.* 1849.

* One side of the basement, a basso-relievo, with three boys holding a festoon or garland, is now in the gallery of Florence, having been purchased in the year 1829. — *Ibid.* 1832.

† An account of the competition for this work will be found in the *Life of Ghiberti*, by whom all other competitors were surpassed, as will be well remembered.

adorn the space above the range of columns supporting the cornice and arch. Every part was conducted, with infinite care and diligence, by the master, who devoted twelve years to the work, executing the whole of the foliage, and other ornaments, with his own hands, and bestowing the utmost possible solicitude on every part. On each of the piers, by which the architrave, the cornice, and the arch, are supported, are five stories, with five on the architrave itself, which make in all fifteen. These stories are in basso-relievo, and represent passages from the Old Testament, from the time when God created the world, that is to say, to the Deluge, concluding with the Ark of Noah. In this work, Jacopo della Quercia conferred great benefit on the art of sculpture, seeing that, from the time of the ancients to his own day, there was no one who had produced anything in basso-relievo, insomuch that this mode of treatment was rather lost than merely fallen out of use.* In the arch of this door, the master executed three figures in marble, of the size of life, and in full relief: these are—Our Lady with the Child in her Arms, an extremely beautiful picture; San Petronio; and another saint, also admirably well done, and in fine attitudes.†

The people of Bologna had been fully convinced that it was not possible to execute a work in marble which should surpass, or even equal, that which Agostino and Agnolo, of Siena, had produced in the high altar of San Francesco, in their city, a work in the old manner; they were infinitely surprised, therefore, on perceiving that this was very far superior. Having completed this undertaking, and being requested to return to Lucca, Jacopo repaired thither very willingly, and in the church of San Friano, of that city, he executed an altar-table of marble for Federigo di Maestro Trenta del Veglia. This work comprised a Virgin holding the infant Christ in her arms; with San Bastiano, Santa Lucia, San Hieronimo, and San Gismondo: the design and manner are alike good, and the whole work is full of grace

* The inaccuracy of this assertion is proved, not only by works still to be seen, but by the words of Vasari himself. In Siena, Pisa, Pistoja, and Florence, are many works in basso relievo, by the Pisani, as well as by Orgagna and other masters, all of whom flourished long before Jacopo della Quercia.—*Sekorn and Ed. Flor* 1846-9

† See *Sculture delle porte di San Petronio*, with illustrations, by the Marquis Virgilio Davia. Bologna, 1834.

and beauty; in the basement or predella are stories in mezzo-relievo, placed beneath each saint, and representing events from the life of each. This part, also, is greatly and deservedly admired; for the master, with much discernment, has made the figures retiring gradually on the different planes, diminishing them as they fall into the background. His example had the effect of increasing the courage of other artists, and inciting them to enhance the grace and beauty of their works by new and original inventions. When preparing the sepulchres of that Federigo for whom the above-named work was executed, he portrayed the likenesses, taken from nature, of Federigo himself and his wife, in basso-relievo, on two large stones. On these stones are also the following words.—

“HOC OPUS FECIT JACOBUS MAGISTRI PETRI DE SENIS”.*

At a later period Jacopo again proceeded to Florence, where the wardens of Santa Maria del Fiore, moved by the high reputation he had acquired, appointed him to execute the decorations which surmount the door of that church on the side towards the Nunziata. Here, within a lengthened oval (mandorla), the sculptor represented the Madonna borne to heaven by a choir of angels, who are singing to the sound of various instruments. The movements and attitudes of these figures are exceedingly beautiful, their flight exhibiting a force of motion and air of triumph such as had never before been displayed in a work of that character. The Virgin, also, is draped with so much grace and decorum, that nothing better could be imagined; the fall of the folds being soft and flowing, while the vestments are disposed with so much art, that the figure is sufficiently discerned, and they clothe the form without wholly concealing it. Beneath the Virgin is St. Thomas receiving the girdle; and the whole work was, in fine, completed by Jacopo in the space of four years, with all the perfection which he could possibly give it, seeing that he was incited to do his best, not only by his natural desire to acquit himself well, but also by the competition of Donato, Filippo Brunelleschi, and Lorenzo di Bartolo,† from whose hands many highly-lauded works were

* These words are not on the place here attributed to them, but on the table or altar itself.

† Lorenzo Ghiberti, that is, whose life follows in due course.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

then proceeding,—all which impelled our artist to more zealous efforts; and these were so successfully put forth, that, even to the present day, this work of Jacopo's is considered by modern sculptors to be a most rare production. On the side of the Madonna, opposite to that occupied by St. Thomas, is the figure of a bear climbing a pear-tree; and respecting this fanciful caprice of the master, much was said in that day, as there continues to be in our own; but I will not repeat these observations, preferring that every one should be left to think and opine of this matter as seemeth to him good.*

Jacopo now desired to revisit his native city, and returned to Siena accordingly. He had no sooner arrived there, than an opportunity was afforded him of establishing an honourable memorial of himself—as he had desired to do—in the place of his birth. The Signoria of Siena had resolved to erect very rich decorations in marble around the fountain on the piazza, to which the Sienese masters, Agostino and Agnolo, had conducted the water in 1343; they therefore appointed Jacopo to complete the undertaking, at the cost of 2,200 gold ducats. The master having prepared his model, and sent for the requisite marbles, commenced the work forthwith, and this he ultimately completed so much to the satisfaction of his fellow-citizens, that they no longer called him Jacopo della Quercia, but ever afterwards named him Jacopo of the Fountain (Jacopo della Fonte). In the centre of this work, the sculptor placed the glorious Virgin Mary, the especial advocate and protector of that city; her figure is somewhat larger than those surrounding her, and is of singular grace and beauty:† around the Madonna the artist then grouped the seven theological and cardinal virtues; the heads of these figures are finished with much delicacy, and have a charming

* In Vasari's first edition, he intimated that this bear may typify the efforts of the wicked, who vainly seek to climb to the height on which the Virgin and angels are placed. Della Valle thinks he has read somewhere that the artist intended this bear to represent those who had excluded him from the works of San Giovanni. Cicognara is of opinion that this may be the correct view of the matter; but Bottari, with more probability, considers the figure of the bear to be a mere caprice of the artist.

† A magnificent work, in which Jacopo della Quercia was assisted by Francesco Valdambriano and Ansano di Matteo, sculptors of Siena.—See Della Valle, *Lettere Sanesi*, vol. ii, p. 161, *et seq.*

expression. This, and other peculiarities in the treatment, make it obvious that Jacopo began to discover the true path, and to gain a clear perception of the difficulties of his art: he departed entirely from that old manner to which the sculptors had ever before adhered, of making their figures in one rigid unbending piece, without beauty or movement: this master, on the contrary, gave to his forms the softness of flesh, bestowing life and grace on the marble, and finishing every part of his work with infinite delicacy and unwearied patience. To the work just described, Jacopo added certain stories from the Old Testament: the Creation of our first parents, that is to say, with the eating of the forbidden fruit. In this last, the female figure exhibits, in her attitude, so touching an expression of deference towards Adam, as she offers him the apple, and her countenance is so beautiful and charming, that it does not seem possible for Adam to refuse the offering.* The whole of the work is equally full of admirable qualities, exhibiting judicious consideration and much discernment throughout; beautiful children and other ornaments, with lions and wolves, which belong to the arms of Siena, form its decorations; the whole being completed by the practised hand of Jacopo with infinite judgment, devotion, and diligence, in the space of twelve years. Three very beautiful stories, in bronze, representing events from the life of St John the Baptist, in mezzo-rilievo, are also by this sculptor. They surround and adorn the baptismal font of San Giovanni, beneath the Duomo, and between each of the stories are figures, also in bronze, of one braccio high, and in full relief. These are, likewise, truly beautiful, and worthy of high commendation. For all these works—which were, indeed, excellent—and for the uprightness of his life, which was very conspicuous, Jacopo was rewarded by the Signoria of Siena, from whom he received the order of knighthood, and who shortly afterwards made him warden of the Duomo, which latter office he exercised in such a manner, that at no time, either before or after, were

* Della Valle has here neglected to clear up an error into which Vasari has fallen. The figure of the Virgin is not larger than those of the other personages represented; and the second basso-rilievo of the Fountain is not the fall of Adam, but the expulsion from Paradise. This admirable work is in so deplorable a condition, that no vestige of it will remain to after ages, unless the patriotism of the Siennese avail to save it from the disgrace of permitting it to perish.

the works of that edifice more prudently directed. The master survived his appointment to his office only three years; he nevertheless effected many useful and creditable improvements in the building. Jacopo della Quercia, although but a sculptor, drew extremely well, as may be seen in certain drawings by his hand, preserved in our book, and which would rather seem to have been done by a miniature painter than a sculptor. His portrait, similar to that here given,* was received by me from Maestro Domenico Beccafumi, painter of Siena,† who has, moreover, related to me many circumstances respecting the talents, goodness, and courtesy of Jacopo, who, worn out by continual efforts and perpetual labours, died at Siena in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and was honourably borne to his grave, in the place of his birth, by his kindred and friends.‡ Jacopo della Quercia was lamented not by his friends and relations only, but by the whole city; and it must needs be admitted that he was fortunate, in that his many good qualities were appreciated and acknowledged in his native land, since it rarely happens that distinguished men are universally beloved and honoured in their own country.

One of the disciples of Jacopo was the Lucchesan sculptor Matteo,§ who executed the small octangular oratory, in marble, which encloses the image of the Holy Cross, in the church of San Martino, in his native city, a work which was miraculously produced, as we are told, by Nicodemus, one of the seventy-two disciples of our Redeemer. This work Matteo completed in the year 1444 for Domenico Galignano, also a Lucchese, and it is, without doubt, a beautiful and well-proportioned structure.|| The same artist sculptured a marble

* Referring to that given in the second edition of Vasari.

† The life of this master also will be found in its proper place in the present work.

‡ In the first edition of Vasari, Jacopo is said to have been buried in the Duomo of his native city, with the following epitaph:—"Jacopo Quercio Senensi equiti clarissimo statuariæque artis peritissimo amantissimoque, utpote qui illam primus illustraverit, tenebrisque antea immersam in lucem eruerit, amici pietatis ergo non sine lacrymis pos."—*Masselli*

§ Matteo Civitali.—*Ibid.*

|| Vincenzio Civitali, the nephew of Matteo, made several additions to this work after the death of his uncle; but they are entirely without merit of any kind, and greatly injure the effect.—*Ibid.*

figure of San Bastiano, the height of which is three braccia. It is in full relief, and very beautiful, the drawing being good, the attitude graceful, the execution delicate, and the whole carefully finished.* In the church wherein the remains of San Romolo are said to be deposited, there is also a work by this sculptor—an altar-table, with three exceedingly beautiful figures in three niches, with a similar altar-table in the church of San Michele, whereon are likewise three figures in marble. There is, besides, a statue of the Madonna outside this church, which clearly proves the effort made by Matteo to equal Jacopo, his master.

Another disciple of Jacopo della Quercia was the Bolognese† Niccolo, who completed, among other works, the marble tomb, beneath which reposes the body of San Domenico, an undertaking commenced at Bologna by Niccolo Pisano, but which that master left unfinished. This monument, richly covered with figures and stories, was brought to perfection by Niccolo of Bologna, who not only derived great profits therefrom, but also received that name of honour, “Master Niccolo dell’ Arca,” which he ever afterwards retained. The sculptor concluded his work in the year 1460, and having finished it, he adorned the façade of the palace, wherein is now the residence of the legate of Bologna, with a statue of the Madonna in bronze, four braccia high, which he fixed in its place in the year 1478. This artist was, in brief, a truly able master, and a worthy disciple of the Sienese, Jacopo della Quercia.

THE SCULPTOR NICCOLO, OF AREZZO.

[BORN . . .—WAS LIVING IN 1444]

AT the same time with Jacopo della Quercia, and attached to the same pursuit of sculpture, in which he was equally dis-

* Mazzarosa, *Lezioni*, &c. considers this to be the first nude statue of an adult executed after the revival of the arts.

† This is the renowned Niccolo d’Antonio, according to some writers a native of Dalmatia; but stated by others, and with more probability, to have been a native of Bari, in Apugha, brought to Bologna by his father in early childhood, and therefore called a Bolognese. He died in Bologna on the 2nd March 1494, or 1495, and cannot well have been a disciple of Jacopo della Quercia.—See Marchese, *Memorie*, etc. vol. i, p. 37, *et seq.*

tinguished, lived Niccolo di Piero, a citizen of Arezzo, to whom Nature had been as liberal in her endowments of genius and force of mind, as fortune was niggardly in the gifts of ease and wealth. Niccolo di Piero* was a poor countryman, and having received some kind of injury or mortification, in his native place, from his nearest of kin, he left Arezzo, where he had studied sculpture with great success, under the discipline of Maestro Moccio (who, as we have said elsewhere, executed certain works in Arezzo), although the said Maestro Moccio was not himself very excellent. Niccolo then repaired to Florence, where on his first arrival, and for several months after, he occupied himself with whatever works he could lay his hands on, being sorely beset by poverty and want, and having besides to compete with other young men, who, with severe study and heavy labour, nobly emulating each other, virtuously struggled to advance themselves in the art of sculpture. At length, and after many efforts, Niccolo became a tolerably good sculptor, when the wardens of Santa Maria del Fiore commissioned him to prepare two statues for the campanile of that church. These figures were accordingly placed in the tower, on the side opposite to the canonicate; they stand one on each side of those subsequently executed by Donato, and were considered tolerably good,—better works in full relief not having at that time been often seen. Having left Florence in the year 1383, on account of the plague then raging in the city, Niccolo returned to Arezzo. Here the confraternity of Santa Maria della Misericordia was found to have inherited large possessions from those who had died of the same pestilence, as we have related elsewhere,† and from different persons of that city, who desired to signalize their reverence and devotion towards that holy place, as well as their admiration and respect for the brotherhood thereof; by whom the sick were succoured and tended, and who also buried the dead and performed many other offices of mercy and piety throughout the entire duration of the pestilence, without fear or consideration for themselves. With these funds, the brotherhood resolved to construct a façade for their house, in grey stone, not having marble at hand, and this Niccolo undertook to

* Niccolo di Piero Lamberti — *Baldinucci*.

† See the Lives of Berna and Duccio.

accomplish. The work had been commenced in the Gothic style, and our artist completed it very successfully, being aided by numerous stone-cutters from Settignano. For this façade the master executed a Virgin* with his own hand; she bears the divine child in her arms, and is attended by angels, who, holding back her mantle, disclose the assembled people of the city sheltered beneath it. Below this group are San Laurentino and San Pergentino on their knees, making intercession for the multitude. On each side, moreover, is a niche three braccia high, wherein stands a statue, also by Niccolo, representing the pontiff St. Gregory on the one side, with the bishop San Donato, patron saint and protector of the city, on the other; the whole work is performed in a very good and satisfactory manner. From what I can learn, it would appear that, before attempting the undertaking here described, and while still very young, Niccolo di Piero had already produced three large figures of "terra cotta", to be placed over the door of the Cathedral,† but these have been almost entirely destroyed by the frost. Another early work of the same master is the stone figure of Saint Luke, executed for the façade of the same church. In the capitular church of Arezzo, and for the chapel of San Biagio,‡ Niccolo further produced a most beautiful figure of that saint in "terra-cotta", with a figure of St. Anthony in high relief, and also in "terra-cotta", for the church dedicated to the name of the last-mentioned saint. Over the door of the hospital of Arezzo is another saint in a sitting position, likewise by the hand of this master.§

While Niccolo di Piero was occupied with these and other works, the walls of Borgo San Sepolcro were ruined by an earthquake, and Niccolo was sent for to prepare the design for new walls, which he did with great judgment, insomuch that these defences were better and stronger than they had previously been. In this manner he continued, now labour-

* This façade, with its statues, is still in good condition.

† These figures represent the Virgin, with Saint Donato and Saint Gregory. They are all in existence, as is that of St. Luke, but in a most deplorable condition — *Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

‡ This figure has perished. — *Ibid.*

§ This seated statue, which also represents St. Antony, is still in good preservation, as is that of the same saint mentioned immediately above. — *Ibid.*

ing in his native city, and now in the parts adjacent and living quietly, and at his ease, in his home, until war, that most dangerous enemy of the arts, compelled him to depart from it. For after the sons of Piero Saccone had been driven from Pietramala, and when the castle had been destroyed even to its foundations, the whole city of Arezzo, with the neighbouring territories, was thrown into confusion. Our artist consequently departed from his country and repaired to Florence, where he had already laboured at different times. Here he was appointed, by the wardens of Santa Maria del Fiore, to execute a marble statue four braccia high, which was afterwards placed at the principal door of that cathedral, on the north side. In this figure, which represents one of the Evangelists seated, Niccolo proved himself to be a truly excellent sculptor, and greatly increased his reputation: the work was highly commended, because at that time better figures had not been seen in full relief, as they afterwards were.* Niccolo was, meanwhile, invited to Rome by command of Pope Boniface IX, as the most distinguished architect of his time, for the purpose of strengthening the castle of St. Angelo, and giving it a better form. On returning to Florence, he executed two small figures in marble for the Masters of the Mint; they stand at that side of Or San Michele which looks towards the guild of the wool-workers, and occupy the pilaster above the niche wherein we now see the statue of St. Matthew, which was finished at a later period. These figures were so admirably finished, and so well adapted to the summit of the oratory for which they were destined, that they were highly commended at the time, and have always been much renowned even to these days. In this work Niccolo would seem to have surpassed himself, since he never produced anything better; and they are, in fact, of such a character, that they may safely invite comparison with any similar work known.† This production gained so much credit for the artist, that he was considered worthy to be of the number of those sculptors

* This is, without doubt, the figure of St Mark, which Niccolo executed for Santa Maria del Fiore, and for which he received 130 florins — See Gaye, *Carteggio Inedito*, vol. 1, p. 83. The statue is very fine, the attitude is imposing, and the draperies are well arranged. It has been engraved by Cicognara.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

† These figures are still in their place.—*Ibid.*

who were under consideration for the bronze doors of San Giovanni, although he was not in the foremost rank when the trial was made: that great work was however adjudged to another, as will be related in its proper place.

After these things Niccolo proceeded to Milan, when he was made inspector of the works in the cathedral of that city, where he executed certain sculptures in marble, which were considered very good.* Finally, being recalled by the Aretines to his native city, for the purpose of constructing a tabernacle for the sacrament, he set off on his return thither. but was compelled to halt at Bologna, and erect the tomb of Pope Alexander V, who had finished the course of his years in that city. this work Niccolo at first declined to undertake, but eventually completed it, as aforesaid, in the convent of the Friars Minors, not being able to refuse the request of the Aretine Messer Leonardo Bruni, who had been a highly-favoured secretary of that pontiff. On this tomb our artist placed the portrait of Pope Alexander, taken from nature; it is true that the difficulty of procuring marble and other stones compelled him to construct the sepulchre, and form the ornaments, of stucco and terra-cotta; and in the same materials was executed the statue of the pontiff, placed on the tomb, which last is situated behind the choir in the church of the Friars Minors aforesaid. After completing this work, Niccolo fell mortally sick, and shortly expired, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. He was buried in the above-named church, in the year 1417.† The portrait of this master was taken by Galasso of Ferrara,‡ his very intimate friend, who was at that time painting in Bologna, together with the two Bolognese painters Jacopo and Simone,§ and a certain Cristofano,—I

* Cicognara doubts that Niccolo executed sculptures for the cathedral of Milan, since the writers on that Basilica do not name him, although Baldinucci also affirms that he did so. The archives of Milan preserve memorials of a certain Niccolo Selli, of Arezzo (who is, perhaps, our Niccolo di Piero), who was in the service of Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, when that ruler was erecting the Certosa of Pavia.

† In the first edition of Vasari is the following epitaph on this sculptor:—

“Nicolaus Aretinus Sculptor.

Nil facis impia mors, cum perdis corpora mille,

Si manibus vivunt sæcla, resecta meis.”—*Ed Flor.* 1846-9.

‡ The life of Galasso will be found in this second part of our work.

§ Jacopo Avanzo, of whom further notice will be found in the Life of

know not whether of Ferrara, or, as some affirm, of Modena* —who all painted many works, in fresco, in a church called “Casa di Mezzo”, situated beyond the gate of San Mam-malo. Cristofano, for example, depicted various events from the Old Testament on one of the walls, beginning with the Creation of Adam, and ending with the Death of Moses. Thirty stories were composed by Simon and Jacopo, for other portions of the work, the subjects taken from the life of Christ, commencing with his birth, and ending with the Last Supper. Galasso then painted the Crucifixion of Jesus, as may still be seen from the name of each painter inscribed beneath his work. These pictures were executed in the year 1404; the remainder of the church being afterwards painted by other masters, with stories from the life of David, very tolerably done. And it must needs be admitted that the Bolognese have some reason for the high estimation in which they hold these works, not only because they have considerable merit, for works of that period, but also because the colours have maintained their brilliancy and freshness, a circumstance which renders them worthy of high praise.† Some affirm that the above-named Galasso, when he had become very old, painted in oil also, but I have not been able to discover any work from his hand, except paintings in fresco, whether in Ferrara or elsewhere. One of the disciples of Galasso was Cosmè,‡ who painted a chapel in the church of San Domenico at Ferrara, and the folding-doors which close the organ of the Duomo, with many other works, which are superior to the paintings of his master Galasso.

Vittore Scarpaccia and Simone Benvenuti, called Simon of the Crucifixes —*Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

* Vidriano calls this artist a Modenese; Baldi, Bernaldo, and Masini, on the contrary, consider him to belong to Bologna, while the people of Ferrara claim him for themselves.

† The remains of the pictures by which this church, now called that of the Madonna di Mezzaratta, was adorned, have been freed from the whitewash, and diligently restored.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

‡ Cosmè, or Cosimo Tura, court painter to Borso D’Este. He painted a kind of history in fresco, in one of the halls of the palace at Schivanoja; the work is in twelve compartments, and Borso himself is its hero. These paintings were whitened over in the last century, but have lately (1840) been in great part restored to view by Alessandro Campagnoni, a meritorious painter of Bologna.

Niccolo di Piero drew well, as may be seen in our look, where there is the figure of an Evangelist by his hand, with three heads of horses, admirably drawn.*

THE FLORENTINE PAINTER, DELLO.

[BORN TOWARDS THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.—
WAS LIVING IN 1455.]

ALTHOUGH the Florentine Dello† was called a painter only while he lived, and has been so considered since his death, he was, nevertheless, attached to the art of sculpture also,—nay, his first works were in this branch of art, seeing that he worked in terra-cotta long before he began to paint: the Coronation of Our Lady, which is represented in terra-cotta over the door of the church of Santa Maria Nuova, being from his hand ‡ The Twelve Apostles, within the church, are also by him,§ as is the group in the church of the Servites, which represents the dead body of Christ, laid in the lap of the Virgin || But Dello, beside that he was somewhat capricious, perceived that he gained but little by working in

* Gaye, *Carteggio Inedito &c.* vol. i, p. 82, et seq. gives a letter from the Signoria of Florence to the Doge Michael Steno, dated 8th June 1403, from which we learn that the Venetian Republic had sought to secure the services of Nicolo di Piero, for the construction of a certain hall in the ducal palace of Venice, but that this master, engaged to the Guild of Notaries, and occupied with various labours for the Florentine Cathedral, was not able to comply with the wishes of the Venetians. Other memorials of this sculptor have been collected by Gaye, from documents relating to the works of the Duomo of Florence. Among them is one by which “hath been awarded to Niccolo Piero Lambert, Donato di Niccolo Ben Bardi (Donatello), and to Nanni d’Antonio (di Banco),—to each a figure in marble, for the four Evangelists, on condition that the fourth figure shall be executed by him who shall best have completed that here assigned to him.”

† Dello di Niccolo Delli is the name under which he is registered in the Guild of the Apothecaries, in the year 1417. Dello is probably the diminutive of Leonardello.—*Ed Flor.* 1846-9.

‡ This work still exists.—*Ibid.*

§ Of these figures no trace can now be found.—*Ibid.*

|| This work has also perished.—*Ibid.*

terra-cotta; and, finding his poverty to demand some more effectual resource, he resolved, as he was a good designer, to give his attention to painting. In this pursuit he succeeded with no great difficulty, and soon acquired considerable facility in colouring, of which there are proofs in the many pictures which he left in different parts of his native city, more particularly in the smaller figures, to which he imparted a much better grace than is perceptible in the larger ones *. And this peculiarity he turned to very good account, since it was the custom at that time for all citizens to have large coffers or chests of wood in their chambers, made in the manner of a sarcophagus, and having the covers or tops variously formed and decorated. There were none who did not cause these chests to be adorned with paintings; and in addition to the stories which it was usual to depict on the front and cover of these coffers, the ends, and frequently other parts, were most commonly adorned with the arms and other insignia of the respective families. The stories which decorated the front of the chest were, for the most part, fables taken from Ovid, or other poets: or narratives related by the Greek and Latin historians; but occasionally they were representations of jousts, tournaments, the chase, love tales, or other similar subjects, according as it best pleased the different owners of the chests. The inside of these coffers was then lined with linen, woollen, or such stuffs as best suited the condition and means of those who caused them to be made, for the better preservation of the cloth vestments and other valuable commodities stored in them. But what was more to the purpose for our artist, these chests were not the only movables adorned in the manner described, since the balustrades and cornices, the litters, elbow-chairs, couches, and other rich ornaments of the chambers, which in those days were of great magnificence, were beautified in like manner, as may be seen from numberless examples still remaining throughout all parts of our city. And this custom prevailed to such an extent for many years, that even the most distinguished masters employed themselves in painting and gilding such things. Nor were they ashamed of this occupation, as many

* Two small pictures, attributed to Dello, are still to be seen in the Florentine gallery. The one, an adoration of the Magi: the other, the death of St. Peter.

in our days would be. The truth of what is here said may be seen at this day, among other instances, in certain coffers, elbow-seats, and cornices, in the chambers of the magnificent Lorenzo the Elder, of the house of Medici, on which were depicted—not by men of the common race of painters, but by excellent masters—all the jousts, tournaments, hunting parties and festivals, given by the duke, with other spectacles displayed, at that period, with so much judgment, such fertility of invention, and such admirable art. Such things, in brief, may be seen, not only in the palace and older houses belonging to the Medici, but relics of them remain in all the most noble dwellings of Florence. Nay, there are many of our nobles still attached to old usages, who will not permit these decorations to be removed for the purpose of being replaced by ornaments of modern fashion. Dello, therefore, of whom we have said that he was a good painter, more especially of small figures, which he finished with much grace, devoted himself to this occupation for many years, to his great profit and advantage. He was almost exclusively employed in painting coffers, elbow-chairs, couches, and other things in the manner above described; insomuch that this may be said to have been his chief and peculiar profession. But, as nothing in this world remains fixed, or will long endure, however good and praiseworthy it may be, so, refining on this first mode of ornament, the custom prevailed, after no long time, of forming richer decorations, by carvings in natural wood, covered with gold, which did indeed produce most rich and magnificent ornaments; it also became usual to paint such matters of household use, as are above described, in oil, the subjects being beautifully depicted stories, which then proved, and still continue to make manifest, the riches and magnificence of the citizens who possessed, as well as the ability of the painters who adorned them *

But let us come to the works of Dello, who was the first to devote himself diligently, and with good success, to undertakings of this character. In particular, he painted the entire furniture of a chamber for Giovanni dei Medici; a work which was then considered of rare excellence, and very beautiful of its kind; as certain relics which still remain

* A chest of the last-mentioned character, with exceedingly beautiful carved work, is preserved in the Royal Museum of Berlin.—*Schorn*.

prove it to have been. It is said that our artist was aided in this work by Donatello, then a boy, who made him various ornaments, and even stories, in basso-rilievo, formed of stucco, chalk, glue, and pounded bricks, which, being gilded, served as a rich and beautiful accompaniment to the paintings. Of this work, as of many similar ones, Drea Cennini has made mention at considerable length in his book, of which I have before spoken sufficiently.* And as it is desirable to preserve some memorial of these old things, I have caused many of them to be retained in the palace of my lord the Duke Cosmo. They are by the hand of Dello himself, and will always be worthy of attentive consideration, were it only for the various costumes of those times, vestments of men as well as of women, which are to be seen among them.† The story, in fresco, of Isaac giving his benediction to Esau, which will be found on one side of the cloister of Santa Maria Novella, is by this master: it is painted in "terra-verde."‡

Shortly after completing this work, Dello was invited into Spain, where he entered the service of the king, and attained to so much credit that no artist need desire for himself more or better,§ and, although we are not acquainted with the particulars of the works executed by Dello in those parts, we are authorized to suppose that they were good and beautiful, since he left the country both rich and honoured. After some years, having been royally remunerated for his labours, the master resolved to return to Florence, where he desired to show his friends how he had risen from extreme poverty to great riches. Wherefore, having gone to obtain the permission of the king, he not only received a gracious accordance of the same (although that monarch would have retained him, if such had been the pleasure of Dello), but also, as a more distinguished token of satisfaction from that most liberal sovereign, he was made a knight. Whereupon, the painter departing to Florence, there demanded the pennants and other insignia of his rank, with

* See Cennini, *Trattato della Pittura*, cap. cxv, et seq.

† No trace can now be found of the articles here described.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8 and 1846-9.

‡ This story is still in existence —*Ibidem*

§ Lanzi tells us that Starnina, and, some years after him, Dello, were the first to introduce the new Italian manner at the Spanish court, whence they both brought back riches and honours. See *History of Painting*, vol. i, p. 69.

the confirmation of the privileges he had acquired; but these were refused to him, by the intervention of Filippo Spano degli Scolari, who had just returned victorious over the Turks, as grand seneschal of the King of Hungary. Dello immediately wrote to the King of Spain, complaining of this injury, when the Spanish sovereign addressed the senate with so much earnestness in his behalf, that the due and desired honours were conceded to him without further dispute. We find it related that, as Dello was returning to his house with the ensigns of his dignity, mounted on horseback, and robed in brocade, he passed through the Vacchereccia, where there dwelt many gold-workers, who had their shops there, and had known him in his youth. From one of these, scoffing words, either in scorn or jest, assailed the ear of the master as he rode along. Dello is reported to have turned towards the spot whence the voice proceeded, making gestures, expressive of disdain, with both his hands, but not uttering a word, and continuing his way, so that the occurrence was scarcely noticed by any one but the person who had derided him. But this circumstance, with other intimations, caused the artist to believe that envy would be no less active against him in his prosperity, than malignity had been when he was very poor; wherefore he resolved to return to Spain; and, having written to the king, whose reply quickly followed, he departed to that country, where he was received with great favour, and gladly seen to fix his residence there. In Spain, therefore, our artist dwelt thenceforward ever working, but living like a noble, and always painting in an apron of brocade. Thus then, he retreated before the shafts of envy, and lived honourably in that kingly court, where he also died, at the age of forty-seven, and was honourably entombed by the same sovereign who had so steadily protected him. The following epitaph was placed on his sepulchre:—

“Dellus eques Florentinus
 Picture arte percelebris
 Regisque Hispaniarum liberalitate
 Et ornamentis amplissimus
 H. S. E.
 S. T. T. L.”*

Dello was not particularly excellent in design, but was the first who gave a judicious prominence to the muscles in the

* That is, “Hic sepulto est. Sit terra tibi levis”—*Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

nude form, as may be seen from certain drawings of his, in chiaro-scuro, preserved in my book. His portrait, in chiaro-scuro, by the hand of Paolo Uccello, may be seen in the church of Santa Maria Novella: it is in the story of Noah, inebriated by his son Ham.*



NANNI D'ANTONIO DI BANCO, SCULPTOR, OF FLORENCE

[BORN 13 . . —DIED 1321 ?]

NANNI D'ANTONIO DI BANCO was a man who inherited a competent patrimony, and was by no means of inferior condition; yet, delighting in sculpture, he not only thought no shame of acquiring and exercising that art, but even considered himself to gain no small increase of honour thereby; and made such progress in his vocation that his name will never be forgotten, but celebrated all the more, in proportion as it shall be known that he devoted himself to this noble art, not from necessity, but from a true love to the calling. Nanni was a disciple of Donato,† but I have placed him before that master, because he died many years previous to the period of Donato's death. He was a man of a somewhat dull and sluggish nature, but modest withal, mild of disposition, and gentle of manner. The marble statue of St Philip, which stands on the outside of the oratory of Or San Michele, is a work of this sculptor's, and was first offered, by the guild of shoemakers, to Donato. But, as the men of the said guild could not agree with Donato, in regard to the price, they gave the work, in a kind of despite against Donato, to Nanni, who promised to demand no other remuneration than that which they themselves might be pleased to accord. But the matter went differently: for, when the statue was completed, and fixed in its place, Nanni demanded a much higher price than

* The portrait of Dello is in the figure of Ham.

† Rumohr is of opinion that Nanni acquired his art, not from Donato, but from his own father Antonio di Banco, who was one of the masters of the works in the Florentine Duomo, in the year 1406. Rumohr grounds his opinion on the fact, that Nanni's works shew no trace of Donato's manner. See *Ital. Forsch.* vol. II, p. 240.

the guild had refused to Donato. Hereupon the dispute was referred by both sides to the latter, the syndics of the guild being fully persuaded, that, from sheer envy, Donato would estimate the work of Nanni at a much lower price than he had demanded for his own. But they had reckoned without their host; Donato adjudging to Nanni considerably more for his statue than he had required for it himself. The syndics would by no means abide by this decision, and assailed Donato with loud outcries, demanding to know wherefore he, who had offered to execute the work for a smaller sum, should estimate it so highly when performed by the hand of another, as to compel them to pay even more than was asked for it, "although thou knowest well, as we do also", they continued, "that the work would have been much better, had it been done by thyself." Donato replied, laughing, "this good man is not equal to me in our art, and it must have cost him much heavier labour to complete this work than I should have had to bestow on it; wherefore, if you are just men, as you appear to me, and desire to satisfy him for his pains, you are bound to pay him for the time he has expended." The decision of Donato was finally suffered to prevail, both parties having promised to abide by it.

This statue has, upon the whole, a good attitude—the head is animated and graceful, the vestments are not stiff or hard, and are not badly arranged about the figure. In a niche beneath the St. Philip are four Saints, also in marble, and which were executed by Nanni for the guild of smiths, carpenters, and masons: these figures are in full relief, and it is said that when all were finished and detached from each other, the niche being likewise prepared, the sculptor found that with all his efforts he could get only three of his saints within it, he having made some of them in attitudes displaying the arms outstretched. Dismayed and despairing, Nanni betook himself to Donato, entreating him to give advice and aid by which this oversight and misfortune might in some manner be repaired. "If thou", said Donato, smiling, "wilt give a supper to me and all my lads, I'll answer for it that the saints shall all be got into the niche for thee, without further ado." This Nanni promised very gladly, and Donato sent him away to Prato, to take certain measurements and transact other matters that should occupy him for a few days.

When Nanni had departed, Donato set to work with all his disciples and workmen : some of the statues he cut off at the shoulder, others at the arm, and arranged them in such a manner, that standing thus together, each made place for his neighbour, one having his hand brought forward and laid on the shoulder of another. All being then firmly fixed in such attitudes as were suggested by the taste of Donato, his judicious care was found to have united them in a manner by which the error of Nanni was entirely concealed, insomuch that when the niche was completed, the group presented the most obvious expression of concord and brotherhood ; nor could any one not acquainted with the circumstance perceive any evidence of the mistake. When Nanni found, on his return, that Donato had corrected all and so effectually remedied the blunder he had committed, he gave him hearty thanks, and right willingly bestowed the promised supper on him and his men. Under the feet of these four saints, and among the decorations of the tabernacle, is a representation in marble and mezzo-rilievo, also by Nanni, of a sculptor working with great animation at the statue of a child ; and another master building a wall, with two assistants. All these little figures are full of life, and earnestly engaged in their different occupations.

Another work by the same artist is in the façade of Santa Maria del Fiore, and on the left as you enter the church by the central door. This is the figure of an evangelist, and is a very good statue in the manner of that time.*

We find it further asserted that the San Lo, constructed for the Guild of Farriers, and near the oratory of Or San Michele, above-named, is also a work of Nanni ; as, likewise we are told, is the marble tabernacle, in the basement of which is a representation of St. Lo, the farrier, who is shoeing a furious horse. All this is so well done, that the master obtained much reputation from it, and he would doubtless have both merited and acquired still higher credit, had he not died early, as was the case.† Be this as it may, the

* This is one of the four Evangelists—grand seated figures, which are placed in the four chapels beside the choir of the Florentine Cathedral.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

† Vasari appears to doubt whether Santo Lo (Sant' Alo, patron saint of the farriers and goldsmiths) be a work of Nanni's ; and his doubts receive confirmation from the circumstance that this work is much more

few works he did produce obtained him the name of a good sculptor, and as he was a citizen of Florence, he was also entrusted with many public offices in his native city: in these, as in all other matters, Nanni comported himself after the manner of a just and prudent man, and was therefore much beloved. He died of pleurisy in 1430, and in the forty-seventh year of his age.*

THE FLORENTINE SCULPTOR LUCA DELLA ROBBIA.

[BORN 1400—DIED 1431.]

THE Florentine sculptor, Luca della Robbia, was born in the year 1388,† in the house of his forefathers, which is situated near the church of San Barnaba, in Florence.‡ He was there carefully reared and educated until he could not only read and write, but, according to the custom of most Florentines, had learned to cast accounts so far as he was likely to require them. Afterwards he was placed by his father to learn the art of the goldsmith with Leonardo di Ser Giovanni, who was then held to be the best master in Florence for that vocation. Luca therefore having learned to draw and to model in wax, from this Leonardo, found his confidence increase, and set himself to attempt certain works in marble and bronze. In these also he succeeded tolerably well, and this caused him altogether to abandon his trade of a goldsmith and give him-

elegant than those known to be by Nanni usually are, as well as by the fact that Baldinucci found no mention of this performance in a manuscript of the Strozzi collection, wherein the works of Nanni are enumerated.—*Ibid.*

* In the first edition, is added, "And was honourably entombed in the church of Santa Croce", with the following epitaph —

"Sculptor eram excellens claris natalibus ortus
Me prohibet de me dicere plura pudor."

† Documents relating to the property of the family, enable us to correct the error of Vasari in respect to the year of Luca della Robbia's birth. From these it results that he was born in 1400. See Gaye, *Carteggio Inedito*, etc., vol. 1, p. 182-186.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846-9

‡ The house inhabited by the Della Robbia family, and where Luca was born, was in the Via Sant'Egidio. The street in which the family afterwards dwelt (Via Guelfa) is still called the Via dei Robbia.—*Ibid.*

self up entirely to sculpture,* insomuch that he did nothing but work with his chisel all day, and by night he practised himself in drawing; and this he did with so much zeal, that when his feet were often frozen with cold in the night-time, he kept them in a basket of shavings to warm them, that he might not be compelled to discontinue his drawings. Nor am I in the least astonished at this, since no man ever becomes distinguished in any art whatsoever who does not early begin to acquire the power of supporting heat, cold, hunger, thirst, and other discomforts; wherefore those persons deceive themselves altogether who suppose that while taking their ease and surrounded by all the enjoyments of the world, they may still attain to honourable distinction—for it is not by sleeping, but by waking, watching and labouring continually, that proficiency is attained and reputation acquired.

Luca had scarcely completed his fifteenth year, when he was taken with other young sculptors to Rimini, for the purpose of preparing certain marble ornaments and figures for Sigismondo di Pandolfo Malatesti, lord of that city, who was then building a chapel in the church of San Francesco, and erecting a sepulchre for his wife, who had recently died. In this work Luca della Robbia gave a creditable specimen of his abilities, in some bassi-rilievi, which are still to be seen there, but he was soon recalled to Florence by the wardens of Santa Maria del Fiore, and there executed five small historical representations for the campanile of that cathedral. These are placed on that side of the tower which is turned towards the church, and where, according to the design of Giotto, they were required to fill the space beside those delineating the arts and sciences previously executed, as we have said, by Andrea Pisano. In the first relief, Luca portrayed San Donato teaching grammar; in the second are Plato and Aristotle, who represent philosophy; in the third is a figure playing the lute, for music; in the fourth, a statue of Ptolemy, to signify astronomy; and in the fifth, Euclid, for geometry. These rilievi, whether for correctness of design, grace of composition, or beauty of execution, greatly surpass the two completed, as we have before said by Giotto, and of which one represents painting, by a figure of Apelles, occupied in

* Baldinucci declares Luca della Robbia to have acquired his art from Lorenzo Ghiberti.

the exercise of his art ; the other Phidias working with his chisel, to represent sculpture. The superintendants before-mentioned, therefore, who, in addition to the merits of Luca, had a further motive in the persuasions of Messer Vieri dei Medici, a great and popular citizen of that day, by whom Luca was much beloved, commissioned him in the year 1405* to prepare the marble ornaments of the organ which the wardens were then causing to be constructed on a very grand scale, to be placed over the door of the sacristy in the above-named cathedral. In the prosecution of this work, Luca executed certain stories for the basement, which represent the choristers, who are singing, in different attitudes : to the execution of these he gave such earnest attention and succeeded so well, that although the figures are sixteen braccia from the ground, the spectator can nevertheless distinguish the inflation of throat in the singers, and the action of the leader, as he beats the measure with his hands, with all the varied modes of playing on different instruments, the choral songs, the dances, and other pleasures connected with music, which are there delineated by the artist.† On the grand cornice of this work, Luca erected two figures of gilded metal : these represent two angels entirely nude, and finished with great skill, as indeed is the whole performance, which was held to be one of rare beauty, although Donatello, who afterwards constructed the ornaments of the organ placed opposite to this, displayed much greater judgment and more facility than had been exhibited by Luca in his work, as will be mentioned in its proper place ; for Donato completed his work almost entirely from the rough sketches, without delicacy of finish, so that it has a much better effect in the distance than that of Luca, which, although well designed and carefully done, becomes lost to the observer in the distance, from the fineness

* This is most probably an error of the press. Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.* vol. ii, p 242, believes this work to have been executed before 1438. The date should in that case perhaps be 1435 ; but the later Florentine editors incline to make it 1445.

† This admirable work, divided into ten portions, is now to be seen in the small corridor of modern sculptures of the Royal Gallery of the Uffizi. For certain details respecting other works of this master, preserved in the same gallery, see *Antologia di Firenze*, tom. iii, and Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.* ii, 363.

of its finish, and is not so readily distinguished by the eye as is that of Donato, which is merely sketched.*

And this is a point to which artists should give much consideration, since experience teaches us that whatever is to be looked at from a distance, whether painting, sculpture, or any other work of similar kind, has ever more force and effect when merely a striking and beautiful sketch than when delicately finished; and, besides the effect here attributed to distance, it would appear, also, that the poetic fire of the author frequently acts with most efficiency in a rapid sketch, by which his inspiration is expressed in a few strokes suddenly thrown off in the first ardours of composition: a too anxious care and labour, on the contrary, will often deprive the works of him who never knows when to take his hands from them, of all force and character. He who knows how closely, not only painting, but all the arts of design resemble poetry, knows also that verse proceeding from the poetic *furor* is the only good and true poesy: in like manner the works of men excellent in the arts of design, are much better when produced by the force of a sudden inspiration, than when they are the result of long beating about, and gradual spinning forth with pains and labour. Whoever has the clear idea of what he desires to produce in his mind, as all ought to have from the first instant, will ever march confidently and with readiness towards the perfection of the work which he proposes to execute. Nevertheless, as all minds are not of the same character, there are, doubtless, some who can only do well when they proceed slowly, but the instances are rare. And, not to confine ourselves to painting, there is a proof of this among poets, as we are told in the practice of the most venerable and most learned Bembo, who laboured in such sort that he would sometimes expend many months, nay, possibly years, if we dare give credit to the words of those who affirm it, in the production of a sonnet. Wherefore, there need be no great matter of astonishment if something similar should occasionally happen to certain of the men engaged in the pursuit of our arts: but the rule is, for

* The four parts of this work are also to be found in the above-named corridor. See Cicognara, *Storia della Scultura Moderna*, where the work of Donatello, as well as that of Luca, is engraved.—*Ed. Flov.* 1846-9. See also Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.* ii, 293.

the most part, to the contrary, as we have said above, even though a certain exterior and apparent delicacy of manner (which is often a mere concealment, by industry, of defects in essential qualities) should sometimes obtain the suffrages of the unthinking vulgar more readily than the really good work, which is the product of ability and judgment, though not externally so delicately finished and furnished.

But to return to Luca: when he had completed the above named decorations, which gave much satisfaction, he received a commission for the bronze door of the before-mentioned sacristy.* This he divided into ten square compartments, or pictures (*quadri*), five, namely, on each side, and at all the angles where these joined he placed the head of a man by way of ornament, on the border: no two heads were alike some being young, others old, or of middle age; some with the beard, others without; all were varied, in short, and in these different modes every one was beautiful, of its kind, insomuch that the frame-work of that door was most richly adorned. In the compartments themselves, the master represented the Madonna (to begin with the upper part), holding the infant Christ in her arms, in the first square, a group of infinite grace and beauty; with Jesus issuing from the tomb, in that opposite. Beneath these figures, in each of the first four squares, is the statue of an Evangelist, and below the Evangelists are the four doctors of the church, who are all writing, in different attitudes. The whole work is so finely executed, and so delicate, that one clearly perceives how much Luca had profited by having been a goldsmith.†

But when, at the conclusion of these works, the master made up the reckoning of what he had received, and compared this with the time he had expended in their production, he perceived that he had made but small gains, and that the labour had been excessive; he determined, therefore, to abandon marble and bronze, resolving to try if he could not derive a more profitable return from some other source. Wherefore, reflecting that it cost but little trouble to work in clay, which is easily managed, and that only one thing was

* For many valuable remarks on these works, see Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.* vol. ii, p. 290; also *ibid.* 365, *et seq.*

† See *La Metropolitana Fiorentina Illustrata*, Florence 1820, for engravings of this work.

required, namely, to find some method by which the work produced in that material should be rendered durable, he considered and cogitated with so much good will on this subject, that he finally discovered the means of defending such productions from the injuries of time. And the matter was on this wise: after having made experiments innumerable, Luca found that if he covered his figures with a coating of glaze, formed from the mixture of tin, litharge, antimony, and other minerals and mixtures, carefully prepared by the action of fire, in a furnace made for the purpose, the desired effect was produced to perfection, and that an almost endless durability might thus be secured to works in clay. For this process, then, Luca, as being its inventor,* received the highest praise; and, indeed, all future ages will be indebted to him for the same.

The master having thus, as we have seen, accomplished all that he desired, resolved that his first works in this kind should be those which are in the arch over the bronze door which he had made beneath the organ, for the sacristy of Santa Maria del Fiore, wherein he accordingly placed a Resurrection of Christ, so beautiful for that time, that, when fixed up, it was admired by every one who beheld it, as a truly rare production.† Moved by this success, the superintendents resolved that the arch above the door of the opposite sacristy, where Donatello had executed the decorations of the other organ, should be filled by Luca della Robbia with similar figures and works in terra-cotta; whereupon, the artist executed an Ascension of Christ into Heaven, which is an extremely beautiful work.‡

* The art of glazing terra-cotta was known to the ancients: for various details respecting this practice as thus applied, and as used in making the ware called Majolica, see Giovanni Battista Passeri, who has written very learnedly on the art, which was called *ceramica*, in his *Istoria delle Pitture in Maiolica fatte in Pesaro*, etc., first printed in the *Raccolta di Opuscoli*, Venice, 1758. There is also a small, but exceedingly useful, work on this subject, by Luigi Frati, published in Bologna, in 1844. The coloured majolica was successfully prepared in the dukedom of Urbino; but the most celebrated fabrics of this kind were those of Pesaro.

† This work also has been engraved by Cicognara.—*Ed. Fior.* 1832-8, and 1846-9.

‡ All the works of this description, executed by Luca della Robbia the Duomo, are still in good preservation.—*Ibid.*

The master, meanwhile, was not satisfied with his remarkable, useful, and charming invention, which is more particularly valuable for places liable to damp, or unsuited, from other causes, for paintings, but still continued seeking something more; and, instead of making his terra-cotta figures simply white, he added the further invention of giving them colour, to the astonishment and delight of all who beheld them. Among the first who gave Luca della Robbia commissions to execute works of this description, was the magnificent Piero di Cosimo de' Medici, who caused him to decorate a small study, built by his father Cosmo, in his palace, with figures in this coloured "terra." The ceiling of the study is a half circle; and here, as well as for the pavement, Luca executed various devices, which was a singular, and, for summer time, very convenient mode of decorating a pavement. And it is certainly much to be admired, that, although this work was then extremely difficult, numberless precautions and great knowledge being required in the burning of the clay, yet Luca completed the whole with such perfect success, that the ornaments both of the ceiling and pavement appear to be made, not of many pieces, but of one only.* The fame of these works having spread, not only throughout Italy, but over all Europe, there were so many persons desirous of possessing them, that the Florentine merchants kept Luca della Robbia continually at this labour, to his great profit: they then dispatched the products all over the world. And now the master himself could no longer supply the numbers required; he therefore took his brothers, Ottaviano and Agostino† from the chisel, and set them to these works, from which both he and they gained much more than they had previously been able to earn by their works in sculpture: for, to say nothing of the commissions which they

* Vasari had doubtless seen the manuscript, *Trattato d'Architettura*, of Filarete (whose life will follow), which is in the Magliabechiana library. It has the following passage — "His little study (Cosmo's), excessively small it is, has the ceiling and pavement adorned with most beautiful glazed figures, so that all who enter are struck with admiration. The master of these *invetriamenti*, was Luca della Robbia, so he was called by name, who is a most worthy master of these works, and also in sculpture has proved himself;" etc.

† These artists were brothers to each other, but not to Luca della Robbia, nor did they even belong to his family.

executed for the various parts of Tuscany, they sent many specimens of their art into France and Spain. The above-named Piero dei Medici, also employed them extensively, more especially in the church of San Miniato-a-Monte, where they decorated the ceiling of the marble chapel, which is raised on four columns in the centre of the church. This ceiling was divided into eight compartments, producing a very beautiful effect. But perhaps the most remarkable work of this kind that proceeded from the hands of these artists was the ceiling of the chapel of San Jacopo, in the same church. Here the cardinal of Portugal lies entombed. The chapel has no sharp angles; but within four circular compartments, the masters represented the four Evangelists; and, in the midst of the ceiling, also within a medallion, they depicted the Holy Spirit, filling all the remaining spaces with scales, which, following the lines of the ceiling, diminished gradually as they approached the centre; the whole executed with so much care and diligence, that nothing better in that nanner could possibly be imagined *

At a later period, Luca della Robbia produced a figure of the Virgin, surrounded by numerous angels: a work of infinite animation and beauty,† which was placed in the small arch over the door of the church of San Piero Buonconsiglio, situated below the Mercato Vecchio; and over the door of a small church near San Piero Maggiore,‡ he executed another Madonna, within a half circle, also attended by angels; which are considered extremely beautiful. In the chapter-house of Santa Croce, which had been erected by the Pazzi family, under the direction of Pippo di Ser Brunellesco,§ Luca also executed the figures of glazed terra-cotta, both those outside, and those within the building.|| This master is, moreover, asserted to have sent various figures, in full relief, and of great beauty, to the King of Spain, with other works in marble. For Naples, also, he constructed the marble sepulchre of the Infant, brother to the Duke of Calabria: this was

* All the works here described are still in existence.—*Ed Flor.* 1849.

† This work is also well preserved, and is very beautiful.—*Ibid.*

‡ In the Via dell' Agnolo, over the door of the "Scuola dei Cherici", which was formerly the convent of the Lateranensian Hermits. It is now a warehouse, but the work is still to be seen.—*Masselli.*

§ Filippo Brunelleschi.

|| These works still remain.—*Masselli.*

decorated with ornaments in the glazed terra-cotta; it was executed in Florence, and afterwards sent to Naples: Luca being assisted in its completion by his brother Agostino.

After these things, the master still sought to make further inventions, and laboured to discover a method by which figures and historical representations might be coloured on level surfaces of terra-cotta, proposing thereby to secure a more life-like effect to the pictures. Of this he made an experiment in a medallion, which is above the tabernacle of the four saints, near Or San Michele, on the plane of which our artist figured the insignia and instruments of the Guilds of Manufacturers, divided into five compartments, and decorated with very beautiful ornaments. In the same place he adorned two other medallions in relief; in one he placed a Madonna for the Guild of the Apothecaries, and in the other a lily on a bale, for the Tribunal of the Merchants, with festoons of fruit and foliage of different kinds, so admirably done that they seem rather to be the natural substance than merely burnt and painted clay.*

For Messer Benozzo Federighi, Bishop of Fiesole, Luca della Robbia erected a sepulchre of marble, on which he placed the recumbent figure of Federigo, taken from nature, with three half-length figures beside;† and between the columns which adorn this work, the master depicted garlands with clusters of fruit and foliage, so life-like and natural that the pencil could produce nothing better in oil-painting. This work is of a truth most rare and wonderful, the lights and shadows having been managed so admirably, that one can scarcely imagine it possible to produce such effects in works that have to be completed by the action of fire. And if this artist had been accorded longer life, many other remarkable works would doubtless have proceeded from his hands, since, but a short time before his death, he had begun to paint figures and historical representations on a level surface, whereof I formerly saw certain specimens in his house,‡ which led me to believe that he would have suc-

* These works are also in good preservation — *Musselli*

† This tomb is now in the church of San Francesco di Paolo, in the suburb near Bellosguardo. See the *Monumenti Funebri della Toscana* of Giovanni Gonnelli, plate 34.

‡ One of these pictures may be seen in a room of the building belonging to the Superintendents of the Duomo. It is over a door on

ceeded perfectly, had not death, which almost always carries off the most distinguished men just at the moment when they are about to do some good to the world, borne him from his labours before the time.*

When Luca della Robbia had thus prematurely departed, there still remained Ottaviano and Agostino, his brothers,† who survived him, and to Agostino was born another Luca who was a most learned man in his day.‡ But first of Agostino himself, respecting whom we have to relate that, devoting himself to art as Luca had done, he decorated the façade of the church of San Bernardino in Perugia, in the year 1461, producing three historical representations in basso-rilievo, with four figures in full relief, admirably executed in a very delicate manner. Beneath this work the artist wrote his name in the following words:—

“AUGUSTINI FLORENTINI LAPIDÆ.”§

Of the same family was Andrea—he was, indeed, a nephew of Luca||—who also worked in marble with great ability, as may be seen in the chapel of Santa Maria delle Grazie, without the city of Arezzo, where he was commissioned by the commune to execute a vast marble ornament, comprising a large number of minute figures, some in mezzo-rilievo and others in full relief. This was intended as the framework of a Virgin from the hand of Parri di Spinello, the Aretime painter.¶ Andrea likewise prepared the decorations of the chapel belonging to Puccio di Magio, in the church of San Francesco in the same city: a work which is also in terra-cotta. He, moreover, executed the picture of the Circumcision for

the left of the entrance, and is a lunette composed of three portions, representing the Eternal Father in the centre, with an angel on each side, in the attitude of most devout and profound adoration — *Muselli*.

* Luca did not die young, as Vasari intimates, since he is known, from public documents, to have been still living in 1480: and in the first edition of our author he is said to have died in 1430, without doubt a misprint for 1480. See his testament, in Gaye, *Carteggio Inedito*, etc., i, 185.

† Neither Ottaviano nor Agostino being mentioned in the fiscal returns made by Simone di Marco della Robbia, who, according to Vasari, would have been their father, they are not believed to be of his family.

‡ The son of Simon di Marco, and born in 1484.

§ See Rumohr, *ut supra*, ii, 296.

¶ For a minute account of this master see Baldinucci, *Notizie*, &c.

¶ The life of Parri di Spinello follows.

the Bacci family. There is, besides, a most beautiful picture from his hand in the church of Santa Maria in Grado : which contains numerous figures. Over the high altar of the Brotherhood of the Trinity there is also a work of Andrea della Robbia, representing God the Father, who supports the body of the crucified Redeemer in his arms. This group is surrounded by a multitude of angels, while San Donato and San Bernardo are kneeling below.*

In like manner, this master executed various pictures for the church and other buildings of the Sasso della Vernia, and these have retained their beauty in that desert place, where no painting could have been preserved even for a few years.† Andrea likewise executed all the figures in glazed terracotta, which decorate the loggia of the hospital of San Paolo in Florence, and which are tolerably good.‡ The boys, some naked, others in swathing-clothes, which are in the medallions between the arches, in the loggia of the hospital of the Innocenti,§ are also by Andrea della Robbia. These are all truly admirable, and give a favourable idea of the ability and knowledge of art possessed by this master ; there are, besides, a large—nay, an almost infinite number of other works, performed by him in the course of his life, which lasted eighty-four years. Andrea died in 1528, and I, being still but a boy and talking with him, have heard him say, or rather boast, that he had been one of those who bore Donato to his burial-place. I remember, too, that the good old man, speaking of this circumstance, seemed to feel no little pride in the share he had taken in it.

But to return to Luca, that master was buried, with the rest of his family, in the tomb of his fathers, which is in the church of San Pier Maggiore, and after him Andrea della

* All the works of Andrea, executed in Arezzo, with the exception of the Circumcision, are still in existence; but that of which Vasari here speaks, as executed for the Brotherhood of the Trinity, is now in the chapel of the Madonna in the cathedral.—*Ed. Flor.* 1849.

† These works still remain. See Reumont, in the *Morgenblatt* for 1831, No. 206.

‡ These decorations of the Loggia are also well preserved.

§ These works are still in good preservation. There is also a most beautiful Annunciation, by the same master, over the side-door of the church of the Innocents, and which was formerly within the building.—*Ed. Flor.* 1845-9.

Robbia was entombed in the same sepulchre. The latter left two sons, who became monks in San Marco, where they received the cowl from the venerable Fra Girolamo Savonarola, who was ever held in great honour by the della Robbia family; wherefore it is that these artists have depicted him in the manner which we still see on the medallions.* Andrea had three sons besides the monks above-mentioned—Giovanni† (also an artist, and who had three sons, Marco, Lucantonio, and Simone, all of high promise, but who died of the plague in 1527); Luca and Girolamo, who devoted themselves to sculpture. Of the two last-named, Luca paid infinite attention to works in the glazed terra-cotta; and among many other labours of his performance are the pavements of the papal Loggia, which pope Leo X caused to be constructed in Rome, under the direction of Raphael of Urbino, and those of numerous walls and chambers, wherein Luca represented the arms and insignia of that pontiff. Girolamo, who was the youngest of all, worked in marble and bronze, as well as terra-cotta, and by the emulation existing between himself, Jacopo Sansovino, Baccio Bandinelli, and other masters of his time, he had already become a good artist, when he was induced by certain Florentine merchants to visit France. Here he executed various works for king Francis at Madri,‡ a place not far distant from Paris, more particularly a palace decorated with numerous figures and other ornaments, cut in a kind of stone similar to that which we have ourselves at Volterra, but of a better quality, since it is soft while being

* These medallions are cast. They have the portrait of Savonarola in profile, with a circular inscription, as follows —

“HIERONYMUS SAV FER. VIR DOCTISS. ORDINIS PRÆDICHORUM.”

On the reverse is a city, with numerous towers, probably Florence, below, and an arm holding a dagger, with the point turned downwards. The inscription is as follows:—

“GLADIUS DOMINI SUP. TERAM (SIC) CITO ET VELOCITER.”

Schorn, and *Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

† Baldinucci enumerates various works of this master. Among others, a magnificent representation of scenes from the life of the Virgin, in the church belonging to the monastery of San Girolamo delle Poverine In-gesuato.

‡ A villa built in the Bois de Boulogne, by order of Francis I, in memory of his sojourn as a prisoner in Spain; and therefore called “Madrid”, not “Madri”, nor “Marli”, as Bottari erroneously believes, that last having been erected under Louis XIV. See *Lettere Pittoriche*, Ticozzi's edition, vol. iv, No. 210.

worked, and becomes indurated by time and exposure to the air. Girolamo della Robbia laboured much in Orleans, and executed many works in various parts of the whole realm of France, acquiring high reputation and great riches. But after a time, understanding that the only brother now remaining to him in Florence was Luca, while he was himself alone in the service of the French king, and very wealthy, he invited his brother to join him in those parts, hoping to leave him the successor of his own prosperous condition and high credit. But the matter did not proceed thus. Luca died soon after his arrival in France, and Girolamo found himself once more alone and with none of his kin beside him. He then resolved to return to his native land, and there enjoy the riches acquired by his pains and labours, desiring moreover to leave some memorial of himself in his own country. In the year 1553 he established his dwelling in Florence accordingly, but was in a manner compelled to change his purpose, seeing that duke Cosmo, by whom he had hoped to be honourably employed, was entirely occupied by the war in Siena: he therefore returned to die in France, when not only did his house remain closed and his family become extinct,* but art was at the same time deprived of the true method of working in the glazed terra-cotta. It is true that there were some who made attempts in this kind of sculpture after his decease, but no one of these artists ever approached the excellence of Luca the elder, of Andrea, and the other masters of that family in the branch of art of which we are now speaking.† Wherefore, if I have expatiated at some length on this subject, or said more than may have seemed needful, let my readers excuse me, since the fact that Luca invented this mode of sculpture, which had not been practised—so far as I

* See Baldinucci, who shews that Vasari is here in error. The Della Robbia family flourished most honourably, both in France and Florence, until the year 1645, the last of the name being Bishop of Cortona and Fiesole.—*Schorn*.

† The secret of these inventions was transmitted to the Buglioni family by the marriage of a Della Robbia with Andrea Benedetto Buglioni. Andrea was contemporary with Verrocchio, and his son, Santi Buglioni, inherited the secret, which in him, as it appears, was totally lost, although many attempted to discover the methods adopted (according to Baldinucci, who relates this), more particularly a certain Antonio Novello, but he was far from attaining to the excellence of the Della Robbia family.

know—by the ancient Romans, rendered it proper, as I thought, that it should be treated of at some length, which I have done accordingly. And if, after closing the life of Luca the elder, I have briefly stated other things relating to his descendants, who have lived even to our own days—thus I have done that I may not have further occasion to recur to that matter. Luca moreover, be it observed, though he passed from one occupation to another—from marble to bronze, and from bronze to terra-cotta—was not induced to these changes by an idle levity, or because he was, as too many are found to be, capricious, unstable, and discontented with his vocation, but because he was by nature disposed to the search after new discoveries, and also because his necessities compelled him to seek a mode of occupation which should be in harmony with his tastes, while it was less fatiguing and more profitable. Whence the arts of design and the world generally, were enriched by the possession of a new, useful, and beautiful decoration—from which, too, the master himself derived perpetual fame and undying glory. Luca della Robbia drew well and gracefully, as may be seen by certain drawings in our book, the lights of which are in white lead; and in one of them is his own portrait, made with great care by his own hand, looking at himself in a mirror.

THE FLORENTINE PAINTER PAOLO UCCELLO.

[BORN 1396-7—DIED 1479?]

PAOLO UCCELLO would have proved himself the most original and inventive genius ever devoted to the art of painting, from the time of Giotto downwards, had he bestowed but half the labour on the delineation of men and animals that he lost and threw away over the minutiae of perspective. For, although these studies are meritorious and good in their way, yet he who is addicted to them beyond measure, wastes his time, exhausts his intellect, and weakens the force of his conceptions, inasmuch that he frequently diminishes the fertility and readiness

of his resources, which he renders ineffectual and sterile. Nay, whoever bestows his attention on these points, rather than on the delineation of the living figure, will frequently derive from his efforts a dry and angular hardness of manner, which is a very common result of too close a consideration of minute points. There is, moreover, the highest probability that one so disposed will become unsocial, melancholy, and poor, as did Paolo Uccello, who, being endowed by nature with a subtle and inquiring spirit, knew no greater pleasure than that of undertaking over-difficult, or, rather, impossible problems of perspective; which, although, doubtless curious, and perhaps beautiful, yet so effectually impeded his progress in the more essential study of the figure, that his works became worse and worse, in that respect, the older he grew. It is by no means to be denied that the man who subjects himself to studies too severe, does violence to his nature; and, although he may sharpen his intellect on one point, yet, whatever he does, wants the grace and facility natural to those who, proceeding temperately, preserve the calmness of their intelligence, and the force of their judgment, keeping all things in their proper place, and avoiding those subtleties which rarely produce any better effect than that of imparting a laboured, dry, and ungraceful character to the production, whatever it may be, which is better calculated to move the spectator to pity, than awaken his admiration. It is only when the spirit of inspiration is roused, when the intellect demands to be in action, that effectual labour is secured; then only are thoughts worthy of expression conceived, and things great, excellent, and sublime accomplished.

Paolo Uccello employed himself perpetually, and without any intermission whatever, in the consideration of the most difficult questions connected with art, insomuch that he brought the method of preparing the plans and elevations of buildings, by the study of linear perspective, to perfection. From the ground plan to the cornices, and summit of the roof, he reduced all to strict rules, by the convergence of intersecting lines, which he diminished towards the centre, after having fixed the point of view higher or lower, as seemed good to him; he laboured, in short, so earnestly in these difficult matters, that he found means, and fixed rules, for making his figures really to seem standing on the plane whereon they

were placed; not only showing how, in order manifestly to draw back or retire, they must gradually be diminished, but also giving the precise manner and degree required for this, which had previously been done by chance, or effected at the discretion of the artist, as he best could. He also discovered the method of turning the arches and cross-vaulting of ceilings; taught how floors are to be foreshortened by the convergence of the beams; showed how the artist must proceed, to represent columns bending around the sharp corners of a building, so that, when drawn in perspective, they efface the angle, and cause it to seem level. To pore over all these matters, Paolo would remain alone, seeing scarcely any one, and remaining almost like a hermit for weeks and months in his house, without suffering himself to be approached. But, however difficult and beautiful these things may be, yet, if he had expended the time given to them in the study of figures, he would have done much better; for, although his drawing of the latter is tolerably good, yet it wants much of the perfection which he might have given it by a more discreetly regulated attention; but by thus consuming his hours in pondering these devices, he found himself steeped in poverty all the days of his life, instead of attaining to the celebrity which he might otherwise have acquired. When, therefore, Paolo would sometimes exhibit his "mazzocchi,"* some pointed, others square, and all drawn in perspective under various aspects, his spheres having seventy-two facettes, like diamond points, with a morsel of chip bent upwards on each plane, and all the other strange whimsies over which he exhausted his strength, and wasted his time, to the sculptor Donatello (who was his intimate friend), the latter would say to him, "Ah, Paolo, with this perspective of thine, thou art leaving the substance for the shadow. These things are serviceable to those only who work at inlaying of wood (tarsia), seeing that it is their trade to use chips and shavings, with circles and spirals, and squares, and such-like matters."

* Orlandi—*Abecedario pittorico*—mistaking the import of this word, supposed it to be a family name, and makes Paolo a member of the Mazzocchi family. The word mazzocchi is interpreted to mean "circlets armed with points or spikes, and placed on the escutcheons of families"; and "caps of a peculiar form, such, for example, as we see in the portraits of Taddeo and Agnolo Gaddi"; or, according to other authorities, it may mean the heraldic "cap of maintenance."

The first works of Paolo were fresco paintings for the hospital of Ielmo,* where he depicted St. Anthony the abbot, in an oblong niche, painted in perspective, with St. Cosimo on one side of St. Anthony, and St. Damiano on the other. In Annalena,† a convent of nuns, he executed two figures, and in Santa Trinità, on the inside of the church, and over the north door, he painted stories in fresco, from the life of St. Francis,‡ one showing the saint when he receives the stigmata, a second where he restores the church, which he is supporting on his shoulders, and the third representing his interview with San Domenico. In the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, in a chapel near the side door which opens on the road to San Giovanni, and wherein are certain works by Masaccio, Paolo painted an Annunciation,§ also in fresco. In this picture he represented a building, which is highly worthy of attention: it was then a new, and was considered to be a difficult thing, since it was the first edifice depicted in a good manner, and with true and graceful proportions; by this work artists were taught that, by due arrangement, the level space, which is in reality small, and closely bounded, may be made to appear extensive, and acquire the semblance of distance; and he who, after securing this, shall be capable of judiciously distributing his lights and shadows to their proper places, and of duly managing the colours, will doubtless produce the effect of a more complete illusion to the eye, cause his pictures to exhibit higher relief, and give them a more exact resemblance to life and reality. Not satisfied with this, Paolo desired to prove his power of conquering a still greater difficulty; and drew a line of columns retiring in perspective, which he caused to bend round an angle, so as to efface the sharp angles of the ceiling on which the four Evangelists are painted: this also was considered a beautiful and difficult thing; nor can it be denied that Paolo was an able and ingenious artist in this department of his profession.

* Afterwards of San Matteo, which stood on the site now occupied by the Academy of the Fine Arts in Florence. The works of Paolo Uccello are no longer to be seen.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832.

+ This should be, "where the convent of Annalena afterwards stood", since it was not founded until twenty-three years afterwards—in 1455, namely. These paintings have also perished.—*Ibid.*

‡ No trace of these frescoes remains.—*Ibid.*

§ This Annunciation has disappeared, as has also the picture of Masaccio.—*Ibid.*

In San Miniato, without the city of Florence, this master painted the lives of the Holy Fathers* in one of the cloisters. This work was principally in *terra verde*, but was partly coloured; and here Paolo did not pay sufficient regard to the harmony, which the artist should study to preserve in stories that are represented with one colour only, seeing that he made his fields blue, his cities red, and the buildings varied, as best pleased his fancy, wherein he committed an error, for whatever we feign to make of stone, cannot and ought not to be tinted with other colours. It is said that when Paolo was occupied with this work, the abbot, who then ruled at San Miniato, gave him scarcely anything to eat but cheese, of which our painter, who was shy and timid, becoming tired, resolved to go no more to work at the cloister. The abbot sent to inquire the cause of his absence; but when Paolo heard the monks asking for him, he would never be at home, and if he chanced to meet any of the brothers of that Order in the streets of Florence, he hurried away with all speed, flying from them as fast as he was able. One day, two of the friars, more curious than the rest, and younger than Paolo, ran after and overtook him. They then inquired why he did not come to finish the work he had commenced, and wherefore he fled at the sight of one of their body? "You have so murdered me," replied Paolo, "that I not only run away from you, but dare not stop near the house of any joiner, or even pass by one, and all that is owing to the bad management of your abbot, for what with his cheese-pies and cheese-soup, he has made me swallow such a mountain of cheese, that I am all turned into cheese myself, and tremble lest the carpenters should take me to make their glue with; of a surety, if I stayed with you any longer, I should be no more Paolo, but cheese." The monks, departing from him with peals of laughter, told the story to their abbot, who prevailed on him to return to his work, with the promise that he would order him dishes not made of cheese.

In the church of the Carmine, Paolo painted the altar of SS. Cosimo and Damiano,† for the Pugliesi family, in the chapel of San Girolamo; and in the house of the Medici, he painted several pictures on canvas and in distemper,‡ repre-

* These paintings were afterwards whitened over.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832.

† This work was destroyed in the fire of 1771.

‡ Nothing is now known of these paintings.

representing various animals, which he greatly delighted in, and to the delineation of which he gave his most unwearied attention. He had numbers of painted birds, cats, and dogs, in his house, with every other animal of which he could get the portrait, being too poor to keep the living creatures; and as he preferred birds to all other animals, he received the name of Paul of the Birds (Paolo Uccelli).^{*} Among other representations of animals painted for the Medici, was a combat of lions, to which he imparted so much force, and gave the expression of such fierce rage to the movements of the creatures, that they seem to be alive. But the most extraordinary part of all, was a serpent fighting with a lion; the strength and fierceness of the reptile are finely obvious in his furious contortions, the venom darts from his eyes and mouth. Near to this group is a peasant girl with an ox, the foreshortening of which is admirable. In my collection of drawings, is a sketch of this scene by the hand of Paolo; the girl, full of terror, is in the act of escaping from those beasts by a rapid flight. The same picture exhibits certain herdsmen very naturally portrayed, with a landscape, which was considered an exceedingly beautiful thing at the time. In other parts of this work, are representations of armed men on horseback, many of whom are portraits from the life.

Paolo was afterwards commissioned to paint some historical pictures in the cloister of Santa Maria Novella, the first of which are those seen on entering the cloister from the church. In these he depicted the creation of animals, exhibiting infinite numbers and varieties of every kind, whether belonging to earth, air, or water. Paolo Uccello was exceedingly fanciful, and delighted, as we have said, in representing his animals to perfection. We have here an instance of this in some lions which are about to fall on one another with open jaws, and whose fierce rage is expressed with the utmost truth, as is the timidity and velocity of the stags and deer, which also make part of the picture; the birds and fish are, in like manner, depicted with extraordinary exactitude in every feather and scale. In the same place this master portrayed the creation of our first parents, with their

^{*} His name was Paolo di Dono, or *Uccelli*, as he is called by himself in a return made to the fiscal authorities in the year 1446. See Gaye, i. 146.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

fall. 'This is in a very good manner: it is well and carefully executed; and in these pictures, Paolo took pains to vary the colouring of the trees, a thing which it was not yet usual for the masters to accomplish very successfully. With respect to the landscapes, in like manner, Paolo was the first among the old painters who acquired a name for his labours in this branch of art, which he conducted to a higher degree of perfection than had been attained in it by the artists who preceded him. It is true that those who came after him, succeeded much better than he had done; since, with all his pains, he could never impart to his landscapes that softness and harmony which have been given to works of this class in our times, by painting them in oil. It was quite enough for Paolo if he drew according to the rules of perspective, representing things as they stood, and giving all that he saw: fields, that is to say, with their ditches, their furrows, the ploughs on them, and every other minutia of the kind, in his own dry and hard manner; whereas if he had selected the most effective characteristics of things, and represented such parts only as redound to the good general effect of the picture, he would have approached much more nearly to perfection. When he had completed these paintings, he executed others, in the same cloister, beneath two pictures, which are from the hand of a different master;* and lower down† in the cloister, he painted the deluge, with the ark of Noah. In that work, Paolo portrayed the dead bodies, the face of the tempest raging around, the fury of the winds, the flashes of the lightning, the torrents of rain, the destruction of the trees, and the terror of men, with so much art and ability, that no words could sufficiently express the merits of this work. In the background is a dead body, of which a raven is tearing out the eyes;‡ the foreshortening of this is very good: there is also a boy, whose drowned corpse is represented as greatly swollen by the water. He has, more-

* That is to say, after the stories—really by another hand—which follow the first described; those, that is, of the fourth arcade.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

+ Or rather the contrary, since the story of the Deluge is in the upper part.—*Ibid.*

‡ The minutiae here described by Vasari are not now to be distinguished, the paintings on that side being precisely those, among the works of this cloister, which have suffered most injury.—*Ibid.*

over, given many eloquent expressions of human passion and feeling, showing the disregard of their common danger from the rising waters, of two men who are fighting on horse-back; and, on the other hand, the excessive terror of death experienced by a woman and man, who are both mounted on a buffalo, but who find that the hinder parts of the animal are gradually sinking beneath the water, insomuch that they lose all hope of being able to save themselves,—a work which displayed so much excellence, that the master acquired the highest reputation from it: the whole is carefully executed according to the laws of perspective, and many of the accessories are very beautiful. Beneath this story, Paolo likewise depicted the inebriation of Noah, with the contemptuous proceeding of his son Ham (in whom he portrayed the Florentine painter and sculptor Dello, who was his friend), with Shem and Japhet, the other sons, who throw a vestment over their father's prostrate form. In the same picture, is a cask in perspective, the curved lines of which, drawn in different directions, were considered very fine; there is also a long line of trellis-work, covered with bunches of grapes, the rods of which being square on the plane, diminish as they approach the point of view; but the master committed an error in this matter, since the floor on which the figures stand, diminishes according to the lines of the trellis-work, but the cask does not follow those receding lines, and I am surprised that an artist so careful and exact should have committed so manifest an error. Paolo further represented the Sacrifice of Noah; and here he painted the open ark in perspective, with ranges of perches in the upper part, divided into regular rows, for the birds, of which various kinds are seen to fly out in flocks. In the air above is the figure of God the Father, who appears over the sacrifice which Noah and his sons are in the act of offering. This figure is the most difficult of any that Paolo Uccello executed, since it is represented with the head foreshortened, flying towards the wall, and has such force and relief, that it seems to press through and divide it. There is, besides, a large number of different animals about the patriarch Noah, all most beautifully done. The whole work is, in short, so full of harmony and grace, that it is, without doubt, the best of his labours, nay, beyond comparison, superior to them all,

insomuch that it has secured the highest commendations for the master, not from his own times only, but from ours also.

In the church of Santa Maria del Fiore, Paolo Uccello painted a horse in "terra-verde"; this was executed to the memory of Giovanni Acuto, an Englishman, and Leader of the Florentines, who died in 1393. This horse is of extraordinary magnitude, and is considered extremely beautiful; on its back is the figure of the English commander, painted from nature, in chiaro-scuro. The picture is ten braccia in height, and is in the centre of one of the walls of the church,* where Paolo also drew, in perspective, a large sarcophagus, supposed to contain the corpse of the captain: on this he placed the figure of Acuto in armour, and on horseback †. This work was then thought, and continues to be considered, one of great beauty of its kind; ‡ and if Paolo had not made the horse move his legs on one side only, which horses do not naturally do, since they would fall if they did (which happened, perhaps, because the artist was not accustomed to ride, or to see so much of horses as of other animals), the work would indeed have been perfect. The proportions of the horse, which, as has been observed, is of immense size, are extremely beautiful. On the basement are inscribed the following letters:—

PAULI UCCELLI OPUS.

At the same time, and in the same church, he painted, in varied colours, the dial-plate which is over the principal door on the inside of the church, with the four heads, in

* This picture was transferred to canvas in the year 1842, and placed within the church.—*Ed. Flor.* 1849.

† Gaye, i, 536, cites a decree of the 22nd August 1393, by which the wardens of Santa Reparata are permitted to construct, within one year from that date, a monument, decorated with marble figures and stones of price, for the sepulchre of Giovanni Hawkwood or Acuto; but this decree does not appear to have been carried into effect. A second proposal, of similar kind, referred to by Baldinucci, seems also to have fallen to the ground, but there are other documents, from which we learn, that "the horse and figure of Messer Giovanni Aguto, made by Paolo Uccello, were to be effaced, because the horse is not painted as it should be, and that the said Paolo shall paint anew the said Giovanni Aguto and the horse." (Baldinucci.) See also Amminato, lib. xvi, p. 844. Whether the picture now seen be the first or a second, is not certainly known.

‡ The same may be said even now.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8, and 1849.

fresco, which decorate the angles * By the same master, the western cloister, above the garden of the Monastery degli Angeli, is also painted, in "terra-verde," with a story from the life of St. Benedict the abbot, beneath every arch, representing all his most remarkable actions, to his death. There are many beautiful pictures in this work, and among them is one representing a monastery which is suddenly destroyed by the power of Satan, and under the ruins of which there is the body of a monk who has been killed by the fall of the building. Nor less remarkable is the expression of terror in another monk, whose vestments gracefully waving as he flies, display the form beneath most beautifully. From this painting the artists of the period received a new idea, which they afterwards frequently reproduced. The figure of St. Benedict is also very fine, as, with combined dignity and humility, he performs a miracle in the presence of his monks, by restoring their dead brother, before mentioned, to life. There are, in brief, many peculiarities throughout the whole work, most amply worthy of consideration, more especially as regards the perspective, the master's knowledge of which has been frequently displayed throughout, even in his treatment of the slates and tiles of the roof. At the death of St. Benedict, moreover, while the monks are performing his obsequies, and bewailing their loss, certain aged and decrepit persons come to look on the dead body of the saint; these figures are admirably fine. There is also an old monk supported on two crutches, in whose face there is the evidence of infinite affection, with a lingering hope that he may possibly recover his health. In this work there are no landscapes, and not many buildings, neither is there so much as usual sacrificed to the conquest of difficulties in perspective, but, on the other hand, there is much good drawing, and numerous excellencies.†

Many houses in Florence possess small pictures by the hand of this master, which were painted to adorn couches, beds, and other articles of household use. In Gualfonda, more especially, on a terrace of the garden which formerly belonged to the Bartolini family, are four battle pieces, in wood, by his hand, the horses and armed men in splendid

* The heads alone now remain, and these have been restored.—*Schorn.*

† These works are not now in existence.

vestments of the fashion of that day, are very beautiful, and among the figures are portraits of Paolo Orsino, Ottobuono da Parma, Luca da Canale, and Carlo Malatesti, lord of Rimini, all great captains of those times.* These pictures had suffered injury in certain parts, and have been restored, in our own day, by Giuliano Bugiardini, from whom they have received injury rather than benefit.

Paolo Uccello was induced by Donato to visit Padua, when the last-named artist was working in that city; he then painted certain gigantic figures in "terra-verde", for the entrance to the house of the Vitali family; and these, as I find in a Latin letter written by Girolamo Campagnolo to the philosopher Leonico Tomeo, are so admirably done, that Andrea Montegna is said to have held them in the highest estimation. Paolo also decorated the arch of the Peruzzi with triangles in fresco, painting rectangular sections, moreover, in the corners, within each of which he placed one of the four elements, accompanied by an appropriate animal. To the earth, for example, he gave a mole, to the water a fish, to the fire a salamander, and to the air a chameleon, which lives on the air, and can take every colour. But as he had never seen a chameleon, he painted a camel, which he has made with wide open mouth, swallowing the air, wherewith he fills his belly.† And herein was his simplicity certainly very great: taking the mere resemblance of the camel's name as a sufficient representation of, or allusion to, an animal which is like a little dry lizard, while the camel is a great ungainly beast. The labours of Paolo, in painting, must have been very heavy, since he made so many drawings, that he left whole chests full of them to his relations, as I have learned from themselves. But, although it is a great thing to produce many sketches, it is a still greater to

* Of these four pictures, one only was known to exist—that, namely, which is preserved in the Royal Gallery of the Uffizj (Florence), and which is authenticated by the name of the painter written below, in the right hand corner. PAOLI UCCELLI OPUS The fate of the remaining three was unknown until the year 1848, when it was our good fortune to discover two of them, one of which is in admirable preservation, and to point them out to the Signors Francesco Lombardi and Ugo Baldi, who have enriched their precious collection, before mentioned, with this discovery. It is suspected that the fourth has been taken to England.—*Ed Flor.* 1849.

† These works have totally perished.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832

execute the works themselves in an effectual manner; for the finished picture possesses a more decided vitality than the mere sketch. In our collection of drawings we have many figures, studies in perspective, birds, and other animals, beautiful to a marvel, but the best of all is a kind of head-dress, ("maz-zocchio"*) drawn in outline only, but so admirably done, that nothing short of the patience of Paolo could have accomplished the task. This master was a person of eccentric character, and peculiar habits; but he was a great lover of ability in those of his own art; and, to the end that their memory should remain to posterity, he drew, with his own hand, on an oblong picture, the portraits of five distinguished men, which he kept in his house as a memorial of them. The first of these portraits was that of the painter Giotto, as one who had given light and new life to the art; the second was Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, for architecture; the third was Donatello, for sculpture; the fourth was himself, for perspective and animals; the fifth was his friend Giovanni Manetti, for the mathematics. With this philosopher Paolo conferred very frequently, and held continual discourse with him concerning the problems of Euclid.†

It is related of this master that being commissioned to paint St. Thomas seeking the wound in the side of Christ, above the door of the church dedicated to that saint, in the Mercato Vecchio, he declared that he would make known in that work the extent of what he had acquired and was capable of producing, to which end he bestowed upon it the utmost care and consideration: he also caused an enclosure of planks to be constructed around it, that none might see the work until it should be entirely completed. One day Donato met him all alone, and asked him "what kind of a work is this of thine that thou art shutting up so closely?" To whom Paolo, answering, replied—"Thou shalt see it some day, let that suffice thee." Donato would not press him to

* Varchi, in his *Storia*, lib. ix, describes the mazzocchio in the following words:—"The mazzocchio is a circlet of wood covered with cloth, which surrounds and binds the upper part of the head; it has a lining within it, and this being brought down in front and thrown back, then covers the whole head."

† In the first edition of Vasari, this picture was attributed to Masaccio; it was then in the house of Giuliano da San Gallo, at the present day, all trace of it is lost—*Eu Flor.* 1849

say more, thinking that when the time came he should, as usual, behold some miracle. It chanced that Donato was in the Mercato Vecchio buying fruit one morning, when he saw Paolo Uccello, who was uncovering his picture.* Saluting him courteously, therefore, his opinion was instantly demanded by Paolo, who was anxiously curious to know what he would say of the work. But when Donato had examined the painting very minutely, he turned to Paolo and said, "Why, Paolo! thou art uncovering thy picture just at the very time when thou shouldst be shutting it up from the sight of all!" These words so grievously afflicted the painter, that perceiving himself likely to incur derision instead of the glory that he had hoped for from this, his last labour, and not having the courage to show himself fallen, as he felt himself to be, he would no more leave his house, but shut himself up, devoting himself wholly to the study of perspective, which kept him in poverty and depression to the day of his death. He lived to become very old, but had secured little enjoyment for his old age, and died in the year 1432,† in his eighty-third year, when he was buried in the church of Santa Maria Novella.‡

Paolo Uccello left a daughter, who had some ability in design, and a wife, who was wont to relate that Paolo would stand the whole night through, beside his writing-table, seeking new terms for the expression of his rules in perspective; and when entreated by herself to take rest and sleep, he would reply, "Oh, what a delightful thing is this perspective!"§ And it is doubtless true, that as this study was delightful

* This painting of St. Thomas has disappeared.

† This is most probably an error of the press, and should be 1472 according to some of the authorities, according to others, 1497. See Gaye, *Carteggio inedito*, etc. i, 146-7.

‡ "On the death of this master," says Vasari, in his first edition, "many epigrams (sic), both in the Latin and vulgar tongue, were made for him, but it shall suffice me to recite the following:—"

Zeusi et Parrasio ceda et Polignoto
Ch'io fei l'ai te una tacita natura,
Dici affetto et forza ad ogni mia figura,
Volo agh' uccelli, a' pesci il Corso e' noto.

§ Let us then hope that this good labourer had not so dark a close to his life as Vasari would have us believe. Surely that "delightful thing," his beloved perspective, must have thrown some light over the gloom which Vasari describes.—*Trans.*

to him, no less valuable and useful has it been rendered, by his means, to those who have occupied themselves with similar studies in after times.

THE FLORENTINE SCULPTOR LORENZO GHIIBERTI.

[BORN 1381—DIED 1455]

WHOEVER obtains renown among his fellow-men for the possession of any particular gift, is without doubt for the most part a truly blessed light and exemplar to many, whether of his contemporaries or of those who come after him, to say nothing of the great honours and large rewards derived from this advantage by himself in his own life-time. This may be remarked in all cities and countries. Nor is there any thing by which the minds of men are more readily aroused to effort, or by which the discipline of study is rendered less onerous to them, than the honours and benefits to be derived from the heavy labours of the artist or man of learning. By these it is that every undertaking, however difficult, is rendered easy, and at no time will the powers of the labourer be put forth so effectually and with so rich and mature a fruit as when he is stimulated to effort by the praises of the world. There are infinite numbers of men who seeing and feeling this, subject themselves to many a pain, that they also may attain to the distinction, and merit the rewards conferred upon some one of their compatriots; therefore it was that in ancient times men of parts and distinction were rewarded with riches, or honoured by triumphs and statues. But as it rarely happens that talent can escape the persecutions of envy, it is most needful that all should strive, so far as in them lies, to ward off her attacks by the truest excellence, or should at least arm themselves with strength and resolution to sustain the impetus of her onset; as was admirably accomplished by Lorenzo di Cione Ghiberti, otherwise di Bartoluccio, who was well aided in the struggle by his own merits, as well as by the favour of fortune. It was the high desert of Lorenzo which induced the sculptor Donato, and Filippo Brunelleschi,

the architect and sculptor, both distinguished men, to place that youth before themselves, and to acknowledge, as they did,—although self-love might tempt them to affirm the contrary,—that he was indeed a better master than they in the art that was in question, on the occasion to which we allude, namely, that of casting in bronze. This act, in truth, redounded to the glory of those two artists, as well as to the confusion of many, who, presuming on their own abilities, press themselves forward and occupy the place due to the talents of others, although they are unable to produce any good fruits; and after labouring a thousand years to effect nothing, do but oppress the efforts and hinder the advancement of those who might promote the progress of art and knowledge, but for their envy and malignity.

Lorenzo was the son of Bartoluccio Ghiberti,* and in his early youth acquired the art of the goldsmith, under the care of his father, who was an excellent master, and instructed him in such sort that Lorenzo, aided by his natural abilities, became a better goldsmith than his teacher. But delighting still more in the arts of design and sculpture,† he sometimes worked in colours, and at other times employed himself in the casting of small figures in bronze, which he finished very gracefully. He also took much pleasure in imitating the dies of ancient coins and medals, besides which he frequently took the portraits of his different friends from the life.

Whilst Lorenzo was thus labouring to acquire the art of gold-working with Bartoluccio, the plague, by which Florence was visited in the year 1400, broke out, as he relates himself in a book written with his own hand, wherein he discourses of matters touching the arts, and which is now in the possession of the venerable Messer Cosimo Bartoli, a Florentine

* Lorenzo was the son of Cione di Ser Buonaccorso and of Madonna Fiore, who, on the death of Cione, was married, secondly, to Bartolo di Michele. In the documents relating to Lorenzo, which precede the year 1443, he constantly calls himself "Lorenzo di Bartoluccio," or Lorenzo di Bartolo; but, in that year, having been nominated for a place in the Council of the Twelve, an attempt was made to show that he was illegitimate. Lorenzo brought proof of his legitimacy, and ever after called himself Lorenzo di Cione, no longer retaining the name of his father-in-law. See Gaye, i, 148-155, *ut supra*; also Gualandi, *Memorie di Belle Arti*, Serie 4 1731.

† Baldinucci believes Ghiberti's master in drawing and painting to have been Gherardo Starnina.—*Schoon*

gentleman.* To this plague were added civil discords and various troubles in the city, from which Lorenzo was compelled to depart, when he repaired to Romagna, in company with another painter, where they worked together in Rimini, painting a chamber and other works for signor Pandolfo Malatesti, which were all completed by them with great diligence and to the satisfaction of that noble, who, although young, took much pleasure in all things relating to art. Lorenzo meanwhile did not remit the prosecution of his studies in relation to design, but frequently executed rilievi in wax, stucco, and other materials of similar kind, well knowing that such rilievi are the drawing-exercises of sculptors, without practice in which they cannot hope to bring any great work to perfection. But Lorenzo did not long remain absent from his country. After the pestilence had ceased, the Signoria of Florence and the Guild of the Merchants resolved to proceed with the two doors of San Giovanni, one of the oldest and most important churches in the city, concerning which there had already been so much discourse and so many deliberations. The time was favourable for such an undertaking, the art of sculpture then possessing able masters in abundance, foreigners as well as Florentines: those in authority therefore, considering that the work ought to be done as well as talked of, gave orders that all the artists, masters of eminence throughout Italy, should be given to understand that they might repair to Florence, there to present a specimen of their abilities in a trial of skill, which was to be made by the composition and execution of an historical representation in bronze, similar to those which Andrea Pisano had executed for the first door.

Notice of this determination was sent by Bartoluccio to Lorenzo, who was then working in Pesaro, and whom his father-in-law urged to return to Florence, and show what he could do; saying, that this was an opportunity for making himself known and displaying his abilities, reminding him also that from the occasion now presenting itself, they might derive such advantages that neither one nor the other of them need any longer work at *pear-making*.† The words of Bar-

* The MS. of Ghiberti's work is now in the Magliabechiana library. Many extracts from it may be seen in Cicognara, *Storia della Scultura*, vol. iv.

† Ear-rings, perhaps called *pears* from their form.—*Ed. Rom.* 1^o 59.

toluccio roused the spirit of Lorenzo in such a manner, that although the Signor Pandolfo, the other painter, and all the court, were treating him with the most amicable distinction, and entreated him to remain with them, he nevertheless took leave of that noble and of the painter, who were with difficulty persuaded to let him depart, and saw him go with extreme regret ; but no promises nor increase of appointments availed to detain him, every minute then seeming to Lorenzo a thousand years, until he found himself on the road to Florence. Departing from Pesaro, therefore, he arrived safely in his native city. A great concourse of foreign artists had by this time assembled at Florence, and had presented themselves to the syndics or consuls of the Guild, who chose seven masters from the whole number three of these were Florentines, the remaining four were Tuscans. Each of these artists received a sum of money, and it was commanded that within a year each should produce a story in bronze as a specimen of his powers, all to be of the same size, which was that of one of the compartments in the first door. The subject was chosen by the consuls, and was the Sacrifice of Isaac by his father Abraham, that being selected as presenting sufficient opportunity for the artists to display their mastery over the difficulties of their art : this story comprising landscape, with human figures, nude and clothed, as well as those of animals; the foremost of these figures were to be in full-relief, the second in half-relief, and the third in low-relief. The candidates for this work were Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, Donato and Lorenzo di Bartoluccio, who were Florentines, with Jacopo della Quercia, of Siena ; Niccolo d'Arezzo, his disciple ; Francesco di Valdambrina, and Simone da Colle, called Simon of the Bronzes. All these masters made a promise before the consuls that they would deliver each his specimen completed at the prescribed time, and all set themselves to the work with the utmost care and study, putting forth all their strength, and calling all their knowledge to aid, in the hope of surpassing one another. They kept their labours meanwhile entirely secret, one from the other, that they might not copy each other's plans. Lorenzo alone, who had Bartoluccio to guide him, which last suffered him to shrink before no amount of labour, but compelled him to make various models before he resolved on adopting any one

of them—Lorenzo only, I say, permitted all the citizens to see his work, inviting them, or any stranger who might be passing and had acquaintance with the art, to say what they thought on the subject. and these various opinions were so useful to the artist, that he produced a model, which was admirably executed and without any defect whatever. He then made the ultimate preparations, cast the work in bronze, and found it succeed to admiration; when Lorenzo, assisted by Bartoluccio his father, completed and polished the whole with such love and patience, that no work could be executed with more care, or finished with greater delicacy. When the time arrived for comparing the different works, Lorenzo's specimen, with those of all the other masters, were found to be completed, and were given to the Guild of the Merchants for their judgment. Wherefore, all having been examined by the syndics, and by many other citizens, there were various opinions among them touching the matter. Many foreigners had assembled in Florence—some painters, some sculptors, others goldsmiths: these were all invited by the consuls, or syndics, to give judgment on those works, together with the men of the same calling who dwelt in Florence. The number of these persons was thirty-four, all well experienced in their several arts. But although there were divers opinions among them touching various points, and one preferred the manner of this candidate and one of that, yet they all agreed that Filippo di Ser Brunellesco and Lorenzo di Bartoluccio had presented works of better composition, more richly adorned with figures, and more delicately finished* than was that of Donato, although in his specimen also the design was exceedingly good.† In the work of Jacopo della Quercia the

* Cicognara has made an admirable comparison of these works, judiciously and impartially apportioning the due meed of praise to each. It is to be remarked that the specimen presented by Lorenzo was cast all in one piece, while that of Brunellesco was cast in many pieces, which were afterwards conjoined.

+ Cicognara remarks that Vasari here speaks of Donato's work as though he were possessed of positive intelligence respecting it, while in the life of Donato himself, he makes no further mention of it. Can Vasari be thinking of the model for a bronze door, prepared by Donato for the cathedral of Siena? In the life of Brunellesco, written by a contemporary, no mention is made of Donato; but there can be no doubt respecting the names of those who were candidates for this magnificent work, since Ghiberti himself names them all in his *Commentario*.—*Scherer and Ed. Flor.* 1832–8. 1846–9.

figures were carefully designed, but wanted delicacy of finish. In the specimen of Francesco da Valdambrina the leads were beautiful and the work well finished, but the composition was confused. That of Simon da Colle was a beautiful specimen of casting, because that was his peculiar branch of art, but the design was not good. The specimen presented by Niccolò d'Arezzo showed the hand of the practised master, but the figures were stunted and the work not well finished. The story executed by Lorenzo only, which is still to be seen in the Hall of Audience, belonging to the Guild of the Merchants,* was perfect in all its parts. The whole work was admirably designed and very finely composed: the figures graceful, elegant, and in beautiful attitudes; and all was finished with so much care and to such perfection, that the work seemed not to have been cast and polished with instruments of iron, but looked rather as though it had been blown with the breath.

When Donato and Filippo saw the care and success with which Lorenzo had completed his specimen, they drew aside together, and, conferring with each other, decided that the work ought to be given to him, because it appeared to them that the public advantage, as well as individual benefit, would be thus best secured and promoted, since Lorenzo being very young—for he had not completed his twentieth year—would have the opportunity, while exercising his talents on that magnificent work, of producing those noble fruits of which his beautiful story gave so fair a hope. They declared that, according to their judgment, Lorenzo had executed his specimen more perfectly than any of the other artists, and that it would be a more obvious proof of envy to deprive him of it, than of rectitude to accord it to him.

Lorenzo therefore commenced the works for those doors, beginning with that which is opposite to the house of the wardens, and first he prepared a model, in wood, of the exact size which each compartment was to have in the metal, with the framework and the ornaments of the angles, on each of

* This work is now in the Florentine Gallery, in the room where are the modern bronzes, beside the story executed at the same time by Brunellesco. See Cicognara, vol. ii, pl. 20. See also the fine work of Lasinio, *Le tre porte del Battistero di San Giovanni di Firenze incise ed illustrate* Florence, 1821.

which was placed a head; and all the decorations by which the stories of every compartment were to be surrounded. After having prepared and dried the mould with infinite care and exactitude in a workshop that he had procured opposite to Santa Maria Nuova, where the Weavers' Hospital now stands, and which was called the threshing-floor, he built an immense furnace, which I well remember to have seen, and there cast the portion he had prepared, in metal. But it pleased the fates that this should not succeed; yet Lorenzo, perceiving in what point he had failed, did not lose courage, nor permit himself to despond; but having promptly prepared another mould, without making the occurrence known to any one, he cast the piece again, when it succeeded perfectly. In this manner the artist continued the whole work, casting each story himself; and when he had completed and polished it, he fixed it in its place. The arrangement of the stories is similar to that adopted by Andrea Pisano in constructing the first door, which had been designed for him by Giotto. The number of them is twenty; the subjects being taken from the New Testament: beneath these stories, in eight similar compartments, are figures of the four Evangelists, two on each leaf or fold of the door, with the four Doctors of the Church in like manner. All these figures are varied in their attitudes, vestments, and other particulars: one is reading, another writing; some are in deep meditation, and differing thus one from another, all, whether acting or reflecting, are equally lifelike. The framework which encloses each picture is enriched with ornaments of ivy leaves and foliage of other kinds, with mouldings between them, and on each angle is a male or female head in full relief, purporting to represent the Prophets and Sybils. They are very beautiful, and their variety serves to prove the fertility of invention possessed by the master. Above the Doctors and Evangelists here described, and on the side towards Santa Maria del Fiore, is the first, or commencing story, which represents the Annunciation of Our Lady: Lorenzo has given to the Virgin an expression of terror and sudden alarm; as the angel appears, she turns from him in an attitude of infinite grace. Beside this representation is one exhibiting the Birth of Christ; where Our Lady is reposing in a recumbent position, with Joseph, earnestly regarding the shepherds,

and angels, who are singing. On the opposite fold of the door, and at the same height with the last mentioned compartment, is one presenting a continuation of the story, and exhibiting the arrival of the Magi, with their adoration of Christ, to whom they offer tribute; their court and servants are also shown following them, with horses and other accessories, all displaying infinite ability. Next to this is Christ disputing with the Doctors in the Temple; and here the admiring attention with which the doctors are listening to Christ is very finely expressed, as is the joy of Mary and Joseph at finding him. Above these there follows (to commence with that over the Annunciation), the Baptism of Christ, by John, in the river Jordan; and here the reverence of the one is as clearly expressed as is the faith of the other. Beside this is the Temptation of Christ by the devil, who, terrified by the words of Jesus, stands before him in an attitude of abject fear; showing that he knows Christ to be the Son of God. Next to this, on the opposite fold, is the Saviour driving the money changers from the Temple, overturning their tables, and casting forth the animals for sacrifice, the doves, and other merchandize. In this picture the figures of the expelled traders falling over each other in their flight, are full of grace and beauty, giving proof of infinite judgment in the artist. Beside the Expulsion from the Temple is the Shipwreck of the Apostles, with St. Peter, who, having descended from the ship, is sinking in the waves, but is supported by Jesus. This story exhibits a rich variety in the different attitudes of the Apostles, who are labouring to save the ship; and the faith of St. Peter is made manifest by his proceeding to join Christ on the water. On the other leaf, and over the story of the Baptism, is that of the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, wherein Lorenzo has shown, in the attitudes of the Apostles, how the eyes of mortals are dazzled by the sight of celestial glories; while the divinity of Christ is made obvious, as he holds his head aloft, and with extended arms appears between the figures of Moses and Elias. Beside this is the Resurrection of Lazarus from the dead: he issues from the sepulchre, and stands before the spectators with his hands and feet bound, to the infinite astonishment of all. Martha is present, with Mary Magdalene, who kisses the feet of the Saviour with the utmost reverence and hu-

mility. On the same level with these two last mentioned scenes, but on the opposite leaf of the door, is Christ entering Jerusalem, seated on the ass, while the children of the Hebrews cast their garments before Him, and strew the path of the Redeemer with palm leaves and olive branches; the Apostles are also shown, following their Master. Beside this scene is the Last Supper, an admirable composition, and full of beauty in all its parts: the figures are seated at a long table, half placed within and half without the chamber. Above the Transfiguration is the Saviour on the Mount of Olives, where the three Apostles are seen asleep in various attitudes of much truth and beauty. The story beside this is that of Christ betrayed by Judas, and taken by the Jews, which presents many admirable characteristics well meriting attentive consideration. The Apostles, who have been put to flight, exhibit many fine attitudes, while those of the Jews who take the Saviour captive equally display the violence they are using, and the triumph they feel. On the opposite fold of the door, and at the same height with these, is Christ bound to the column, his figure, bent beneath the flagellation, is somewhat contorted by the pain he suffers, and exhibits an attitude which awakens deep compassion, while a fearful rage and desire for vengeance are manifest in the gestures and faces of the Jews by whom he is tortured. Beside this story is that of Christ conducted before Pilate, who washes his hands, and condemns the Saviour to the cross.

Above the scene in the garden, on the other side, and in the last series of these representations, is Christ bearing his Cross, and led to death by a furious rabble of the soldiery, who, by the violence of their gestures, appear to drag Him forcibly along. The deep grief and bitter wailings of the Maries are also expressed with so much truth and vividness, that those who were present at this mournful spectacle can scarcely have seen it more clearly. Near to this picture is that of Christ crucified, with Our Lady and St. John the Evangelist seated on the earth, overwhelmed with grief and indignation. On the opposite fold of the door is then depicted the Resurrection, where the guards lie, like dead men, in a deep sleep, while the Saviour rises upwards; and such is the grace of his attitude, and the perfection of the beautiful limbs produced by the genius and patience of Lorenzo, that he does

indeed appear to be glorified. Finally, in the last compartment, appears the Holy Spirit descending on the Apostles; and truly exquisite are the attitudes and expressions of those who receive it.

This great work was carried forward to its completion without sparing either cost, time, or whatever else could promote the successful termination of the enterprise; the nude figures are in all parts most beautiful, and the draperies, although still retaining some slight trace of the older manner of Giotto's day, have, nevertheless, a direct tendency towards that of more modern times, and this gives to figures of that size a grace of character which is very attractive. The composition of each story is, of a truth, so well arranged, the figures are so judiciously grouped, and so finely executed, that the whole work richly deserves the praise bestowed on it in the commencement, by Filippo. The merits of Lorenzo were most honourably acknowledged by his fellow citizens, and from them in general, as well as from the artists in particular, whether compatriots or foreigners, he received the highest commendations. This work, with its exterior ornaments, which are also of metal, representing festoons of fruits, and figures of animals, cost 22,000 florins, and the door weighed 34,000 pounds.

This undertaking being completed,* the consuls of the Guild of Merchants considered that they had been extremely well served, and hearing the praises given to Lorenzo by all beholders, they determined that he should execute a second work, to be placed in one of the niches outside Or San Michele, and opposite to the building occupied by the cloth-dressers. This was a statue in bronze, four braccia and a half high, to the honour of St. John the Baptist. Lorenzo commenced the work accordingly; nor did he ever leave it until its entire completion: this figure also has been, and still is, highly commended: the name of the artist is engraved on the mantle. The statue of the Baptist was placed in the tabernacle designed for it in the year 1414,† and in the head, in

* From the works of Cambi, and that of Giuliano Ricci, we find that the door was finished and erected in April of the year 1424 — *Schorn*.

† Baldinucci, p 11, cites a passage from Ghiberti's own memoranda, wherein he has set down all the expenses of this work, with the remark that he has undertaken to cast the statue at his own cost. If it fail, he is to bear the loss; if it succeed, he is to receive from the Consuls the

an arm, which seems to be of the living flesh rather than of bronze, in the hands, and in the attitude, may be seen a commencement of the good modern manner. Lorenzo was the first who began to imitate the works of the ancient Romans, of which he was a zealous student, as all must be who would attain to perfection in their art. In the front and upper part of the tabernacle enclosing this figure, the master made an attempt in mosaic, placing there the half-length figure of a prophet *

The fame of Lorenzo had now extended not only throughout all Italy, but also into other countries, where he was considered the most ingenious of all the masters in foundry work, insomuch that Jacopo della Fonte, Donato, and the Sienese Vecchietto having executed certain figures and historical pieces in bronze for the Signoria of Siena, to be placed in their church of San Giovanni, and which were intended to adorn the baptismal font of that church, the Sienese (having seen the works of Lorenzo in Florence), agreed among themselves that he also should execute two stories for them: the subjects of these works were from the life of John the Baptist,† and in one was represented the Baptism of Christ by St. John, who is accompanied by many figures, some naked, others very richly dressed. The second exhibits the Baptist when taken and led before Herod. In these works Lorenzo greatly surpassed the artists who had executed the others, and was in consequence very highly commended by the Sienese, and by all who beheld the work.

The masters of the Mint had to furnish a statue for one of those niches of Or San Michele, which are opposite to the Guild of the Weavers. This statue was to represent St. Matthew, and to be of the same height with that of St. John above described. They confided the charge of it, therefore, to Lorenzo Ghiberti, who produced a work of the utmost perfection, and one which was more highly praised than that of St. John, the master having executed it more in the modern manner. The successful completion of this statue caused the Guild of the Woolstaplers to determine that our

price they were to pay to another master, to whom they had in the first instance proposed to entrust the work.

* Scarcely a trace of this mosaic now remains.—*Edl. Flor.* 1846-9.

† For more extended details, see Rumohr, *Ital Forsch.* vol. ii. p. 357

artist should execute another for the same place, likewise in bronze, and of the same proportions with that of St. Matthew. The figure was to represent St. Stephen, who was the patron saint of that guild, and was to be placed in the niche following that of St. Matthew. This also Lorenzo completed very happily, giving the bronze a very beautiful varnish, insomuch that this statue afforded no less satisfaction than those before mentioned, or than the other works performed in Florence by the same master.*

At that time Maestro Leonardo Dati was general of the Preaching Friars, and, desiring to leave to his country a memorial of himself in Santa Maria Novella, where he had taken his vows, he caused Lorenzo to construct a sepulchre of bronze, with his own figure, taken from nature, in a recumbent position thereon;† and from this work, which was very much admired, there arose another, which Ludovico degli Albizzi and Niccolo Valori caused to be constructed in the church of Santa Croce ‡

After these things, Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici desiring to do honour to the relics of the three martyrs, Protus, Hyacinthus, and Nemesius, caused their bodies to be brought from Casentino, where they had remained, receiving but little veneration, for many years, and commissioned Lorenzo to prepare a tomb of bronze § In the midst thereof are two angels, in basso-rilievo, holding a garland of olive, within which is inscribed the names of the aforesaid martyrs. In this tomb were placed the above-named relics, and it was fixed in the church belonging to the monastery of the Angeli, in Florence. On the lower part, and on that side which is turned towards the church of the monks, are the following words, engraved on marble :—

* These statues still retain their places.—*Ed Flor.* 1832-9.

† The sepulchre was erected at the expense of the convent and the republic, in acknowledgment of services rendered by Dati. Being in the pavement before the high altar, and having been trampled on for ages, this work has now suffered greatly.—*Ibid.*

‡ Ludovico degli Obizzi, that is; but of this work, now much worn, the design and model only belong to Ghiberti. The second name, moreover, is not Niccolo, but Bartolommeo Valori.—*Ibid.*

§ This tomb was broken up and sold as old metal, at the suppression of the monastery, under the French domination in Italy; but the pieces having been happily recovered, were joined together with infinite care, and are now in the Florentine Gallery, in the hall of the modern bronzes.—*Ibid.* 1832-8, and 1846-8.

“Clarissimi viri Cosmas et Laurentius fratres neglectas diu sanctorum reliquias martyrum religioso studio ac fidelissima pietate suis sumptibus æereis loculis condendas colendasque curarunt”

And on the outer side, where the little church faces towards the road, are the words hereafter recited, also engraved on marble, beneath the arms of the Medici :—

“Hic condita sunt corpora sanctorum Christi Martyrum Prothi et Hyacinthi, et Nemesii. Ann. Dom 1428.”

This work likewise succeeded perfectly well, and from that circumstance there arose a wish on the part of the wardens of Santa Maria del Fiore to have a sarcophagus and monument of bronze constructed by the same master, for the reception of the body* of San Zanobi, bishop of Florence. This tomb is three braccia and a half long and two high ; it is decorated with many and varied ornaments, and in the centre of the front Lorenzo has represented San Zanobi restoring to life a child who had been left to his care by the mother, and who had died while she was absent on a pilgrimage. In a second relief is also a child who has been killed by a wagon, with the same saint, who resuscitates one of the two servants or lay-brothers sent to him by Sant' Ambrogio, and of whom one had died in crossing the Alps. The companion of the dead servant stands before the saint bewailing his loss, when San Zanobi, moved to compassion, consoles him by the words, “be at peace : he doth but sleep, and thou shalt see him alive again” On the back of the tomb are six angels, who hold a garland of elm-leaves, within which are certain words to the praise of San Zanobi, and in memory of that saint. To this work also Lorenzo gave the most earnest care, and putting forth the many resources of his art, he finished it most successfully, insomuch that it was greatly celebrated, and considered an extraordinarily beautiful thing.†

While the works of Lorenzo, who executed innumerable commissions for various persons in gold and silver, as well as in bronze, were daily increasing his fame, it chanced that there fell into the hands of Giovanni, son of Cosmo de' Me-

* Bottari observes that this should be the head only, and not the body of San Zanobi.

† See Gaye, i, 543-4, note. The principal group in this work is engraved in Cicognara. See also the *Monumenti Sepolcrali della Toscana*, published by Gonnelli, and the *Metropolitana Fiorentina Illustrata*, Florence, 1820, plates 31-2.

dici, a large cornelian, on which the flaying of Marsyas by Apollo was represented in intaglio, which cornelian, as it was said, had once served the emperor Nero for a seal, and this being esteemed a rare thing, as well for the size of the stone, which was large, as for the marvellous beauty of the intaglio, Giovanni gave it to Lorenzo, to the end that he should make a gold ornament, also intaglio, to enclose and surround it ; at this work the master laboured several months, but when it was completed, the intaglio that he had executed around it was found to be no less beautiful and meritorious than was the admirably perfect engraving of the stone itself. The success of this work caused Lorenzo to receive commissions for many others in gold and silver, but which are not now to be found.* Among other ornaments he made a clasp or fastening of gold for pope Martin, which that pontiff wore in his cope : this was adorned with figures in full relief, and among them were placed jewels of very great price—a truly excellent work. He also made a wonderfully rich mitre, formed of foliage in gold, the leaves being wholly detached from the surface and of very beautiful effect : among them were also many small figures in full relief, which were considered marvellously fine. From this work the master not only acquired increase of fame, but also large rewards from the liberality of Pope Martin.

In the year 1439† pope Eugenius arrived in Florence to unite the Greek and Roman churches, when the Florentine council was held. The pope having seen the works of Lorenzo Ghiberti, and being no less pleased with them than with the artist himself, who was very acceptable to that pontiff, his holiness commanded him to make a mitre of gold, weighing fifteen pounds, with pearls, the weight of which was five pounds and a half, the whole being estimated—with the jewels also set in the mitre—at 30,000 ducats of gold. It is said that among these pearls were six of the size of filberts, and no imagination could conceive any thing more beautiful (according to what was afterwards seen in a design of the

* Pelli, *Saggio Storico della Galleria di Firenze*, remarks that the gold ornament of the cornelian, made for Giovanni de Medici, has for some time been no longer to be seen

† More correctly 1438, according to the Florentine computation.—*Masselli*.

whole) than the fanciful arrangement of these jewels, with the variety of figures, of children and others, which formed the varied and most graceful decoration of this work ;* for which the master received many favours from the pontiff both for himself and his friends, beside the first remuneration of his labours.†

The city of Florence had acquired so much glory and praise from the admirable works of this most ingenious artist, that a resolution was taken by the consuls of the Guild of the Merchants to give him a commission for the third door of San Giovanni, which was also to be of bronze. In the case of the first door, which Lorenzo had made, he had followed the directions of the consuls, as regarded the decoration of the frame-work, by which the figures were surrounded, since they had determined that the general form of all the doors should be similar to that constructed by Andrea Pisano. But having now seen how greatly Lorenzo had surpassed the elder master, the consuls resolved to change the position of the doors, and whereas that of Andrea had previously occupied the centre, they now placed it on the side of the building which stands opposite to the Misericordia,‡ proposing that the new door to be made by Lorenzo should be substituted for it, and should thenceforward occupy the centre ; for they fully expected that he would put forth every effort and zealously employ all the resources of his art, insomuch that they now

* Cellini, in the introduction to his Treatise on Goldsmith's Work, has the following passage in relation to our artist — "Lorenzo Ghiberti was indeed a goldsmith, as well for the elegant style of his beautiful workmanship, as for the infinite care and extreme delicacy of its finish. This man may truly be cited as an excellent goldsmith, for all his genius in that art of foundery was employed when he had to perform his smaller works ; and, although he sometimes set himself to execute large designs, yet it is easy to see that he was much more in his true profession when he was occupied with small ones," etc. None of Lorenzo's works in gold can now be found.

† Although Vasari has taken the above almost verbatim from the manuscript of Ghiberti himself, he has yet omitted the principal ornaments of this rich work. "On the front of the Mitre," says Ghiberti, "was the Redeemer, seated on his throne, and surrounded by angels ; while, on the back part, was the Virgin, with a similar attendance of angels." Figures of the four Evangelists, with many others representing angels, were also among the decorations of this splendid mitre. See Cicognara, v. 22.

‡ The Misericordia then stood where the Bigallo now is.

placed themselves in his hands without reserve, referring the whole matter entirely to his care, and declaring that they gave him full permission to proceed with the work as he should think best,* and to do whatever might most effectually secure that this third door should be the richest, most highly adorned, most beautiful and most perfect, that he could possibly contrive, or that could be imagined.† Nor would they have him spare either time or labour, to the end that as he had previously surpassed all the sculptors that had lived before him, so he might now eclipse and surpass all his own earlier works.

Lorenzo commenced the undertaking, calling all his knowledge and ability of every kind to aid. He divided his work

* "La quale mi fu data licenza io la conducesti in quel modo ch'io credessi tornasse più perfettamente e più ornata e più ricca." These are Ghiberti's own words. See Cicognara, iv, 222.

† The entire disposition of the work was left to Ghiberti, so far as the execution was concerned; but it was the Consuls, who had charge of the whole, by whom the determination to choose subjects from the Old Testament was made. These were, indeed, selected and described by Leonardo Aretino, as appears from a letter of his to the *Deputati* themselves. This has been published by Patch in the first illustration of these doors, now very rare; as also by Richa, and in Rumohr, vol ii, p. 354. It is nevertheless of sufficient importance to warrant its reproduction here. On the outside we have the following — "Respectable men, Nicholas of Uzzano and Companions, *Deputati*, etc. Within, the letter commences in like manner, "Respectable men, etc. I consider that for the ten stories of the new door, which you have determined to choose from the Old Testament, two things must be secured, and above all the first, which is, that they be such as are capable of illustration; the other requisite is, that they be significant. Now, by capable of illustration, I mean, possessing qualities that may satisfy the eye by the variety of design they demand for their due representation; and by significant, I mean, that the events themselves have such importance as to render them worthy of being remembered. Presupposing these two qualities, I have selected, according to my judgment, ten histories, which I send you described fully. But it is needful that he who hath to design them should be well instructed in each history, to the end that he may represent both the persons and their actions, in suitable order and character. He must further have a certain elegance of fancy, that he may be able to adorn them as becometh. In addition to the ten histories, I have selected eight Prophets, as you will see. Nor do I make any doubt but that this work, if done as I have intimated to you, will be an admirable thing. But fain would I be beside him who will have to design it, that I might make him perceive the full significance of every point in each story. Recommending myself to you, your **LEONARDO OF AREZZO.**"

into ten compartments, or pictures, five on each side, which gave to each compartment one braccio and a third, around the whole and serving as an ornament to the frame-work which encloses the stories, are niches filled with figures in almost full relief, the number of which is twenty, all of exceeding beauty. Among others is the naked form of Sampson, with a jaw bone in his hand and his arm round a column, and this exhibits a degree of perfection which will bear comparison with that displayed by the ancients in their figures of Hercules, whether in bronze or marble. The same may be said of Joshua, who is in the act of addressing his army, and really seems to speak: there are besides, many prophets and sybils, adorned in a richly-varied manner, and displaying the utmost fertility of invention in draperies, head-dresses, ornaments of the hair, and other decorations. Twelve* figures, in a recumbent position, were placed in the niches, which are at each corner; and on the angles, in circular cavities, the master executed female heads, with those of youths and old men, the number of all being thirty-four.† Among these heads, towards the centre of the door and near to the place where the master has engraved his name, is the portrait of his father-in-law Bartoluccio, which is the oldest of the series, while that of the youngest man is the head of Lorenzo himself, the author of the whole work. There are besides innumerable decorations of foliage, cornices, and other ornaments, all arranged and perfected with the utmost ability and the most zealous care. The folds of this door are adorned, as we have said, with stories from the Old Testament—the first presents the Creation of Adam, and Eve, his wife, whose figures exhibit the very perfection of beauty; and here we perceive that Lorenzo has had it at heart to give them the most exquisite forms that he could devise, intending to show that as our first parents came from the hand of God, the most beautiful of all the creatures that had been made, so in his work they were designed to surpass all the others that he had ever produced in any of his works: without doubt a most worthy consideration. In the same picture are seen our first parents eating the apple, and also at the moment

* The number of recumbent figures is four only.—*Schorn*.

† Here also there is an error, probably of the press, in the number, which is not thirty-four, but twenty-four.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

when they are driven out of Paradise : and here the attitudes of the figures express the first effects of their sin; they are made aware of their nakedness, which they seek to conceal. We finally see them receive their punishment, being compelled by the angel to depart from Paradise.

In the second compartment are Adam and Eve, with their two little children, Cain and Abel. These last are also shown when Abel is offering the best of his flock in sacrifice, while Cain presents the less worthy oblation. The expression of the latter displays his envy of his brother—that of Abel makes manifest the love he bears to God. One part of this picture is of singular beauty : it exhibits Cain ploughing the earth with a pair of oxen, whose labour, and the efforts they make beneath the yoke, are so admirably exhibited, that they seem alive and in positive motion. The same may be said of the figure of Abel, who is keeping his flocks : he is then slain by his brother, and here the movements of Cain are full of violence; his expression is that of pitiless cruelty, as he strikes his brother with his club, while the bronze itself has been made to exhibit the languor of death in the most beautiful form of Abel. In the distance, moreover, and executed in basso-rilievo, is seen the Almighty Father, demanding from Cain what he has done with his brother. Each of the compartments comprise four stories. In the third Lorenzo represented the patriarch Noah issuing from the ark, with his wife, his sons, his daughters, and the wives of his sons, together with all the animals, those of the air as well as of the earth : all these creatures are finished with such perfection of excellence, each in its kind, that it is not possible for art more effectually to imitate nature. The open ark is seen in the extreme distance, with the desolation caused by the deluge : this part is in perspective and in the lowest relief (*bassissimo-rilievo*), the whole being treated with the utmost delicacy : the figures of Noah and his sons could not possibly be more full of life, as they offer their sacrifice to God, while the rainbow, the sign of peace between God and Noah, is seen in the heavens. But much the most admirable of all is the scene when Noah has planted the vine, and having drunk of the fruit thereof has become inebriated, and is exposed to the derision of Ham, his son. And of a truth, no sleeping figure could be more exactly imitated, the utter abandonmen

of the intoxicated limbs is finely rendered the love and consideration exhibited by the other sons of Noah are equally well expressed, and the attitudes of the latter are beautiful. The vine, the cask, with all the requisites of the vintage, are moreover exhibited but with so much judgment and all so treated, that they do not impede the action of the story, but on the contrary increase its force and give it most appropriate ornament. For the fourth story of this compartment Lorenzo has chosen the appearance of the three angels in the valley of Mamre: these figures have a close resemblance to each other: the holy patriarch is seen in the act of adoration before his celestial visitors, his hands are folded, and the expression of his countenance is most life-like and appropriate. The servants with the ass, who are represented as awaiting Abraham at the foot of the mountain, whither he has gone to make the sacrifice of his son, are equally excellent. Isaac stands naked on the altar, while the father, with upraised arm, is in the act of proving his obedience, when he is prevented by the angel, who arrests his arm with one hand, while he points with the other to the animal which he is to offer in sacrifice, and thus delivers Isaac from death. This story is of a truth exceedingly beautiful, and among other matters worthy of observation is the great difference between the delicate limbs of Isaac and those of the more robust servants, insomuch that there does not seem to have been a touch given which had not been calculated with the nicest exactitude and the most perfect knowledge of art. In the difficult matter of representing the buildings, Lorenzo appears to have surpassed himself in this work: the birth of Isaac's sons, Esau and Jacob, with the chase of the former, at the desire of his father, must also be particularized: Jacob conducted by Rebecca, is offering the prepared kid, the skin of which his mother has wrapped around his throat, while Isaac stretches out his hands towards him and bestows the benediction: all these things are admirably represented; there are besides many beautiful dogs in this picture, and the figures of Isaac, of Jacob, and of Rebecca, must needs exhibit precisely the effect produced in their actual life.*

Animated and exalted by the study of his art, its difficulties became daily more familiar to the master, and presented

* The design for this compartment is in the Museum of Paris — See *Schorn, German Translation of Vasari*, vol. II, p. 120.

less formidable obstacles to his efforts, insomuch that he was constantly emboldened to new enterprises. His sixth compartment represents Joseph cast by his brethren into the well, and also his deliverance therefrom by the merchants, by whom he is presented to Pharaoh;* the interpretation of Pharaoh's dream is likewise exhibited, with the precautions taken to provide for the years of famine and the honours rendered to Joseph by Pharaoh. Then follows the patriarch Jacob despatching his sons into Egypt for the purpose of buying corn, where, being recognised by Joseph, he causes them to return to their father. In this story Lorenzo displayed his mastery over the difficulties of perspective, in a circular temple, which is one of the objects; there are, besides, various figures differently occupied in loading corn and meal, with asses, which are also most naturally represented. The feast given by Joseph to his brethren, the concealment of the gold cup in the sack of Benjamin, its discovery, with the return of the travellers to Joseph, who makes himself known to and embraces his brethren—all these things are here shown, and this story, for the varied passions and affections portrayed in it, as well as for the many rich accessories, is considered to be the most remarkable, difficult, and beautiful of the whole work.

But Lorenzo was, of a truth, endowed with so fine a genius, and possessed so peculiar a grace in the execution of the figures here described, that when his mind became occupied in the composition of a beautiful story, he could not well do otherwise than produce exquisite forms; and this we may infer from the seventh compartment, which represents Mount Sinai, with Moses on the summit, receiving the Laws from God, and kneeling in adoration, with the appropriate expression of reverence: midway up the mountain, is Joshua, who is awaiting the return of Moses, and the assembled people are gathered at the foot of the Mount, terrified by the thunders, lightnings, and earthquakes, and exhibiting an infinite variety of attitude, all represented with the utmost truth and nature. The master has also shown great love and diligence in the

* This is evidently departing from Scripture; but neither does Vasari faithfully describe the work in this particular. The only circumstance correctly given in the text is that of Joseph taken from the well. Vasari has partly followed the text of Ghiberti, who is rather describing the history as it occurred than his own work. Neither is the description of the scenes which succeeds the text precisely accurate.—*Schorn*.

third compartment, wherein he has pourtrayed Joshua proceeding against Jericho, and causing the river Jordan to flow backwards. He has here represented twelve tents, for the twelve tribes, all full of highly animated figures: and still more beautiful are some others, in basso-rilievo, who are proceeding with the ark around the walls of the aforesaid city, when those walls are overthrown at the sound of the trumpets, and Jericho is taken by the Hebrews. In this picture the relief of the landscape is gradually lowered, so that the distance is increased with great judgment, and the true proportions of the first figures to the mountains, with those of the mountains to the city, and of the city to the distant country, are observed with infinite care, the degrees of relief being regulated with the nicest judgment, and the whole work conducted to the utmost perfection: the experience of the master, and his power in his art, increasing from day to day. In the ninth picture he has represented the Giant Goliath, with David, in a proud yet childlike attitude, who cuts off the Philistine's head, when the army of God destroys that of the pagan. Here the artist has represented horses, chariots, and all the other accessories appertaining to war. In another part is seen David returning with the head of Goliath in his hand, and received by the people, who meet him with songs and the sound of instruments, all pourtrayed with perfect truth and full of animation. There now remained for Lorenzo to put forth all his strength for the tenth and last picture, where the Queen of Sheba, with a splendid retinue, pays her visit to King Solomon. Here there is a building drawn in perspective, and exceedingly fine, with a variety of figures similar to those in the previous stories. Nor less carefully and perfectly executed are the decorations of the architraves and the framework surrounding these doors, among which are fruits and festoons of foliage finished with the accustomed excellence of the master.*

In this work, whether taken in detail or considered as a whole, we have proof of the wonders that may be accomplished by the fertile invention and practised ability of the

*Lorenzo himself speaks of this work in the following manner.—“I have done my best in all respects to imitate Nature, so far as was in my power. Some of the histories represented, contain more than a hundred figures, others have less; but all have been done with my best diligence.”

decorations of foliage thus left incomplete by his father, with great zeal and diligence; and this ornament is one of the rarest and most beautiful specimens of work in bronze that can possibly be seen. Bonaccorso died young, and did not produce so many works as he most probably would have done, seeing that the secret of casting in such a manner that the work should succeed well and present an extreme delicacy of appearance, remained to him, as well as that of perforating the metal in the mode observable in the works left by Lorenzo, who, to say nothing of his own performance, bequeathed many relics of antiquity to his family, some in marble, others in bronze. Among these was the bed of Polycletus, which was a most rare thing;* a leg of bronze, of the size of life, with certain heads, male and female, and some vases, which Lorenzo had caused to be brought from Greece at no small cost. He also left the torsi of many figures, with a great number of similar things, which were all dispersed; and, like the property acquired by Lorenzo, suffered to be destroyed and squandered. Some of these antiquities were sold to Messer Giovanni Gaddi, then "Cherico di Camera", and among them was the aforesaid bed of Polycletus and some other matters, which formed the better part of the collection.†

Bonaccorso left a son called Vittorio, who studied sculpture, but with very little success, as may be seen from the heads which he executed in the palace of the duke of Gra-

giving them the fatal thrust, which would leave his holiness suspended in the air. Jacopo Salviati, in the garb of a monk, was assisting in this operation; and the emperor was seated near, with a naked sword in his hand, on the point of which was written, '*Amici, ad quid venisti?*' and which he held towards the pontiff."

* Schorn remarks that it is not easy to say what is meant by this "bed of Polycletus", but he inclines to think the recumbent figure in Greek marble, now in the Florentine gallery, to be that here alluded to. He refers his readers to Fiorillo, *Geschichte der Malerei*, i, 429.

† Among these were the torso of a Satyr, a work of the best period of Greece, with those of a copy of the Medicean Venus, and of a winged genius; another torso of another Venus, a Narcissus and a Mercury were also of the number. The first of these torsi is in the Florentine gallery; the second, on the extinction of the Gaddi family, passed into the possession of a Marchese di Sorbello, who had married a lady of that house, and who presented the torso to a Signor Oddi of Perugia, his nephew (whose family still possesses a valuable collection of antiquities in that city). The third, which is believed to be a work of Praxiteles, and which came also to the Marchese di Sorbello, was afterwards possessed by the Cav

vina, and which are not well done : this arose from the fact that he never devoted himself to his art with the love and diligence required to ensure success, but thought only of squandering the property and possessions of his father and grandfather. This Vittorio ultimately repaid to Ascoli, whither he had been summoned to serve as architect under Pope Paul III, and where he was murdered in the night by one of his servants, who had planned to rob him. Thus the family of Lorenzo Ghiberti became extinct, but not so his fame, which will endure to all eternity.*

But let us return to our artist, during his lifetime he gave his attention to various branches of art, and took delight in painting and working in glass. It was by him that the rose-windows around the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore were made, one only excepted, that namely in which is represented Christ crowning the Virgin, and this is from the hand of Donato. The three windows above the principal door of Santa Maria del Fiore are likewise by Lorenzo Ghiberti, with all those of the chapels and tribunes,† as well as the rose window in the façade of Santa Croce. This master also made a window for the principal chapel of the capitular church of Arezzo; on it is represented the Coronation of Our Lady, with two other figures, all which were done for Lazzaro di Feo‡ di Baccio, a very rich merchant of that city ; but as all these windows were made of Venetian glass of very dark colour, they tend rather to obscure than to enlighten the buildings wherein they are constructed. Lorenzo was appointed to assist Brunellesco, when the latter received the commission for the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore, but this arrangement was afterwards altered, as will be related in the life of that master. The same Lorenzo wrote a book in the vulgar-tongue, wherein

Lorenzo Adami. The three others passed into the possession of the Signori Nerli, "and were presented by them to the Academy of Fine Arts in Siena," remarks Masselli; but a note to the latest Florentine edition (that of 1849) closes the account of these torsi with the following words:—"The fate of the last three is unknown to us."

* Baldinucci denies that the family of Lorenzo became extinct in this Vittorio. See his third volume, p. 49.

† The windows designed for Santa Maria del Fiore by Ghiberti, were such as he tells us himself, in his *Commentario*.—*Ed. Flor.* 1845-9.

‡ Bottari corrects this name, which he says should be Lazzaro di Giovanni di Feo de' Bracci, according to the Aretine archives. The window has for some time past been destroyed.

he discoursed of many and various matters, but in such sort that but little profit can be derived from it. The only thing good that there is in the book, according to my judgment, is the fact, that after speaking of many ancient painters, more particularly of those cited by Pliny, he makes a brief mention of Cimabue, Giotto, and many others of those times, but this he does with much more brevity than was fitting, and that for no better reason than to give himself the opportunity of falling with a good grace into discourse concerning himself, and enumerating as he does, with the most minute description, all his own works one after another. Nor will I conceal that he seems to intimate that this book is made by others, but in the course of the work, discoursing of himself (like a man better versed in making designs, in working with his chisel, and in casting bronze than in the weaving of stories), he speaks in the first person, and says "I made", "I said", "I was doing", and "I was saying."* Finally, having attained the sixty-fourth year of his life, Ghiberti was attacked by a violent and continuous fever, of which he died,† leaving an eternal memorial of his existence in his works, as well as in the writings of authors: he was honourably interred in Santa Croce. The portrait of Lorenzo is on the principal bronze door of San Giovanni; it is seen in the centre when the doors are closed, among the decorations of the border; the head is bald, and beside this portrait of Ghiberti is that of Bartoluccio, his father; near them are the following words:—

"LAURENTII CIONIS DI Ghibertis MIRA ARTE FABRICATUM."‡

The drawings of Lorenzo are most excellent, and have much relief, as may be seen in our book of collected designs, from an Evangelist by his hand, as well as from some other figures in chiaro-scuro, which are truly beautiful.

Bartoluccio also, the father§ of Lorenzo, drew moderately well, as is shown by another Evangelist from his hand, in the same book, but which is considerably inferior to that of

* This work of Ghiberti (manuscript) is in Florence, in the Magliabecchiana Library.

† The death of Lorenzo took place in the year 1455, when he must have been seventy-five, or, as some writers say, seventy-seven years old.—*Ed Flor.* 1846-9.

‡ The tomb of Ghiberti is not now to be found.—*Ibid.*

§ Step-father.

Lorenzo. These drawings, with some by Giotto and other masters, I received in the year 1528, while still but a youth, from Vittorio Ghiberti. I have always held, and still hold them in high estimation, for their own merits as well as from reverence to the memory of men so distinguished. But if at the time when I lived in close intimacy and continual intercourse with Vittorio, I had known as much as I now know, I could easily have gained possession of many other things by Lorenzo, which were very fine. Many verses, both in Latin and Italian, have been made at different times in praise of Lorenzo; but of all these, that I may be the less wearisome to my reader, it shall suffice me to repeat the following :—

“Dum cernit valvas aurato ex ære nitentes
In templo Michael Angelus, obstupuit:
Attonitusque diu, sic alta silentia rupit:
O divinum opus! O janua digna polo!”

MASOLINO DA PANICALE, PAINTER, OF FLORENCE.

[BORN ABOUT 1403—DIED ABOUT 1440.]

THE happiness of those who approach the highest point of the science in which they labour to attain perfection, must in my opinion be very great, more especially when, in addition to the satisfaction assured to all who strive conscientiously, they perceive themselves to derive some benefit from their labours. Such men, without doubt, lead a most peaceful and happy life. And if it happen that one whose days are thus occupied in the upright endeavour to reach the true end of his existence and acquire the perfection to which he aspires, should be suddenly surprised by death, yet his memory does not become wholly extinct, if he have indeed meritoriously striven to advance on the true path. Therefore every one should do his utmost to reach perfection, for even though he should be cut off in the midst of his career, his fame will be secured and he will receive praise, if not for the works that he has been unable to finish, yet certainly for the upright

intention and earnest study which will be perceived and acknowledged in the little that he may have completed.*

Masolino da Panicale of Valdelsa, was a disciple of Lorenzo di Bartoluccio Ghiberti, and in his early years was a very good worker in gold: among all those who assisted Lorenzo in the labour of the doors of San Giovanni, Masolino was the most efficient as respected the draperies of the figures, in the finishing of which he displayed great ability and an excellent manner: in the use of the chisel also his intelligence and judgment was evinced in the softness and perfection of roundness which he imparted to the human form, as well as to the vestments. At the age of nineteen Masolino attached himself to painting, and to this art his life was ever afterwards devoted: he acquired the principles of colouring under Gherardo della Starnina,† and having repaired to Rome for the purpose of studying there, he painted the hall of the ancient palace of the Orsini family in Monte Giordano, while dwelling in that city. But his health being injured by the air of Rome, which painfully affected his head, he returned to Florence, where, in the church of the Carmine, he painted the figure of San Piero beside the chapel of the Crucifixion, a work which is still to be seen in that place.‡ This San Piero was greatly commended by contemporary artists, and caused Masolino to receive a commission for painting the chapel of the Brancacci family, in the same church. Here he depicted stories from the life of St. Peter, and part of these he completed with equal zeal and success: the four Evangelists on the ceiling, namely,§ the story of Christ calling Andrew and Peter from their nets, that which depicts the repentance of the latter for the sin he had committed in denying his master, and the preaching of the same apostle for the conversion of the Gentiles. By Masolino is likewise the

* For certain details relating to Masolino, see Lanzi, *History of Painting*, vol. 1, p. 75. See also Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.* ii, 245.

† So that the first master of the day, as regarded composition, was Masolino's instructor in that department of his art; and the first colourist his teacher in colouring. See Lanzi, *ut supra*. But the later Florentine editors question the fact of Masolino's having received instruction from Starnina.

‡ It is no longer there, having been destroyed, together with the San Paolo of Masaccio, in the year 1675, when the chapel of Sant' Andrea Orsini was constructed.—*Schorn*.

§ These paintings of the ceiling have been restored.—*Ibid*.

story representing the shipwreck of the Apostles, with that of St. Peter raising his daughter Petronilla from the dead, and in this he portrayed the last-named apostle going with St. John to the temple, and finding the sick beggar in the portico, whom, when he implored an alms, not being able to bestow either gold or silver, St. Peter liberates from his infirmity by making the sign of the cross. All the figures of this work are painted in a very grand manner and with much grace: they exhibit, moreover, great softness and harmony in the colouring, with considerable force of design. The entire work was infinitely admired for much in it that was new, many considerations having been kept in view by Masolino, which were wholly foreign to the manner of Giotto; but this undertaking remained incomplete, because the master was overtaken by death.*

Masolino da Panicale was a man of admirable genius, and his works, which it is manifest that he executed throughout with infinite love and care, are distinguished by their harmony and facility.† His too zealous study and the fatigues to which he perpetually subjected himself, so weakened his frame that confirmed ill health ensued: his life was prematurely terminated, and the world was cruelly deprived of this master while he was still but at the early age of thirty-seven: thus were cut short the hopes and expectations which had been conceived by all from his labours. The paintings of Masolino da Panicale date about the year 1440.‡

Paolo Schiavo, who painted the figure of the Virgin at the corner of the Gori,§ took great pains to imitate the manner of

* Some of the commentators assert that the unfinished paintings of Masolino were completed by Massaccio and Filippino. Others maintain that he finished those he commenced; but not surviving to accomplish all the pictures proposed for the chapel of the Brancacci, those he left to be commenced, were afterwards executed by the above-named masters.

† Among the few works of Masolino remaining, is one—attributed to this master—in the Royal Gallery of Berlin; with a second in that of Schlesheim. The subject of the former is St. Helena, standing on the sea-shore, and superintending the reception of corn for the wants of the people; the latter is the Salutation of the Virgin.

‡ Or, according to some writers, between 1405 and 1418; but a comparison of the whole question, appears to shew that Vasari's date is the more probable one.

§ Now called the Cantonelli, a corruption of *Canto de' Nelli*, which is near. This painting is still to be seen, or rather was to be seen—for it

Masolino. I have frequently examined the works of the latter very carefully, and find his manner essentially different from that of those who preceded him. He imparted much dignity to his figures, with great freedom to the draperies, which he caused to flow gracefully in rich folds. His heads, also, are greatly superior to those painted by earlier masters, since he has given more life and movement to the eyes, with increased beauty to many other parts of the human frame. He began also to have a clearer perception of what is required for the successful management of light and shadow; gave his figures considerable relief, and effected many very difficult foreshortenings. Of this we see an instance, among others, in the Beggar who implores alms of St Peter, and the leg of whom, bent backwards, is admirably treated. Masolino likewise began to impart an expression of sweetness to his female heads, with a grace and elegance to the draperies of young men, which were not attained by the elder masters, and the perspective of his drawing is tolerably correct*. But the peculiarity which most distinguished Masolino was the beauty of his fresco paintings: these he executed most admirably, the colours being so delicately blended and harmonized, that his carnations have all the softness which it is possible to imagine;† insomuch that if he had possessed the power of drawing perfectly, as he most probably would have done had he been granted a longer life, this master would have deserved to be numbered among the best; his works being executed gracefully, in a grand manner, with softness and harmony in the colouring, and much relief and force in the drawing, although this last is not in all respects perfect.‡

is grievously injured by restorations—at the commencement of the Via dell' Ariento.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

* Four drawings by Masolino will be found among those of the Florentine collection.—*Schorn.*

† For more exact details on this subject, see Forster, *Beiträgen zur Kunstgeschichte*, p. 218.

‡ In the first edition of Vasari is the following epitaph on this master.—

“Hunc puerum rapuit mors improba sed tamen omnes
Pingendo senes vicerat ille prius”

PARRI SPINELLI, PAINTER, OF AREZZO.

[BORN . . .—WAS LIVING IN 1444.]

THE Aretine painter, Parri di Spinello Spinelli,* acquired the first principles of his art under the discipline of his father;† but being taken to Florence by Messer Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo,‡ was there received into the school of Lorenzo Ghiberti, where many young men were studying under the care of that great master. At that time the doors of San Giovanni were in process of completion, and on the figures of this work Parri di Spinello was employed, as we have before said, with many others. While thus occupied, he contracted an intimacy with Masolino di Panicale, whose mode of drawing pleased Spinelli so much, that he took pains to imitate him in many respects, as he did also the manner of Don Lorenzo degli Angeli in certain others.

The figures of Parri Spinelli are more slender than those of any painter who preceded him; he also gave them much greater length, insomuch that where other masters gave the proportion of ten heads only, Parri gave eleven, and sometimes even twelve: nor are they in the slightest degree ungraceful on that account; slight and flexible, they are always bending either to the right or left, from which circumstance, as it appeared to him, and as he sometimes said, they derive an air of life and spirit. This master painted his draperies very delicately; the folds are rich, and they fall gracefully from the shoulders of his figures to the feet, with good effect. Parri worked extremely well in distemper, but in fresco his colouring is perfect; and he was the first who, in fresco painting, omitted those greenish tints beneath the carnations, which were afterwards painted over with flesh colours in *chiaro-scuro*, after the manner of paintings in water colours, as had been the custom with Giotto and the other old masters. Parri, on the contrary, used body colours, which he applied with the nicest caution, as his judgment dictated their places; the lights, that is to say, on the points most in relief; the middle tints in their due positions; and the darks towards the outline. By this mode of treatment his works were pro-

* Gasparri was the proper name of this artist.

† Spinello Aretino. See his life, *ante*, p. 255.

‡ The well-known historian and secretary of the Florentine republic.

duced with greater facility, and a longer duration was secured to his paintings in fresco. Having laid the colours in their places, he afterwards harmonized and blended them with a large soft brush; and this he did with so much delicacy that nothing better can be desired, and certainly his colouring has no equal.

When Parri had been absent many years from his native city, he was recalled to Arezzo by his relations, on the death of his father; and there, among many works which it would occupy too much of our time to describe, he executed some that we must by no means pass over in silence. To these belong the three figures of the Virgin, each differing from the other, which he painted in fresco in the *Duomo Vecchio*, as also does the story of the Beato Tommasuolo, a confessor and hermit of that time, and a man of very holy life, which he painted in fresco within the principal door of the same church. It was the custom of this holy person to carry in his hand a mirror, within which he beheld, as he affirmed, the Passion of Christ. The master has therefore represented the Beato kneeling, with the mirror, which he raises towards heaven, in his right hand; while amidst the clouds above is Jesus Christ enthroned, with all the mysteries of the Passion around him; all which, with the most admirable art, he has given reflected in that mirror with such perfection that not the Beato Tommasuolo only, but all who look at the picture may behold them clearly. This was, without doubt, an extraordinary and difficult invention, and so admirably well executed, that many succeeding artists have been taught by it to produce various effects, and paint many subjects by means of a mirror.* And, since we are speaking on this subject, I will not omit to mention a certain action of this holy man performed in the above-named city of Arezzo. Occupied with perpetual efforts to persuade the Aretines to live in peace with each other, he preached to them without ceasing on that subject, sometimes predicting to them the various misfortunes that could not fail to result from their discords. Perceiving at length that he wasted his time, the said Beato one day entered the palace, where the council of sixty was accustomed to assemble, and finding them, as usual, in those deliberations

* All the fresco paintings of the *Duomo Vecchio* were destroyed, together with the cathedral itself, in the year 1561.

with which he saw them daily occupied, although they never resolved on any thing that was not to the injury of the city, Tommasuolo waited until the whole council had assembled, when he gathered a vast mass of burning brands into the folds of his vestment, and entering the hall wherein the sixty, with all the other magistrates of the city were seated, he threw the whole among their feet, boldly exclaiming "Look to yourselves, rulers of Arezzo; the fire is among you; beware of your ruin;" this said, he departed. But such was the effect of his simplicity and zeal that, as it pleased God, these words and this action of the holy man accomplished what all his preachings and threatenings had hitherto failed to do; insomuch that the counsellors becoming thenceforward more united in purpose, ruled the city for many years in great concord, to the peace and quiet of the whole community.

But to return to Parri Spinelli: having completed the frescoes of the Duomo Vecchio, he painted a chapel, in fresco, in the church belonging to the hospital of San Cristofano, beside the Brotherhood of the Annunciation. This work was executed at the cost of Mona Mattea dei Testi, wife of Carcascion Florinaldi, who left a very handsome revenue to that little church: the subject is Christ crucified; while around and above are many angels hovering about in the darkened air, and weeping bitterly. At the foot of the cross, on one side, are seen Mary Magdalene and the other Maries, who hold the fainting Mother of Jesus in their arms, with San Jacopo and San Cristofano, on the other side. On the walls around, Spinelli depicted Santa Caterina, San Niccolo, the Annunciation, and Jesus Christ bound to the column; and in the arch above the door of the same church was a Dead Christ, with Our Lady and St. John: but the paintings of the chapel are ruined, and those over the door of the church were destroyed when the door was replaced by one of modern workmanship, in *macigno*, the revenues of the brotherhood being alienated

* In San Cristofano—now the church of the Oblate of Santa Caterina, transferred thither two years since. The only work now remaining by Parri Spinelli, is that of the high altar, which represents Christ crucified, with angels weeping around, and the Maries at the foot of the cross. Beneath are the following words.—

"HOC OPUS FACTUM FUIT ANNO DOMINI MCCCXCLIV DIE IV MENSIS DECEMBRIS."—*Ed Flor.* 1846-9.

at the same time, to establish a convent of one hundred nuns. Now for this convent Giorgio Vasari had made a well and carefully constructed model; but it was afterwards altered, or rather transformed into a miserable failure, by those who most unworthily received charge of the building. For it often happens that one stumbles upon crafty or conceited men, who are for the most part thoroughly ignorant, but who give themselves airs of pretence, and arrogantly presume to attempt the erection or superintendence of buildings, thereby frequently ruining the arrangements, and spoiling the models of men who have consumed their lives in the study and practice of the art, and who are fully capable of constructing judiciously such works as they undertake. These things occur, to the serious injury of posterity, which is thus deprived of the utility, convenience, beauty, and grandeur proper to all important fabrics, but more especially requisite to those which are to be used for the public service.

PARRI Spinelli worked also in the church of San Bernardo, a monastery of the monks of Monte Oliveto, where he painted two chapels, being those immediately within the principal door, and standing one on each side of it. In that on the right hand, and which is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the master painted a group, representing God the Father, who supports the body of Christ crucified in his arms; and above this is the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, surrounded by a choir of angels. On one of the walls of the same chapel he also painted figures of saints, in fresco, which are admirably done. The second chapel is dedicated to Our Lady, and here Spinelli has represented the Nativity of Christ, wherein are certain women who wash the Divine infant in a little wooden vessel; and in depicting this circumstance the artist has portrayed the figures with a feminine grace of action which is charming. There are also numerous shepherds in the distance, guarding their flocks: they are clothed in the rustic habiliments proper to that time, are full of life, and listen with the utmost attention to the words of the angel, who is commanding them to repair to Nazareth. On the opposite wall is the Adoration of the Magi; and here are depicted carriages of various kinds, with camels, giraffes, and all the camp and followers of those three kings; the latter, reverently offering their treasures, adore the infant Christ,

who is on the lap of his mother. In addition to these pictures, our artist painted several others, in fresco, on the ceiling, and other parts of the church.*

We find it related that when Parri Spinelli was occupied with these works, Fra Bernardino da Siena, a monk of the order of St. Francis, and a man of holy life, was preaching in Arezzo, and having induced many of his brother monks to devote themselves truly to the practices of religion, and converted many other persons, caused Parri to prepare the model of a church which he was constructing for these his converts; after which, having heard that many disorders and evil deeds were committed near a fountain situated in a wood about a mile from the city, San Bernardino proceeded thither one morning, followed by the whole assembled people of Arezzo, and bearing a large wooden cross in his hand, which it was his habit to carry. Here, after having preached a solemn discourse, San Bernardino caused the fountain to be demolished, and the wood to be cut down. Shortly afterwards he laid the foundation of a small chapel in honour of Our Lady, with the title of Santa Maria delle Grazie,† and in this he commissioned Parri Spinelli to paint the glorious Virgin, who, opening her arms, covers with her mantle the whole people of Arezzo. This work the master accomplished, and that most Holy Virgin has since worked, and continues to work, many miracles in that place. At a later period the people of Arezzo caused a most magnificent church to be erected on this site, and in the midst of the building is placed the figure of the Virgin executed by Parri;§ while for this work many rich decorations in marble, with numerous figures around and upon the altar, have been made, as has been related in the life of Luca della Robbia, and of his nephew Andrea, and as will be further set forth in the lives of those who from time to time have adorned that holy place with

* No trace now remains of these paintings.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

† The church of Sargiano, built by Parri, no longer exists as a church, having been annexed as a sacristy to the magnificent building now seen. The external walls remain, and shew the manner in which the church was decorated by Spinelli.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

‡ The convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie now belongs to the nuns of Santa Theresa. Parri's Madonna is on the high-altar of the church.

§ This sacred image is still venerated as here described, but a restoration has totally changed its original form.—*Ed. Flor.* 1849.

their works. Some short time after, Parri di Spinello, moved by the great veneration which he bore to the holy man San Bernardino, portrayed that saint, in fresco, on one of the large pillars of the Duomo Vecchio; and in the same place, in a chapel dedicated to San Bernardino,* he painted that holy person glorified in heaven, and surrounded by a vast concourse of angels, with three half figures, one on each side, representing Patience and Poverty, and one above representing the figure of Chastity, three virtues with which that saint had held close companionship even to his death. Under the feet of San Bernardino were several bishops' mitres and cardinals' hats, to intimate the scorn in which the saint had held worldly things, and his contempt for such dignities. Beneath these pictures was the city of Arezzo, depicted as it appeared at that time. For the Brotherhood of the Annunciation, Parri painted, in fresco, in a little oratory or "maestà,"† without the Duomo, Our Lady receiving the Annunciation from the angel: terrified by his approach, the Virgin turns away from the sacred messenger. In the centre of the ceiling, which is cross-vaulted, the master has painted angels, two in each angle; they hover in the air, and, sounding various instruments, one might almost believe one heard the soft harmony of the music. On the walls are four saints, two on each side. But the power possessed by this master of varying the expression of his conceptions is most vividly expressed in two pictures, one on each of the piers by which the arch, once the entrance to this tabernacle, is supported. These represent, on one side, a figure of Charity suckling one infant, with most affectionate expression, while she caresses a second, and holds a third by the hand. On the other side is Faith, depicted in a manner entirely new, having in one hand the chalice with the cross, and in the other a cup of cold water, which she pours on the head of a boy, thus rendering him a Christian. These figures are, without doubt, the best executed by Parri Spinelli in his whole life; and, even when compared with modern works, are considered wonderfully fine.‡

* When the Duomo was destroyed, this chapel was preserved, with the picture of Parri here alluded to.—*Masselli*.

† The term "Maestà" is most commonly used in Italian to express the Virgin enthroned, but it is here synonymous with Tabernacle or Oratory: the work is still in existence, but in very grievous condition.

‡ There are not four saints, but two; a St. Leonard, that is to say,

Within the city of Arezzo, and in the choir used by the monks in the church of Sant' Agostino, this master painted various figures in fresco, which are known, by the manner of the draperies, and by those lengthened, slender, and bending figures described above, to be by the hand of Spinelli.* In the church of San Giustino, he also painted a St. Martin on horseback, cutting off a portion of his vestments to bestow it on a beggar; with two other saints.† In the Episcopal church of the same city, Parri depicted an Annunciation‡ in fresco; this is now half ruined, the wall on which it was painted having been many years exposed to injury. In the capitular church of Arezzo, moreover, this master painted a chapel, that namely which is now near to the hall of the Intendants, and this also has been almost wholly§ destroyed by the humidity of the place. The misfortune of this poor painter, as regards the preservation of his works, has indeed been truly great, the larger part of them having been ruined by damp, or destroyed in the demolition of the buildings which they adorned. On a round column of the last-mentioned church, Spinelli painted a figure of San Vincenzo; and in the church of San Francesco, he portrayed certain saints around a Madonna, in mezzo-rilievo, for the Viviani family; in the arch above this work, he painted the Apostles receiving the Holy Spirit, with other saints in the ceiling, near which is a figure of Christ bearing his cross, and pouring blood from his side into a chalice. The figure of the Saviour is surrounded by angels, which are admirably done. Opposite to this picture, Spinelli painted one for the guild of the stone-cutters, masons, and carpenters, in their chapel dedicated to the four Crowned Saints,|| and wherein he depicted Our Lady with the saints before-mentioned, who hold the instruments of the above-named trades in their hands. Beneath this and also in fresco are two stories from the lives of the same holy men, with others representing them when decapitated

and a St. Michael. The figures of Faith and Charity have been white-washed — *Ed. Flor* 1846-9.

* These pictures have long since perished — *Ibid.*

† This work also is lost. — *Ed. Flor.* 1832.

‡ Of this work the angel only remained, even at the time of Bottari. — *Ibid.*

§ Masselli remarks, that it is now not only *almost* but entirely destroyed.

|| I quattro Santi Incoronati.

and thrown into the sea. There is great power and life in this work, with many beautiful attitudes, exhibited more especially in the figures of those who lift the bodies, placed in sacks, upon their shoulders, to carry them to the sea, all their movements displaying infinite truth and animation. In the church of San Domenico, on the wall to the right of the high altar, Parri Spinelli painted a figure of the Virgin, with Sant' Antonio, and San Niccolo, in fresco, for the family of the Alberti of Catenaia,* of which place the Alberti were the lords until it was destroyed, when the family went to dwell, some in Arezzo, some in Florence. Now that those families settled in each city belong to one and the same house is demonstrated by the arms, which are the same for both. It is true that those of Arezzo are not called "degli Alberti," but "da Catenaia," and those of Florence not "da Catenaia," but "degli Alberti." I remember also to have heard and read that the abbey of the Sasso, in the mountains of the Catenaia, afterwards demolished and rebuilt lower down towards the Arno, was built by those same Alberti for the confraternity of the Camaldoline monks: this edifice is now in the possession of the monastery of the Angeli in Florence, who acknowledge it to be derived from that family, which is among the most noble in Florence. In the audience-chamber of the fraternity of Santa Maria della Misericordia,† this master depicted the Virgin, with the people of Arezzo sheltered beneath her mantle; and in this picture are the portraits of the men who were at that time administrators of that pious place, taken from the life, and clothed as was customary in that day. Among these figures, is that of a member of the fraternity called Braccio, but who is called rich Lazarus (Lazzaro Ricco) by those who speak of him now-a-days, and who died in the year 1422,‡ leaving all his riches and possessions to that institution which dispenses the same in the service of God's poor, exercising the holy offices of mercy with true charity. On one side of this Madonna is the pontiff St. Gregory, and on the other is San Donato, bishop of Arezzo, and patron-saint of the Aretine people. Now the rulers for the time of that

* All the pictures here described appear to be lost.

† This fresco is still in good condition, it is now in a hall used as a court of equity.

‡ Bottai, quoting documents in support of his assertion, says that Lazzaro died in 1425. See ante note (†) p. 335.

brotherhood considered themselves to have been very well served by Parri, in respect of this work, they therefore caused him to paint a picture in distemper, representing Our Lady with the divine child in her arms, while certain angels hold back her mantle, beneath which are the people of Arezzo; with the martyrs San Laurentino and San Pergentino below. This picture is carried forth every year on the second day of June,* and is borne in solemn procession by the brotherhood of the Misericordia, to the church dedicated to those saints; there is then placed on it a casket of silver, made by the goldsmith Forzore,† the brother of Parri, and within which are the bodies of the above-named saints, Laurentino and Pergentino; it is carried forth, I say, and an altar is erected under covering of a tent, beside the cross near which the said church stands, because the church itself being small, could not contain the concourse of people which assembles for this festival. On the predella on which the afore-said picture is placed, the martyrdom of those two saints is depicted in very minute figures, so admirably done, that, for so small a thing, it is almost miraculous. Under the balcony of a house in the Borgo-a-Piano is a tabernacle, within which is an Annunciation, in fresco, from the hand of Parri Spinelli, a work much commended. There is, moreover, a fresco of the virgin martyr St. Catherine, painted by this master for the Brotherhood of the Puraccioli, in the church of Sant' Agostino, which is most beautiful. In the church of Muriello also he painted a Santa Maria Maddalena, three braccia high, for the Confraternity of the Clerks; and in the church of San Domenico, near that door of entrance where the bell-ropes are, Parri decorated the chapel of San Niccolo in fresco,‡ painting therein a large crucifix, with four figures so admirably executed that they might be supposed to have been painted in our own day. Here also he represented stories from the life of San Niccolo; one portraying the Saint when he throws the golden balls to the virgins, and another showing the same holy man de-

* Bottari corrects this date also, giving the 3rd of June instead of the 2nd, that being the festival of the saints in question; the picture is still well preserved in the chancellery of the fraternity.

† A casket of modern workmanship now replaces that of Forzore, which is kept in the sacristy.—*Bottari*.

‡ This work is still in existence, but has been retouched; those ~~now~~ previously allowed to be lost.—*Ibid*.

livering two of them from death: the executioner is seen standing prepared to take off their heads, and is extremely well done. While Parri was occupied with this work, he was assailed by some of his kindred, with whom he was at strife, for a matter relating to some dowry, of which I know not the exact particulars; these men fell upon him with arms in their hands, and although Spinelli was saved from injury by some who hastened immediately to his assistance, the fear he suffered was nevertheless so great that he is said to have painted his figures thenceforward, not only bending towards one side, but with the expression of terror in their faces. Finding himself, moreover, to be frequently wounded by evil speakers and the attacks of envy, Spinelli painted a picture in that chapel representing tongues burning, and devils around them maintaining the fires. In the air above was a figure of Christ uttering maledictions on them, and on one side were inscribed the following words, "The lot of the false tongue."

Parri Spinelli was a zealous student of art, and drew admirably well, as many things that I have seen by his hand sufficiently prove, more especially a series of stories representing scenes from the life of San Donato, which Parri had drawn for one of his sisters, who was an excellent embroideress. This work is believed to have been intended for the decorations which it is supposed were to be embroidered by her for the high altar of the episcopal church. There are also some drawings in pen and ink by this artist among the collection in our book, which are very well done. The portrait of Parri Spinelli was painted in the cloister of San Bernardo d'Arezzo, by Marco da Montepulciano, a disciple of Spinello Spinelli. Parri lived fifty-six years, but his life was shortened by the melancholy of his temperament, his solitary habits, the too rigid severity of his labours, and over earnest devotion to the studies connected with his art. He was buried in Sant' Agostino, where he was placed in the same grave with his father Spinello, and his death was a cause of regret to all the distinguished men to whom he was known.*

* In the first edition of Vasari, the following lines are given as the epitaph of Parri Spinelli:—

Progeniuit Paridem pictor Spinellus, et artem,

Sectari patriam maxima cura fuit

Ut patrem ingenio et manibus superavit, ab illo

Extant quæ mire plurima picta docent.

MASACCIO, PAINTER, OF SAN GIOVANNI, IN VALDARNO.

[BORN 1402?—DIED 1443.]

WHEN nature has called into existence a genius of surpassing excellence in any vocation, it is not her custom to leave him alone: on the contrary, she for the most part gives life to another, created at the same time and in the same locality, whence the emulation of each is excited and they mutually serve as stimulants one to the other. And thus, in addition to the great advantage derived from it by them who, thus united, make their efforts in common, has the further effect of awakening the minds of those who come after them, and who are excited to labour with the utmost zeal and industry for the attainment of that glorious reputation and those honours which they daily hear ascribed to their distinguished predecessors; and that this is true we find proved by the fact that Florence produced at one and the same time Filippo, Donato, Lorenzo, Paolo Uccello, and Masaccio, each most excellent in his peculiar walk, and all contributing to banish the coarse and hard manner which had prevailed up to the period of their existence; nor was this all, for the minds of those who succeeded these masters were so effectually inflamed by their admirable works, that the modes of production in these arts were brought to that grandeur and height of perfection which are made manifest in the performances of our own times. We then, of a truth, have the greatest obligation to those masters who by their labours first taught us the true path by which to attain the highest summit of perfection; and as touching the good manner in painting, most especially are we indebted to Masaccio, since it was he who, eager for the acquirement of fame, first attained the clear perception that painting is no other than the close imitation, by drawing and colouring simply, of all the forms presented by nature, exhibiting them as they are produced by her, and that whosoever shall most perfectly effect this, may be said to have most nearly approached the summit of excellence. The conviction of this truth formed by Masaccio was the cause, I say, of his attaining to so much knowledge by means of perpetual study, that he may be accounted among the first by whom art was in a great measure delivered from rudeness and hardness: he

it was who taught the method of overcoming many difficulties, and led the way to the adoption of those beautiful attitudes and movements never exhibited by any painter before his day, while he also imparted a life and force to his figures with a certain roundness and relief, which render them truly characteristic and natural. Possessing extreme rectitude of judgment, Masaccio perceived that all figures not sufficiently foreshortened to appear standing firmly on the plane whereon they are placed, but reared up on the points of their feet, must needs be deprived of all grace and excellence in the most important essentials, and that those who so represent them prove themselves unacquainted with the art of foreshortening. It is true that Paolo Uccello had given his attention to this subject, and had done something in the matter, which did to a certain extent lessen the difficulty; but Masaccio, differing from him in various particulars, managed his foreshortenings with much greater ability, exhibiting his mastery of this point in every kind and variety of view, and succeeding better than any artist had done before him. He moreover imparted extreme softness and harmony to his paintings, and was careful to have the carnations of the heads and other nude parts in accordance with the colours of the draperies, which he represented with few and simple folds, as they are seen in the natural object. This has been of the utmost utility to succeeding artists, and Masaccio deserves to be considered the inventor of that manner, since it may be truly affirmed that the works produced before his time should be called paintings; but that his performance, when compared with those works, might be designated life, truth, and nature.

The birth-place of this master was Castello San Giovanni, in the Valdarno,* and it is said that some figures are still to be seen there which were executed by Masaccio in his earliest childhood † He was remarkably absent and careless of

* Gaye (*Carteggio*, i, 115) cites documents which shew that Baldinucci is right when he places the birth of Masaccio in 1402. That master was the son of the notary Ser Giovanni di Mone (Simone) Guidi, called "della Scheggia" of Castello San Giovanni, in Val d'Arno, distant about eighteen miles from Florence, on the road towards Arezzo. He is inscribed in the old book of the Guild as "*Maso di Ser Giovanni di castello Sangiovanni.*" MCCCXXIV.

† Della Valle remarks, that among these is the figure of an old

externals, as one who, having fixed his whole mind and thought on art, cared little for himself or his personal interests, and meddled still less with the affairs of others ; he could by no means be induced to bestow his attention on the cares of the world and the general interests of life, insomuch that he would give no thought to his clothing, nor was he ever wont to require payment from his debtors, until he was first reduced to the extremity of want ; and for all this, instead of being called Tommaso, which was his name, he received from every one the cognomen of Masaccio*, by no means for any vice of disposition, since he was goodness itself, but merely from his excessive negligence and disregard of himself ; for he was always so friendly to all, so ready to oblige and do service to others, that a better or kinder man could not possibly be desired.

Masaccio's first labours in art were commenced at the time when Masolino da Panicale was working at the chapel of the Brancacci, in the church of the Carmine, at Florence : and he sought earnestly to follow in the track pursued by Donato and Filippo Brunelleschi (although their branch of art, being sculpture, was different from his own), his efforts being perpetually directed to the giving his figures a life and animation which should render them similar to nature. The outlines and colouring of Masaccio are so different from those of the masters preceding him, that his works may be safely brought in comparison with the drawing and colouring of any produced in later times. Studios and persevering in his labours, this artist successfully coped with the difficulties of perspective, which he overcame most admirably and with true artistic skill, as may be seen in a story representing Christ curing a man possessed by a demon, which comprises a number of small figures and is now in the possession of Ridolfo del Ghirlandajo.† In this work are buildings beautifully drawn in perspective, and so treated that the inside is seen at the same time, the artist having taken the view of these buildings

woman spinning, with an expression so remarkable, that "one can never forget it after once seeing her."

* "Awkward," "helpless," "stupid," "ugly," "big," or even *hateful* Tom, according to the degree of disapprobation which the speaker may desire to express. Here, it is manifest, the least offensive of these appellations is to be understood.

† Nothing whatever is known of this work.

not as presented in front, but as seen in the sides and angles, to the great increase of the difficulty. Masaccio gave much more attention than had ever been bestowed by previous masters to the foreshortening of his figures and the treatment of the naked form : he had great facility of handling, and his figures, as we have said, were of the utmost simplicity. There is a picture in distemper by this master, representing Our Lady reposing in the lap of St. Anna, and holding the divine Child in her arms : it is now in Sant' Ambrogio, in Florence, in the chapel which stands next to the door leading to the parlour of the nuns * In the church of St. Nicholas, beyond the Arno, is also a picture by Masaccio : it is in distemper and represents the Annunciation, with a house and many columns, admirably painted in perspective. The design and colouring are alike perfect, and the whole is so managed that the colonnade gradually recedes from view in a manner which proves Masaccio's knowledge of perspective †

In the Abbey of Florence, Masaccio painted a fresco on a pillar opposite to one of those which support the arch of the high altar ; this represents St. Ivo of Brittany, whom the master figures as standing within a niche, that the feet might appear duly foreshortened to the spectator viewing it from below : a thing which obtained him no small commendation, as not having been so successfully practised by other masters. Beneath St. Ivo, and on the cornice below, is a crowd of beggars, widows, and orphans, to whom the saint affords help in their necessity.‡ In the church of Santa Maria Novella there is likewise a fresco, painted by Masaccio; it represents the Trinity, with the Virgin on one side, and St. John the Evangelist on the other, who are in contemplation of Christ crucified. This picture is over the altar of St. Ignatius, and on the side walls are two figures, supposed to be the portraits of those who caused the fresco to be painted ; but they are little seen, having been concealed by some gilded decorations appended over them. But perhaps the most beautiful part of this work, to say nothing of the excellence of the figures, is the coved ceiling, painted in perspective,

* Now at Florence, in the Gallery of the Academy of Fine Arts.

† The fate of this work is unknown.

‡ The modern changes made in this part of the building, leave no trace of Masaccio's painting.

and divided into square compartments, with a rosette in each compartment; the foreshortening is managed with so much ability, and the whole is so judiciously treated, that the surface has all the appearance of being perforated.*

In the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, and in a chapel near the side door which leads towards San Giovanni, is a picture painted by Masaccio, and representing the Madonna, with Santa Caterina, and San Giuliano. On the predella are various stories from the life of Santa Caterina, the figures being very small; with that of San Giuliano killing his father and mother.† The Birth of Christ is also depicted here with that simplicity and life-like truth which were peculiar to the manner of this master.‡ In Pisa, moreover, and in one of the chapels in the church of the Carmine, is a picture by this master, representing Our Lady with the Child, and at their feet are angels sounding instruments of music; one of whom is giving the most rapt attention to the harmony he is producing. St Peter and St. John the Baptist are on one side of the Virgin, with San Giuliano and San Niccolo on the other. These figures are all full of truth and animation. On the predella beneath, are stories from the lives of the above-named saints in small figures, and in the centre of these is the Adoration of Christ by the Magi. This part of the work presents horses full of life, and so beautiful that nothing better could be desired. The persons composing the court of the three kings are clothed in different vestments customary at that time; and over all, as a completion to the work, are various saints, in several compartments, placed around a crucifix.§ It is moreover believed that the figure of a saint, wearing the robes of a bishop, and painted in fresco, in the same church, beside the door which leads into the convent is also by the hand of Masaccio; but I am fully convinced that this is the work of Masaccio's disciple, Fra Filippo.

Having returned from Pisa to Florence, Masaccio there painted a picture, which is now in the Palla Rucellai palace: it presents two naked figures, male and female, of the size of

* This work is said to be concealed behind Vasari's miserable picture on the altar, now called that of the Rosary.—*Ed Flor.* 1848.

† Della Valle remarks that no mention is made of these particular acts in the first edition.

‡ These pictures have also perished.

§ Morionna informs us that these paintings are likewise destroyed.

life;* but not finding himself at his ease in Florence, and stimulated by his love and zeal for art, the master resolved to proceed to Rome, that he might there learn to surpass others, and this he effected. In Rome Masaccio acquired high reputation, and in a chapel of the church of San Clemente, he painted a Crucifixion in fresco, with the thieves on their crosses, and also stories from the life of St. Catherine the martyr. This work he executed for the cardinal of San Clemente † He likewise painted many pictures in distemper; but in the troubled times of Rome these have all been destroyed or lost. There is one remaining in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, and in a small chapel near the sacristy, wherein are four saints so admirably done that they seem rather to be executed in relief than on the plain surface: in the midst of these is Santa Maria della Neve. The portrait of Pope Martin, taken from nature, is also by this master: the pontiff is represented holding a spade in his hand, with which he is tracing out the foundations of the church; near the pope stands the figure of the Emperor Sigismund II. ‡ I was one

* The fate of this work is unknown.

† The Crucifixion of Christ is painted on the principal wall, behind the altar. The stories of St. Catherine are in nine compartments on the lateral walls. On the ceiling are the four Evangelists, with the Fathers of the Church; and on the arch of entrance are the twelve Apostles, in medallions. These, as well as the Evangelists, have suffered from time, but have not been injured so much as the other pictures by retouching. Outside of the arch are an Annunciation, and a St. Christopher with the Infant Christ on his shoulder. But none of these pictures resemble the well-authenticated works of Masaccio, whether as regards the thought or the execution: they would rather seem to be of an earlier date, and are more like works of the time of Giotto, in composition, drawing, and colouring. Mancini, whose manuscript is quoted by Baldinucci (*Mancini's Edition*, vol. iii, p 170) attributes them to Giotto, and quotes the following verses, which he declares himself to have seen written in gold letters, on the left of the Tribune, and which he considers to refer to these paintings.—

“Ex annis Domino elapsis mille Jucentis
Nonaginta novem Jacobus Collega minorum
Hujus Basilicæ titulo pars cardinis alti
Huic jussit fieri, quo placuit Roma nepote
Papa Bonifacius VIII. . . . proles”

Giovanni dell' Armi published engravings of these frescoes in 1609; some of the stories will also be found in D'Agincourt. And here it may be remarked, that the latest Florentine edition will not allow these works to be by Giotto, but furnishes no evidence in support of the opinion thus opposed to the assertion of Giulio Mancini.

‡ These pictures are also destroyed.

day examining that work with Michael Angelo Buonarrotti, when he praised it very highly, remarking at the same time that the two personages depicted had both lived in Masaccio's day. Whilst this master was in Rome he was appointed to adorn the walls of the church of San Giovanni in that city, Pisanello and Gentile da Fabriano being also employed by Pope Martin to decorate the walls of the same edifice with their paintings. But Masaccio having received intelligence that Cosmo de' Medici, from whom he had received favour and protection, had been recalled from exile,* again repaired to Florence; there, Masolino da Panicale being dead, Masaccio was appointed to continue the paintings of the Brancacci chapel, in the church of the Carmine, left unfinished, as we have said, by the death of Masolino. Before entering on this work, our artist painted, as if by way of specimen, and to show to what extent he had ameliorated his art, that figure of St. Paul† which stands near the place of the bell-ropes; and it is certain that the master displayed great excellence in this work, for the figure of the saint, which is the portrait of Bartolo di Angiolino Angiolini,‡ taken from the life, has something in it so impressive, and is so beautiful and life-like, that it seems to want nothing but speech; insomuch that he who has not known St. Paul has but to look at this picture, when he will at once behold the noble deportment of him who conjoined the Roman culture and eloquence with that invincible force which distinguished the exalted and devout character of this apostle, whose every care and thought were given to the affairs of the faith. In this picture Masaccio also afforded further proof of his mastery over the difficulties of foreshortening: the powers of this artist as regards that point were indeed truly wonderful, as may be seen even now in the feet of this apostle, where he has overcome the difficulty in a manner that may well be admired, when we consider the rude ancient fashion of placing all the figures on the points

* In the year 1434; but Pope Martin had then been dead thirty-three years, having died in 1401.—*Schorn*.

† Bottari tells us that this figure was destroyed in the year 1675, when the chapel of Sant' Andrea Corsini was constructed.

‡ Bartolo D'Angiolino Angiolini, of the Santo Spirito quarter of Florence (see note following). Gonfalone Ferza, who was born in 1373. From 1406 to 1432, Bartolo Angiolini exercised various magisterial offices of importance in the Florentine Republic.

of their feet; and this manner was persisted in even to his day, not having been fully corrected by the older artists; he it was who (earlier than any other master) brought this point of art to the perfection which it has attained in our own times.

While Masaccio was employed on this work, it chanced that the aforesaid church of the Carmine* was consecrated, and in memory of that event Masaccio painted the whole ceremony of the consecration as it had occurred, in chiaro-scuro, over the door within the cloister which leads into the convent. In this work, which was in "terra-verde," the master painted the portraits of a great number of the citizens who make part of the procession, clothed in hoods and mantles; among these figures were those of Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, in "zoccoli,"† Donatello, Masolino da Panicale, who had been his master, Antonio Brancacci,‡ for whom it was that the above-mentioned chapel was painted, Niccolo da Uzzano, Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, and Bartolommeo Valori, all of whose portraits, painted by the same artist, are also in the house of Simon Corsi, a Florentine gentleman § Masaccio likewise placed the portrait of Lorenzo Ridolfi,|| who was then ambassador from the Florentine republic to the republic of Venice, among those of the picture of the consecration; and not only did he therein depict the above-named personages from the life, but the door of the convent is also portrayed as it stood, with the porter holding the keys in his hand. This work has, of a truth, much in it that is very

* The church of the Carmine was consecrated on the 19th of April, 1422, by the Archbishop Amerigo Corsini. — *Ed. Flor.* 1845-9.

† Wooden shoes.

‡ There were two families of Brancacci in Florence, the one of the Santo Spirito quarter, the other of the quarter of Santa Maria Novella; but this last was more frequently called Del Branca. That Antonio (di Piero di Puvichese) Brancacci, for whom the chapel so frequently alluded to was painted, belonged to the former.

§ Of these portraits nothing is now known.

|| Lorenzo di Antonio Ridolfi was twice ambassador to Venice; once in 1402, for the arrangement of the Milanese affair, and a second time (which is that here alluded to) in 1425, when he was despatched to Venice with Marcello Strozzi, to form a league between the Venetian Republic and that of Florence, then menaced by Filippo Maria Visconti. But this work could scarcely have been painted by Masaccio *after* his return from Rome to Florence, if that return took place on the occasion of Cosmo the Elder's recall from exile, since the last mentioned event did not occur until the year 1434.

excellent, Masaccio having found means to marshal his figures so admirably well on the level space of that piazza, in ranges of five or six in a file, and they are gradually diminished to the eye with such judgment and truth of proportion, that it is truly wonderful. There is also to be remarked that he has had the forethought to make these men not all of one size, but differing, as in life; insomuch that one distinguishes the short and stout man from the tall and slender figures, as one would if they were living. The feet of all are planted firmly on the plane they occupy, and the foreshortening of the files is so perfect that they could not look otherwise in the actual life.*

After this Masaccio returned to the works of the Brancacci chapel, wherein he continued the stories from the life of St. Peter, commenced by Masolino da Panicale, of which he completed a certain part. The installation of St. Peter as first pontiff, that is to say, the healing of the sick, the raising to life of the dead, and the making the halt sound, by the shadow of the apostle falling on them as he approaches the temple with St. John. But remarkable above all the rest is the story which represents St. Peter, when, by command of Christ, he draws money to pay the tribute from the mouth of the fish; for besides that we have here the portrait of Masaccio himself, in the figure of one of the apostles (the last painted by his own hand, with the aid of a mirror, and so admirably done that it seems to live and breathe :) there is, moreover, great spirit in the figure of St. Peter as he looks inquiringly towards Jesus, while the attention given by the apostles to what is taking place, as they stand around their master awaiting his determination, is expressed with so much truth, and their various attitudes and gestures are so full of animation, that they seem to be those of living men. Saint

* Baldinucci laments the loss of this picture, which was barbarously destroyed. The original drawing of it is believed to be now in the possession of some lover of art in Lombardy. Lanzi saw it in the hands of a professor of the University of Pavia. So far the usually accurate Masselli, who is copied, without acknowledgment, by the later Florentine editors. But the German translator of Vasari, the late erudite and lamented Ludwig Schorn, assures us that he has seen this drawing—which is that of a portion only of the work—in the collection of the Florentine Gallery (the Uffizi). See also Heinrich Meyer, in *Goethe's Propyläen*, iii, 38, for remarks on this and other drawings by the same master in the above-named collection.

Peter more particularly, bent forward and making considerable effort as he draws the money from the mouth of the fish, has his face reddened with the exertion and position. When he pays the tribute also, the expression of his face as he carefully counts the money, with that of him who receives it, and which last betrays an excessive eagerness to become possessed of it; all this is depicted with the most vivid truth, the latter regarding the coins which he holds in his hand with the greatest pleasure. Masaccio also depicted the restoration to life of the king's son by St. Peter and St. Paul,* but this last work remained unfinished at the death of Masaccio, and was afterwards completed by Filippino. In the picture which represents St. Peter administering the rite of Baptism, there is a figure which has always been most highly celebrated: it is that of a naked youth, among those who are baptised, and who is shivering with the cold. This is in all respects so admirable and in so fine a manner, that it has ever since been held in reverence and admiration by all artists, whether of those times or of a later period.† This chapel has indeed been continually frequented by an infinite number of students and masters, for the sake of the benefit to be derived from these works, in which there are still some heads so beautiful and life-like, that we may safely affirm no artist of that period to have approached so nearly to the manner of the moderns as did Masaccio. His works do indeed merit all the praise they have received, and the rather as it was by him that the path was opened to the excellent manner prevalent in our own times; to the truth of which we have tes-

* The description of the stories painted by Masaccio in the Brancacci Chapel is not correct; those by that master are the following.—Adam and Eve driven from Paradise, a picture imitated, with but slight deviations from the original, by Raphael, in the Loggia of the Vatican, Christ commanding Peter to pay the tribute-money; Peter baptizing the people (in this is the celebrated figure of the shivering youth)—the history of Ananias; Peter healing the lame, and restoring the blind to sight, by his shadow;—and, finally, the resuscitation by St. Peter of the youth who had fallen down dead, one part of which was finished by Filippino Lippi. Meyer (in the *Prothylæen*) ascribes the Preaching of St. Peter also to Masaccio; but this is by Masolino da Panicale. See Rumohr, *Ital Forsch* 11, 249, who shews that Lasinio also is in error, when he attributes Peter and Paul before the Proconsul to Masaccio, that picture also being the work of Filippino Lippi.—*Ludwig Schorn*.

† Lanzi says, "this figure may be said to have made an epoch in the history of art."

simony in the fact that all the most celebrated sculptors and painters since Masaccio's day have become excellent and illustrious by studying their art in this chapel. Among these may be enumerated Fra Giovanni da Fiesole,* Fra Filippo, Filippino, who completed the work; Alesso Baldovinetti, Andrea del Castagna, Andrea del Verrocchio, Domenico del Ghirlandajo, Sandro di Botticello, Leonardo da Vinci, Pietro Perugino, Fra Bartolommeo di San Marco, Mariotti Albertinelli, and the sublimest Michael Angelo Buonarrotti. Raphael of Urbino also made his first commencement of his exquisite manner in this place, and to these must be added Granaccio, Lorenzo di Credi, Ridolfo del Ghirlandajo, Andrea del Sarto, Rosso, Francia Bigio, or Franciabigio, Baccio Bandinelli, Alonzo Spagnolo, Jacopo da Pontormo, Pierino del Vaga, and Toto del Nunziata; all in short who have sought to acquire their art in its perfection, have constantly repaired to study it in this chapel†, there imbibing the precepts and rules necessary to be followed for the ensurance of success, and learning to labour effectually from the figures of Masaccio. And if I have here made mention of but few among the foreigners who have frequented this chapel for purposes of study, let it suffice to say that where the heads go, there the members are certain to follow. But although the works of Masaccio have ever been held in such high estimation, yet it is nevertheless the opinion, or rather the firm belief, of many, that he would have done still greater things for art, had not death, which tore him from us at the age of twenty-six, so prematurely deprived the world of this great master.§ Whether it were from envy, or because the best things have but rarely a long duration, so it was

* The improbability of this will be made manifest in the life of Fra Giovanni (which follows), that artist having been born fifteen years before Masaccio, and being already a great master when the works of the Brancacci Chapel were in progress.

† "The most divine," is Vasari's expression.

‡ The paintings of this chapel (a true school of art, equal to that of the "Stanze Vaticane", and one that has been still more fruitful than that last in excellent painters) were engraved by Thomas Pusch in 1772, and, at a later period, by Carlo Lasinio.—*Massell.*

§ Cristoforo Landino was the first to say (in the introduction to his *Commento Jella Divina Commedia*) that Masaccio died at twenty-six. It was from him, perhaps, that Vasari copied the assertion, without considering that this was in flagrant discord with the dates given by himself

that he died in the fairest flower of his youth ; and so sudden was his decease, that there were not wanting persons who ascribed it to poison rather than to any other cause (*accidente*).*

It is said that when Filippo di Ser Brunellesco heard of this event, he remarked, " We have suffered a very great loss in the death of Masaccio", and that it grieved him exceedingly, the rather as he had himself long laboured to instruct the departed painter in matters touching the rules of perspective and architecture. Masaccio was buried in the above-named church of the Carmine in the year 1443, and although no memorial was placed over his sepulchre at the time—he having been but little esteemed while in life†—yet there were not wanting those who honoured him after his death by the following epitaphs : ‡—

in the life of the painter. Masaccio was born in the year 1402; he died in the year 1443; he had consequently attained the forty-first year of his age.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

* The portrait of Masaccio is in the Florentine collection, where there is likewise a head by his hand. There is also a work in distemper by this master, in the Leuchtenberg Gallery at Munich, and one in the Royal Gallery at Schleisheim. The Royal Gallery of Munich possesses a powerfully-painted picture by Masaccio, representing two old men at prayers, half lengths, and which bears the name of the master. Drawings by his hand are preserved in the British Museum, and in Christ Church College, at Oxford. See Passavant, *Kunstreise durch England und Belgien*, pp. 224 and 246. There are fourteen drawings by Masaccio in the collection of the Florentine Gallery.

† The commentators ask how this can be made to agree with the favour accorded to him by Cosmo de' Medici, the esteem of Brunelleschi, etc.? But Vasari obviously means to imply nothing more than that Masaccio had received but little external homage, but few public honours, a circumstance easily reconcileable with the high esteem in which he was held by contemporary artists and others, when the peculiarities of Masaccio's character are considered.

‡ In the first edition of Vasari, the following verses are given as epitaphs written on Masaccio:—

" Si alcun cercasse il marmo o il nome mio ;
La Chiesa è il marmo, una Cappella è il nome.
Mori, che Natura ebbe invidia, come
L'arte del mio pennello uopo e desio.

" If any seek the marble, or my name,
This church shall be the marble—and the name.
Yon oratory holds it. Nature envied
My pencil's power, as Art required and loved it—
Thence was it that I died."

“ Di Annibal Caro
*Pinsi et la mia pittura al ver tu pari;
 L'atteggiar, l'avvivai, le diedi il moto
 Le diedi atetto. Insegu il Bonarrotto
 A tutti gh'altri e da me solo impari ”**

“ Di Fabio Segni
*Invida cur, Lachesis, primo sub flore juventæ
 Pollicæ discindis stamina funereo?
 Hoc uno occiso, innumeros occidis Apelles:
 Picturæ omnis obit, hoc obeunte lepos.
 Hoc sole extincto, extinguuntur sydera cuncta.
 Heu! decus omne perit, hoc pereunte simul.”*

THE FLORENTINE SCULPTOR AND ARCHITECT FILIPPO BRUNELLESCHI.

[BORN 1377†—DIED 1446.]

THERE are many men who, though formed by nature with small persons and insignificant features, are yet endowed with so much greatness of soul and force of character, that unless they can occupy themselves with difficult—nay, almost impossible undertakings, and carry these enterprises to perfection to the admiration of others, they are incapable of finding peace for their lives. And, however mean or un-

*Masacci Florentini ossa
 Toto hoc teguntur templo
 Quem Natura fortassis invidia mota
 Ne quandoque superaretur ab Arte
 Anno ætatis suæ XXVI.
 Proh dolor! iniquissime rapuit
 Quod inopia factum forte fuit
 Id honori sibi vertit virtus.”*

“ I painted, and my picture was as life;
 Spirit and movement to my forms I gave—
 I gave them soul and being. He who taught
 All others—Michael Angelo—I taught:
 He deigned to learn of me. . . .

* † That this is the true date of Brunelleschi's birth, appears from a document cited by Gaye, vol. 1, 113. 115; as also from an anonymous biographer, contemporary with this master, and whose life of him was published by Moreni in 1812

promising may be the occasion presented to such persons, however trifling the object to be attained, they find means to make it important, and to give it elevation. Therefore it is that none should look with contemptuous glance on any one whom he may encounter, having an aspect divested of that grace and beauty which we might expect that Nature would confer, even from his birth, upon him who is to exhibit distinguished talent, since it is beyond doubt that beneath the clods of earth the veins of gold lie hidden. So much force of mind, and so much goodness of heart, are frequently born with men of the most unpromising exterior, that if these be conjoined with nobility of soul, nothing short of the most important and valuable results can be looked for from them, since they labour to embellish the unsightly form by the beauty and brightness of the spirit. This was clearly exemplified in Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, who was no less diminutive in person than Messer Forete da Rabatta and Giotto,* but who was of such exalted genius withal, that we may truly declare him to have been given to us by heaven, for the purpose of imparting a new spirit to architecture, which for hundreds of years had been lost : for the men of those times had badly expended great treasures in the erection of buildings without order, constructed in a wretched manner after deplorable designs, with fantastic inventions, laboured graces, and worse decorations.† But it then pleased Heaven, the earth having been for so many years destitute of any distinguished mind and divine genius, that Filippo Brunelleschi should leave to the world, the most noble, vast, and beautiful edifice that had ever been constructed in modern times, or even in those of the ancients: giving proof that the talent of the Tuscan artists, although lost for a time, was not extinguished. He was, moreover, adorned by the most excellent qualities, among which was that of kindness, insomuch that there never was a man of more benign and amicable disposition ; in judgment he was calm and dispassionate, and laid aside all thought of his own interest and even that of his friends, whenever he perceived the merits and talents of others to demand that he should do so. He knew himself, instructed many from the

* See Novella v of the Giornata vi of the Decameron.—*Masselli*.

† An exaggeration similar to that respecting Cimabue, but which has frequently found an echo in later times —*Sind*.

stores of his genius, and was ever ready to succour his neighbour in all his necessities; he declared himself the confirmed enemy of all vice, and the friend of those who laboured in the cause of virtue. Never did he spend his moments vainly, but, although constantly occupied in his own works, in assisting those of others, or administering to their necessities, he had yet always time to bestow on his friends for whom his aid was ever ready.

There lived in Florence, as we are told, a man of good renown, very praiseworthy habits, and much activity in his affairs, whose name was Ser Brunellesco di Lippo Lapi, and whose grandfather, called Cambio, was a very learned person, the son of a physician famous in those times, and named Maestro Ventura Bacherini.* Ser Brunellesco chose for his wife a young woman of excellent conduct, from the noble family of the Spini,† with whom, as part payment of her dowry, he received a house, wherein he and his children dwelt to the day of their death. This house stands in a corner on the side opposite to San Michele Bertelli,‡ after passing the Piazza degli Agli, and while Brunellesco there exercised his calling and lived happily with his wife, there was born to him in the year 1377 a son, to whom he gave the name of Filippo. after his own father, who was then dead. This birth he solemnized with all possible gladness. As the infant advanced in childhood, his father taught him the first rudiments of learning with the utmost care, and herein Filippo displayed so much intelligence, and so clear an understanding, as to frequently cause surprise that he did not take pains to attain perfection in letters, but rather seemed to direct his thoughts to matters of more obvious utility, a circumstance which caused Ser Brunellesco, who wished his son to follow his own calling of a notary, or that of his great-great-grandfather

* Masselli has a note, to the effect that Ser Brunellesco was the son of Lippo, and grandson of Tura, or Ventura, not of Cambio, "who was probably," adds Schorn, "the father of Tura." This is manifest from the books of the Proconsul, where "Brunellescus filius olim Lippi Turæ de Florentia" is inscribed as a notary, in the year 1381. "But what shall we say of the Bacherini," ask the Florentine commentators, "since this family is not found among those of Florence?"

† Giuliana di Guglielmo degli Spini, a family which became extinct towards the middle of the last century — *Bottari*.

‡ Now called San Michele degli Antinori. — *Masselli*.

(tritavolo)* very great displeasure. Perceiving, nevertheless, that the mind of the boy was constantly intent on various ingenious questions of art and mechanics, he made him learn writing and arithmetic, and then placed him in the Guild of the Goldsmiths, that he might acquire the art of design from a friend of his. This was a great satisfaction to Filippo, who no long time after he had begun to study and practise in that art, understood the setting of precious stones much better than any old artist in the vocation. He also executed works in niello; among others, figures in silver, two prophets, namely, half-lengths, which were placed over the altar of San Jacopo di Pistoja,† and were considered very beautiful; these figures were made by Filippo, for the superintendents of the cathedral in that city. He also executed works in basso-rilievo, wherein he showed so complete a mastery of that art, as to make it manifest that his genius must quickly overstep the limits of the goldsmith's calling. Subsequently, having made acquaintance with several learned persons, he began to turn his attention to the computation of the divisions of time, the adjustment of weights, and the movement of wheels; he considered the method by which they might best be made to revolve, and how they might most effectually be set in motion, making several very good and beautiful watches with his own hand.‡

Not content with this, Filippo was seized with an earnest desire to attempt the art of sculpture, and this wish took effect in such sort that Donatello, then a youth, being considered of great distinction and high promise therein, Filippo contracted a close intimacy with him; and each attracted by the talents of the other, they became so strongly attached that one seemed unable to live without the other. But Filippo, who was capable of attaining excellence in various depart-

* A physician, that is, supposing indeed that a "Maestro Tura Bacherini" was his ancestor in that degree — *Ibid.*

† They occupy the two extremities, and were probably made not long after the other half-figures executed by Piero d'Arrigo, Tedesco (Peter Henry the German), who worked in Pistoja between 1380 and 1390. See Ciampi, *Notizie della Sagrestia Pistoiese*, p. 80.

‡ We learn from Gaye (*Carteggio Inedito*, i, 547-9) that among other inventions of Filippo Brunelleschi, was that of a construction (a kind of ship or bark) by means of which he declared himself able to transport all kinds of merchandize upon the Arno or other rivers, at all times, with diminished expense, and increased advantages *Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

ments, gave his attention to many professions, nor had any long time elapsed before he was considered by good judges to be an excellent architect. This he proved in various works which served for the decoration of houses, as, for example, for that of the house of Apollonio Lapi,* his kinsman, at the corner of the Ciai, towards the Mercato Vecchio, where he laboured industriously all the time that the edifice was in course of erection; and he did the same thing at the tower and house of Petraja† at Castello, outside of Florence. In the palace of the Signoria also, Filippo distributed and arranged all the rooms occupied for the affairs of their office by the officials of the "Monte." He therein constructed the windows and doors after the manner of the ancients, a thing not then very frequently done, architecture being in a very rude state in Tuscany.

There was at that time a statue of Santa Maria Maddalena to be executed in linden-wood, for the monks of Santo Spirito in Florence, and which was to be placed in one of their chapels; Filippo therefore, who had executed various small works in sculpture, being desirous of proving that he could succeed in the greater also, undertook to execute this statue, which, being completed and fixed in its place, was considered exceedingly beautiful; but in the subsequent conflagration of the church in 1471 it was burnt, with many other remarkable things.

Filippo Brunelleschi gave considerable attention to the study of perspective, the rules of which were then very imperfectly understood, and often falsely interpreted; and in this he expended much time, until at length he discovered a perfectly correct method, that of taking the ground plan and sections by means of intersecting lines, a truly ingenious thing, and of great utility to the arts of design. In these inquiries Filippo found so much pleasure that he executed a drawing of the Piazza San Giovanni, wherein he pourtrayed

* Baldinucci, and, what is of more importance, the anonymous writer contemporary with Brunelleschi, place this house at the corner of the Ricci, instead of the Ciai. The house which forms the point of the road between the Via de' Banchi and the Via de' Panzani, likewise belonged to Apollonio; and who shall say that Filippo did not work at the decorations of this also?—*Masselli*.

† Now a grand-ducal villa. The tower here mentioned also exists to this day.—*Ibid*

all the compartments of the incrustation in black and white marble, the foreshortening being managed with singular felicity and grace. He represented the house of the Misericordia in like manner, with the shops of the wafer makers and the arch of the Pecori, giving the column of San Zanobi on the other side. This work having been highly commended by artists, and all who were capable of judging in matters of the kind, gave Filippo so much encouragement, that no long time elapsed before he commenced another, and made a view of the Palace, the Piazza, the Loggia de' Signori, with the roof of the Pisani, and all the buildings erected around that Square, works by which the attention of artists was so effectively aroused, that they afterwards devoted themselves to the study of perspective with great zeal.* To Masaccio in particular, who was his friend, Filippo taught this art, the painter being then very young; but that he did much credit to his teacher is sufficiently manifest from the edifices depicted in his works. Nor did he fail to instruct those who worked in *tarsia*, which is a sort of inlaid work, executed in woods of various colours, the efforts of these artists he stimulated so powerfully, that from this time a better method prevailed, and many useful improvements were made in that branch of art, wherein, both then and at a later period, various excellent works were produced, from which Florence derived both fame and profit during many years † Messer Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli ‡ returning to Florence about this time, and being at supper with some of his friends in a garden, invited Filippo also; who, hearing them discourse of the mathematical sciences, formed an intimate acquaintance with the philosopher, from whom he acquired the knowledge of geometry; and although Filippo possessed no learning, he yet reasoned so well, by the aid of his practical experience, that he frequently astonished Toscanelli. Thus labouring perpetually, Brunelleschi next turned his attention to the Scriptures, and never failed to

* It does not appear that any of these works now remain. The anonymous biographer describes them even more minutely than Vasari has done, the art of perspective being then new, and awakening much attention — *Masselli*

† Cicognara attributes to him all the merit of whatever has been executed of most excellent in the art of *tarsia* — *Ibid.*

‡ The illustrious friend and counsellor of Columbus, as we have remarked elsewhere. — *Ibid.*

be present at the disputations and preaching of learned men. From this practice he derived so much advantage, by help of his excellent memory, that the above-named Messer Paolo, alluding to him, was accustomed to say that, to hear Filippo in argument, one might fancy oneself listening to a second Paul. At the same time he gave earnest study to the works of Dante, with whose description of localities, and their respective distances, he made himself very familiar, and frequently availed himself of them in his conversations, when he would cite them by way of comparison. Nor, indeed, were his thoughts ever occupied otherwise than in the consideration of ingenious and difficult enquiries; but he could never find any one who gave him so much satisfaction as did Donato, with whom he often held confidential discourse; these two artists found perpetual pleasure in the society of each other, and frequently conferred together on the difficulties of their art.

Now it happened in those days that Donato had completed a crucifix in wood, which was placed in the church of Santa Croce, in Florence, beneath the story of the girl restored to life by St. Francis, a picture painted by Taddeo Gaddi,* and he desired to have the opinion of Filippo respecting his work; but he repented of having asked it, since Filippo replied that he had placed a clown on the cross. And from this time there arose, as is related at length in the life of Donato, the saying of "Take wood then, and make one thyself." Thereupon Filippo, who never suffered himself to be irritated by anything said to him, however well calculated to provoke him to anger, kept silence for several months, meanwhile preparing a crucifix, also in wood, and of similar size with that of Donato, but of such excellence, so well designed, and so carefully executed, that when Donato, having been sent forward to his house by Filippo, who intended him a surprise, beheld the work (the undertaking of which by Filippo was entirely unknown to him), he was utterly confounded, and having in his hand an apron full of eggs and other things on which his friend and himself were to dine together, he suffered the whole to fall to the ground, while he regarded the work before him in the very extremity of amazement. The artistic and ingenious manner in which Filippo had disposed and united the legs, trunk, and arms of

* This crucifix is now in the chapel of Count Bardi.—*Schori*

the figure was alike obvious and surprising to Donato, who not only confessed himself conquered, but declared the work a miracle. This crucifix is now placed in the church of Santa Maria Novella, between the chapel of the Strozzi family and that of the Bardi da Vernio, and is still greatly praised by the judges of modern times.* The talents of these truly excellent masters being thereupon appreciated, they received a commission from the Guild of the Butchers, and that of the Joiners, to prepare the two figures, in marble, required for the niches appropriated to those guilds among the number surrounding Or San Michele. These figures, Filippo, being occupied by other affairs, suffered Donato to execute alone, which he did to great perfection.

After these things, and in the year 1401, it was determined, seeing that sculpture had reached so elevated a condition, to reconstruct the two doors of the church and baptistry of San Giovanni, a work which, from the death of Andrea Pisano to that time, there had been no masters capable of conducting. Wherefore, this intention being made known to those sculptors who were in Tuscany, they were sent for, their appointments were given to them, and the space of a year was allowed for the preparation of a story by each master. Among these artists Filippo and Donato were also invited, and each of them was required to prepare a story, in concurrence with Lorenzo Ghiberti, Jacopo della Fonte, Simone da Colle, Francesco di Valdambрина, and Niccolo d'Arezzo. All these stories being completed within the year, and placed together to be compared, were all found to be beautiful, but with certain differences. One was well designed, but imperfectly executed, as was that of Donato; another was admirably drawn, and carefully finished, but the composition of the story was not good, the gradual diminution of the figures being neglected, as in the case of Jacopo della Quercia; a third artist had betrayed poverty of invention, and his figures were insignificant, which was the defect of Francesco di Valdambрина's specimen, but the worst of all were those of Niccolo d'Arezzo and Simone da Colle; while the best was that of Lorenzo di Cione Ghiberti, 12

* It is now on the altar of the chapel of the Gondi. See Cicognara, *Storie della Scultura*, who has instituted a comparison between this crucifix and that of Donato.

whose work perfection of design, delicacy of execution, rich invention, knowledge of art, and well-finished figures, were all combined. Nor was the story of Filippo greatly inferior to that of Lorenzo: the subject was Abraham proceeding to sacrifice Isaac, and among the figures was that of a servant, who, whilst he is awaiting his master, with the ass feeding beside him, is drawing a thorn from his foot. This figure merits considerable praise.

All these stories having been exhibited together, and Filippo and Donato not being satisfied with any, except that of Lorenzo, they judged him to be better adapted to execute the work than themselves or the masters who had produced the other stories. They consequently persuaded the syndics, by the good reasons which they assigned, to adjudge the work to Lorenzo, showing that the public and private benefit would be thus most effectually secured. Now this was, in truth, the sincere rectitude of friendship; it was talent without envy, and uprightness of judgment in a decision respecting themselves, by which these artists were more highly honoured than they could have been by conducting the work to the utmost summit of perfection.* Happy spirits! who, while aiding each other, took pleasure in commending the labours of their competitors. How unhappy, on the contrary, are the artists of our day, labouring to injure each other, yet still unsatisfied, they burst with envy while seeking to wound others. Filippo was requested by the superintendants to undertake the work, in concert with Lorenzo, but he would not consent to this, desiring rather to be the first in some other art, than merely an equal, and perhaps secondary, in that undertaking.† Wherefore he gave the story in bronze, which he had prepared, to Cosimo de' Medici, who caused it at a sub-

* "A rare thing indeed, and perhaps unique in all times wherein artists have existed", has here been written on the margin, in large capitals, by an early annotator.—*Massellh.*

† The anonymous biographer, partial to Brunellesco, places his specimen above that of Lorenzo, and affirms the former artist to have yielded to the latter, not from the conviction of his own inferiority, but from anger against the Syndics, for their wish to give the work to him in concert with Lorenzo, when he (Filippo) was desirous of undertaking the whole. But Ghiberti himself relates the fact, in his manuscript, as Vasari gives it, and adds.—"The palm of victory was yielded to me by all these experienced judges, and by all those who had competed with me."—*Ibid.*

sequent period to be placed in the old sacristy of San Lorenzo, and at the back of the altar, where it still remains.* That of Donato† was given to the Guild of the Money-changers‡

The commission for the door being given to Lorenzo Ghiberti, Filippo and Donato, who were together, resolved to depart from Florence in company, and to remain in Rome for some years, Filippo proposing to pursue the study of architecture, and Donato that of sculpture. And this Filippo did, desiring to surpass Lorenzo and Donato, in proportion as architecture is more useful to man than are sculpture and paintings he first sold a small farm which he possessed at Settignano, when both artists departed from Florence and proceeded to Rome, where, when Filippo beheld the magnificence of the buildings and the perfection of the churches, he stood like one amazed, and seemed to have lost his wits.§ They instantly made preparations for measuring the cornices and taking the ground-plans of these edifices, Donato and himself both labouring continually, and sparing neither time nor cost. No place was left unvisited by them, either in Rome or without the city, and in the Campagna; nor did they fail to take the dimensions of any thing good within their reach.

* Brunellesco also made the design for the marble pulpit now in the church of Santa Maria Novella, and which was sculptured with stories in basso-relievo, by a certain Maestro Lazzaro, at the expense of the Rucellai family. Borghini found the following document in the ancient books of the Borsario (*Syndicate*) —

“S. Brunelleschi p. in mag. Ieronimi pro modello ligni pro pulpito fiendo in Ecclesia flor. unum laug. fuit valoris L. 4, 15.

See *Storia Annalistica di Santa Maria Novella*, vol. ii, p. 418 — *Ed. Flor.* 1849.

† The testimony of Ghiberti makes it obvious that Donato was not among the competitors for the door of San Giovanni. Vasari may probably have seen a fourth story, in addition to those of Ghiberti, Brunellesco, and Jacopo della Quercia, which he believed to be by Donato. — *Ibid.* and *Ed. Flor.* 1849.

‡ The story of Brunellesco was placed by the Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo—who obtained it as a present from the Chapter of San Lorenzo—in the Florentine Gallery, in the corridor of modern bronzes. It is beside that of Ghiberti; and the injustice of the preference given to it by the anonymous biographer is manifest, on comparing them. Both are given in the work of Cicognara — *Musselli*.

§ Bottari observes that, at this time, the stupendous edifices of antiquity had not in so many instances been demolished, or suffered to go to ruin.

And as Filippo was free from all household cares, he gave himself up so exclusively to his studies, that he took no time either to eat or sleep, his every thought was of Architecture, which was then extinct: I mean the good old manner, and not the Gothic and barbarous one, which was much practised at that period. Filippo had two very great purposes in his mind, the one being to restore to light the good manner in architecture, which, if he could effect, he believed that he should leave a no less illustrious memorial of himself than Cimabue and Giotto had done; the other was to discover a method for constructing the Cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence, the difficulties of which were so great, that after the death of Arnolfo Lapi, no one had ever been found of sufficient courage to attempt the vaulting of that Cupola without an enormous expense of scaffolding*. He did not impart this purpose, either to Donato or to any living soul, but he never rested while in Rome until he had well pondered on all the difficulties involved in the vaulting of the *Ritonda* in that city (*the Pantheon*), and had maturely considered the means by which it might be effected†. He also well examined and made careful drawings of all the vaults and arches of antiquity: to these he devoted perpetual study, and if by chance the artists found fragments of capitals, columns, cornices, or basements of buildings buried in the earth, they set labourers to work and caused them to be dug out, until the foundation was laid open to their view. Reports of this being spread about Rome, the artists were called "treasure-seekers", and this name they frequently heard as they passed, negligently clothed, along the streets, the people believing them to be men who studied geomancy, for the discovery of treasures; the cause of which was that they had one day found an ancient vase of earth, full of coins. The money of Filippo

* Arnolfo had proposed to raise the Cupola immediately above the first cornice, as Vasari concludes—see *ante*, life of Arnolfo—from the model of the church in the chapel of the Spaniards, where the Cupola is besides extremely small. Arnolfo was followed by Giotto, in 1331. To Giotto succeeded Taddeo Gaddi; after whom, first Andrea Orcagna, and next Lorenzo di Filippo, were architects of the cathedral. Brunellesco succeeded Lorenzo di Filippo, whom Richa erroneously calls Filippo di Lorenzo.—*Schorn*

† Thence the assertion of many that the Cupola of the Rotunda served Brunellesco as his model, at least in a general manner, for that by which he afterwards immortalized himself.—*Masselli*.

falling short, he supplied the want by setting precious stones for the goldsmiths who were his friends ; which served him for a resource. Donato having returned to Florence, Filippo was left alone in Rome, and there he laboured continually among the ruins of the buildings, where he studied more industriously than ever. Nor did he rest until he had drawn every description of fabric—temples, round, square, or octagon ; basilicas, aqueducts, baths, arches, the Colosseum, Amphitheatres, and every church built of bricks, of which he examined all the modes of binding and clamping, as well as the turning of the vaults and arches ; he took note likewise of all the methods used for uniting the stones, as well as of the means used for securing the equilibrium and close conjunction of all the parts ; and having found that in all the larger stones there was a hole, formed exactly in the centre of each on the under side, he discovered that this was for the insertion of the iron instrument with which the stones are drawn up, and which is called by us the mason's clamps (*la ulivella*), an invention, the use of which he restored and ever afterwards put in practice.* The different orders were next divided by his cares, each order, Doric, Ionic, or Corinthian being placed apart ; and such was the effect of his zeal in that study, that he became capable of entirely reconstructing the city in his imagination, and of beholding Rome as she had been before she was ruined. But in the year 1407 the air of the place caused Filippo some slight indisposition, when he was advised by his friends to try change of air. He consequently returned to Florence, where many buildings had suffered by his absence, and for these he made many drawings and gave numerous counsels on his return.

In the same year an assemblage of architects and engineers was gathered in Florence, by the Superintendents of the works of Santa Maria del Fiore, and by the Syndics of the Guild of wool-workers, to consult on the means by which the cupola might be raised. Among these appeared Filippo, who gave it as his opinion that the edifice above the roof must be constructed, not after the design of Arnolfo, but that a frieze, fifteen braccia high, must be erected, with a large window in

* Others believe that the perforation here mentioned was used for the reception of the iron or copper fastenings whereby the stones were secured.—*Ibid*

each of its sides : since not only would this take the weight off the piers of the tribune, but would also permit the cupola itself to be more easily raised. Models after which the work might be executed were prepared in this manner accordingly * Some months after Filippo's return, and when he had recovered his health, he was one morning on the Piazza di Santa Maria del Fiore with Donato and other artists, when the conversation turned on the antiquity of works in sculpture. Donato related, that when he was returning from Rome he had taken the road of Orvieto,† to see the marble façade of the Duomo in that city—a work highly celebrated, executed by the hands of various masters, and considered in those days a very remarkable thing. He added, that when afterwards passing by Cortona, he had there seen in the capitular church a most beautiful antique vase in marble, adorned with sculptures—a very rare circumstance at that time, since the large numbers of beautiful relics brought to light in our days had not then been disinterred. Donato proceeding to describe the manner in which the artist had treated this work, with the delicacy he had remarked in it, and the excellence, nay perfection, of the workmanship, Filippo became inflamed with such an ardent desire to see it, that, impelled by the force of his love to art, he set off, as he was, in his mantle, his hood, and his wooden shoes, without saying where he was going, and went on foot to Cortona for that purpose. Having seen the vase‡ and being pleased with it, he drew a copy of it with his pen, and returned therewith to Florence, before Donato or any other person had perceived that he had departed, all believing that he must be occupied in drawing or inventing something. Having got back to Florence, Filippo

* At one of these models for the Cupola, Donatello and Nanni d'Antonio di Banco worked in company with Brunellesco.—*Ed. Flor.* 1848-9.

† We know, moreover, that he worked in that city, a decree of the Superintendents of works at the Cathedral of Orvieto being still extant, whereby Donato is commissioned to prepare a statue of St. John the Baptist, either of gilded copper, or cast in bronze, and which was to be placed on the baptismal font. See Della Valle, *Storia del Duomo d'Orvieto*, p. 299.

‡ This urn, or sarcophagus, is still in the cathedral of Cortona. The sculptures represent the battle of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ, or perhaps a warlike expedition of Bacchus. It is in truth an exquisite work, and is said to have been found in a field without the city, and almost close to the cathedral.

showed the drawing of the vase, which he had executed with much patience, to Donato, who was not a little astonished at this evidence of the love Filippo bore to art. The latter then remained several months in Florence, secretly preparing models and machines, all intended for the erection of the Cupola, amusing himself meanwhile with perpetually bantering his brother-artists; for it was at this time that he made the jest of "the Grasso and Matteo."* He frequently went also for his amusement to assist Lorenzo Ghiberti in finishing certain parts of the doors. But one morning the fancy took him, hearing that there was some talk of providing engineers for the construction of the Cupola, of returning to Rome, thinking that he would have more reputation and be more sought from abroad, than if he remained in Florence. When Filippo had returned to Rome accordingly, the acuteness of his genius and his readiness of resource were taken into consideration, when it was remembered that in his discourses he showed a confidence and courage that had not been found in any of the other architects, who stood confounded, together with the builders, having lost all power of proceeding; for they were convinced that no method of constructing the Cupola would ever be found, nor any beams that would make a scaffold strong enough to support the framework and weight of so vast an edifice. The Superintendents were therefore resolved to have an end of the matter, and wrote to Filippo in Rome, entreating him to repair to Florence, when he, who desired nothing better, returned very readily. The wardens of Santa Maria del Fiore and the syndics of the Guild of Woolworkers, having assembled on his arrival, set before him all the difficulties, from the greatest to the smallest, which had been made by the masters, who were present, together with himself, at the audience: whereupon Filippo replied in these words — "Gentlemen Superintendents, there is no doubt that great undertakings

* This jest gave occasion to a story called "The fat Carpenter", and has been lately published by Moreni, from a manuscript in the Magliabechiana Library. The writer is unknown; but, in a note at the end of the manuscript, we are assured that it was gathered after the death of Brunellesco, from those who had heard him relate it, as, for example, Michelozzo, Luca della Robbia, and others. Moreni supposes, with reason, that while the artists cited may have concurred to narrate the circumstances, yet that Feo Bolcari, as being better versed in letters than they, was the person who wrote the story — *Ed. Flor.* 1849.

always present difficulties in their execution ; and if none ever did so before, this of yours does it to an extent of which you are not perhaps even yet fully aware, for I do not know that even the ancients ever raised so enormous a vault as this will be. I, who have many times reflected on the scaffoldings required, both within and without, and on the method to be pursued for working securely at this erection, have never been able to come to a decision ; and I am confounded, no less by the breadth than the height of the edifice. Now if the Cupola could be arched in a circular form, we might pursue the method adopted by the Romans in erecting the Pantheon of Rome ; that is, the Rotunda.* But here we must follow the eight sides of the building, dovetailing, and so, to speak, enchainning the stones, which will be a very difficult thing. Yet, remembering that this is a temple consecrated to God and the Virgin, I confidently trust, that for a work executed to their honour, they will not fail to infuse knowledge where it is now wanting, and will bestow strength, wisdom, and genius on him who shall be the author of such a project. But how can I help you in the matter, seeing that the work is not mine ? I tell you plainly, that if it belonged to me, my courage and power would beyond all doubt suffice to discover means whereby the work might be effected without so many difficulties ; but as yet I have not reflected on the matter to any extent, and you would have me tell you by what method it is to be accomplished. But even if your worship should determine that the cupola shall be raised, you will be compelled not only to make trial of me, who do not consider myself capable of being the sole adviser in so important a matter, but also to expend money, and to command that within a year, and on a fixed day, many architects shall assemble in Florence ; not Tuscans and Italians only, but Germans, French, and of every other nation : to them it is that such an undertaking should be proposed, to the end that having discussed the matter and decided among so many masters, the work may be commenced and entrusted to him who shall give the best evidence of capacity, or shall display the best method and judgment for the execution of so great a

* Here we have the words of Brunellesco himself, who gives us to understand whether the Cupola of the Rotunda could have been his model. - *Missells*.

charge. I am not able to offer you other counsel, or to propose a better arrangement than this."

The proposal and plan of Filippo pleased the Syndics and Wardens of the works, but they would have liked that he should meanwhile prepare a model, on which they might have decided. But he showed himself to have no such intention, and taking leave of them, declared that he was solicited by letters to return to Rome. The syndics then perceiving that their request and those of the wardens did not suffice to detain him, caused several of his friends to entreat his stay; but Filippo not yielding to these prayers, the wardens, one morning, ordered him a present of money; this was on the 26th of May, 1417, and the sum is to be seen among the expenses of Filippo, in the books of the works. All this was done to render him favourable to their wishes; but, firm to his resolution, he departed nevertheless from Florence and returned to Rome, where he continued the unremitting study of the same subject, making various arrangements and preparing himself for the completion of that work, being convinced, as was the truth, that no other than himself could conduct such an undertaking to its conclusion. Nor had Filippo advised the syndics to call new architects for any other reason, than was furnished by his desire that those masters should be the witnesses of his own superior genius: he by no means expected that they could or would receive the commission for vaulting that tribune, or would undertake the charge, which he believed to be altogether too difficult for them. Much time was meanwhile consumed, before the architects, whom the syndics had caused to be summoned from afar, could arrive from their different countries. Orders had been given to the Florentine merchants resident in France, Germany, England, and Spain, who were authorized to spend large sums of money for the purpose of sending them, and were commanded to obtain from the sovereigns of each realm the most experienced and distinguished masters of the respective countries.

In the year 1420, all these foreign masters were at length assembled in Florence, with those of Tuscany, and all the best Florentine artists in design. Filippo likewise then returned from Rome. They all assembled, therefore, in the hall of the wardens of Santa Maria del Fiore, the Syndics and Superintendents together with a select number of the most

capable and ingenious citizens being present, to the end that having heard the opinion of each on the subject, they might at length decide on the method to be adopted for vaulting the tribune. Being called into the audience, the opinions of all were heard one after another, and each architect declared the method which he had thought of adopting. And a fine thing it was to hear the strange and various notions then propounded on that matter. for one said that columns must be raised from the ground up, and that on these they must turn the arches, whereon the woodwork for supporting the weight must rest. Others affirmed that the vault should be turned in cystone or sponge-stone, (*spugna*), thereby to diminish the weight; and several of the masters agreed in the opinion, that a column must be erected in the centre, and the cupola raised in the form of a pavilion, like that of San Giovanni in Florence.* Nay, there were not wanting those who maintained that it would be a good plan to fill the space with earth,† among which small coins (*quattrini*) should be mingled, that when the cupola should be raised, they might then give permission that whoever should desire the soil might go to fetch it, when the people would immediately carry it away without expense. Filippo alone declared that the cupola might be erected without so great a mass of wood-work, without a column in the centre, and without the mound of earth; at a much lighter expense than would be caused by so many arches, and very easily, without any frame-work whatever.

Hearing this, the syndics, who were listening in the expectation of hearing some fine method, felt convinced that Filippo had talked like a mere simpleton, as did the superintendents, and all the other citizens; they derided him therefore, laughing at him, and turning away; they bade him discourse of something else, for that this was the talk of a fool or madman, as he was. Therefore Filippo, thinking he had cause of offence, replied, "But consider, gentlemen, that it is not possible to raise the cupola in any other manner than this of

* Not the Cupola properly so called, which is turned with the pointed arch, and is said to be the largest erected in the middle ages, but rather the external covering, the eight sides of which have the form of a pavilion—*Masselli*.

† According to a popular saying, cited by Baglioni, in the life of Giacomo della Porta, the Cupola of the Rotunda was constructed in that manner.

mine, and although you laugh at me, yet you will be obliged to admit, (if you do not mean to be obstinate), that it neither must nor can be done in any other manner: and if it be erected after the method that I propose, it must be turned in the manner of the pointed arch, and must be double—the one vaulting within, the other without, in such sort that a passage should be formed* between the two. At the angles of the eight walls, the building must be strengthened by the dove-tailing of the stones, and in like manner the walls themselves must be girt around by strong beams of oak. We must also provide for the lights, the staircases, and the conduits by which the rain-water may be carried off. And none of you have remembered that we must prepare supports within, for the execution of the mosaics, with many other difficult arrangements; but I, who see the cupola raised, I have reflected on all these things, and I know that there is no other mode of accomplishing them, than that of which I have spoken.” Becoming heated as he proceeded, the more Filippo sought to make his views clear to his hearers, that they might comprehend and agree with him, the more he awakened their doubt, and the less they confided in him, so that, instead of giving him their faith, they held him to be a fool and a babbler. Whereupon being more than once dismissed, and finally refusing to go, they caused him to be carried forcibly from the audience by the servants of the place, considering him to be altogether mad. This contemptuous treatment caused Filippo at a later period to say, that he dared not at that time pass through any part of the city, lest some one should say, “See, where goes that fool !” The syndics and others forming the assembly remained confounded, first, by the difficult methods proposed by the other masters, and next by that of Filippo, which seemed to them stark nonsense. He appeared to them to render the enterprise impossible by his two propositions—first, by that of making the cupola double, whereby the great weight to be sustained would be rendered altogether unmanageable, and next by the proposal of building without a frame-work. Filippo, on the other hand, who had spent so many years in close study to prepare himself for this work, knew not to what course to betake himself, and was many times on the point of leaving Florence. Still, if he desired to conquer, it was

* Nothing similar to this had ever then been undertaken.—*Masselli*.

necessary to arm himself with patience, and he had seen enough to know that the heads of that city seldom remained long fixed to one resolution. He might easily have shown them a small model which he had secretly made, but he would not do so, knowing the imperfect intelligence of the syndics, the envy of the artists, and the instability of the citizens, who favoured now one and now another, as each chanced to please them. And I do not wonder at this, because every one in Florence professes to know as much of these matters, as do the most experienced masters, although there are very few who really understand them; a truth which we may be permitted to affirm without offence to those who are well informed on the subject. What Filippo therefore could not effect before the tribunal, he began to attempt with individuals, and talking apart now with a syndic, now with a warden, and again with different citizens, showing moreover certain parts of his design; he thus brought them at length to resolve on confiding the conduct of this work, either to him or to one of the foreign architects. Hereupon, the syndics, the wardens, and the citizens, selected to be judges in the matter, having regained courage, gathered together once again, and the architects disputed respecting the matter before them; but all were put down and vanquished on sufficient grounds by Filippo, and here it is said that the dispute of the egg arose, in the manner following. The other architects desired that Filippo should explain his purpose minutely, and show his model as they had shown theirs. This he would not do, but proposed to all the masters, foreigners and compatriots, that he who could make an egg stand upright on a piece of smooth marble, should be appointed to build the cupola, since in doing that, his genius would be made manifest. They took an egg accordingly, and all those masters did their best to make it stand upright, but none discovered the method of doing so. Wherefore, Filippo, being told that he might make it stand himself, took it daintily into his hand, gave the end of it a blow on the plane of the marble, and made it stand upright. Beholding this, the artists loudly protested, exclaiming, that they could all have done the same; but Filippo replied, laughing, that they might also know how to construct the cupola, if they had seen the model and design. It was thus at length resolved that Filippo should receive the

charge of conducting the work, but he was told that he must furnish the syndics and wardens with more exact information.

He returned, therefore, to his house, and stated his whole purpose on a sheet of paper, as clearly as he could possibly express it, when it was given to the tribunal in the following terms :—" The difficulties of this erection being well considered, magnificent signors and wardens, I find that it cannot by any means be constructed in a perfect circle, since the extent of the upper part, where the lantern has to be placed, would be so vast, that when a weight was laid thereon it would soon give way. Now it appears to me that those architects who do not aim at giving perpetual duration to their fabrics, cannot have any regard for the durability of the memorial, nor do they even know what they are doing. I have therefore determined to turn the inner part of this vault into angles, according to the form of the walls, adopting the proportions and manner of the pointed arch, this being a form which displays a rapid tendency to ascend, and when loaded with the lantern, each part will help to give stability to the other. The thickness of the vault at the base must be three braccia and three quarters; it must then rise in the form of a pyramid decreasing from without up to the point where it closes, and where the lantern has to be placed, and at this junction the thickness must be one braccia and a quarter. A second vault shall then be constructed outside the first, to preserve the latter from the rain, and this must be two braccia and a half thick at the base, also diminishing proportionally in the form of a pyramid, in such a manner that the parts shall have their junction at the commencement of the lantern, as did the other, and at the highest point it must have two-thirds of the thickness of the base. There must be a buttress at each angle, which will be eight in all, and between the angles, in the face of each wall, there shall be two, sixteen in all; and these sixteen buttresses on the inner and outer side of each wall must each have the breadth of four braccia at the base. These two vaults, built in the form of a pyramid, shall rise together in equal proportion to the height of the round window closed by the lantern. There will thus be constructed twenty-four buttresses with the said vaults built around, and six strong and high arches of a hard stone (*macigno*), well clamped and bound with iron fastenings, which must be

covered with tin, and over these stones shall be cramping-irons, by which the vaults shall be bound to the buttresses. The masonry must be solid, and must leave no vacant space up to the height of five braccia and a quarter: the buttresses being then continued, the arches will be separated. The first and second courses from the base must be strengthened everywhere by long plates of *macigno* laid crosswise, in such sort that both vaults of the Cupola shall rest on these stones. Throughout the whole height, at every ninth braccia there shall be small arches constructed in the vaults between the buttresses, with strong cramps of oak, whereby the buttresses by which the inner vault is supported will be bound and strengthened; these fastenings of oak shall then be covered with plates of iron, on account of the staircases. The buttresses are all to be built of *macigno*, or other hard stone, and the walls of the Cupola are, in like manner, to be all of solid stone bound to the buttresses to the height of twenty-four braccia, and thence upwards they shall be constructed of bricks, or of spongite (*spugne*), as shall be determined on by the masters who build it, they using that which they consider lightest. On the outside a passage or gallery shall be made above the windows, which below shall form a terrace, with an open parapet or balustrade two braccia high, after the manner of those of the lower tribunes, and forming two galleries, one over the other, placed on a richly-decorated cornice, the upper gallery being covered. The rain-water shall be carried off the cupola by means of a marble channel, one-third of an ell broad, the water being discharged at an outlet to be constructed of a hard stone, (*pietra forte*), beneath the channel. Eight ribs of marble shall be formed on the angles of the external surface of the Cupola, of such thickness as may be requisite; these shall rise to the height of one braccia above the Cupola, with cornices projecting in the manner of a roof, two braccia broad, that the summit may be complete and sufficiently furnished with eaves and channels on every side; and these must have the form of the pyramid, from their base, or point of junction, to their extremity. Thus the Cupola shall be constructed after the method described above, and without framework, to the height of thirty braccia, and from that height upwards it may be continued after such manner as shall be determined

on by the masters who may have to build it, since practice teaches us by what methods to proceed."

When Filippo had written the above, he repaired in the morning to the tribunal, and gave his paper to the Syndics and Wardens, who took the whole of it into their consideration; and, although they were not able to understand it all, yet seeing the confidence of Filippo, and finding that the other architects gave no evidence of having better grounds to proceed on,—he moreover showing a manifest security, by constantly repeating the same things in such a manner that he had all the appearance of having vaulted ten Cupolas;—the Syndics, seeing all this, retired apart, and finally resolved to give him the work: they would have liked to see some example of the manner in which he meant to turn this vault without framework, but to all the rest they gave their approbation.* And fortune was favourable to this desire. Bartolommeo Barbadori having determined to build a chapel in Santa Felicita, and having spoken concerning it with Filippo, the latter had commenced the work, and caused the chapel, which is on the right of the entrance, where is also the holy water vase (likewise by the hand of Filippo),† to be vaulted without any framework. At the same time he constructed another, in like manner, for Stiatta Ridolfi, in the church of Santo Jacopo sopr' Arno; that, namely, beside the chapel of the High Altar; and these works obtained him more credit than was given to his words. The Consuls and wardens feeling at length assured, by the writing that he had given them, and by the works which they had seen, entrusted the Cupola to his care, and he was made principal master of the works by a majority of votes. They would nevertheless not commission him to proceed beyond the height of twelve braccia, telling him that they desired to see how the work would succeed, but that if it proceeded as successfully as he

* In a deliberation extracted from the Books of the Works, and reproduced by Nelli in his description of this cathedral, by which we find the assertion that the cupola was constructed without frame-work fully confirmed; and wherein we read the following, among other remarks relating to the mode of its erection.—"And let large bricks also be made, weighing from twenty-five to thirty pounds each, and not more."
—*Masselli*.

† This chapel afterwards belonged to the Counts Capponi, but the Cupola was removed in the last remodernization of the building.—*Schorr*.

expected, they would not fail to give him the appointment for the remainder.* The sight of so much obstinacy and distrust in the syndics and wardens was so surprising to Filippo, that if he had not known himself to be the only person capable of conducting the work, he would not have laid a hand upon it; but desiring, as he did, to secure the glory of its completion, he accepted the terms, and pledged himself to conduct the undertaking perfectly to the end. The writing Filippo had given was copied into a book wherein the purveyor kept the accounts of the works in wood and marble, together with the obligation into which Filippo had entered as above said. An allowance was then made to him, conformably with what had at other times been given to other Masters of the works.

When the commission given to Filippo became known to the artists and citizens, some thought well of it, and others ill, as always is the case with a matter which calls forth the opinions of the populace, the thoughtless, and the envious. Whilst the preparation of materials for beginning to build was making, a party was formed among the artists and citizens; and these men proceeding to the syndics and wardens, declared that the matter had been concluded too hastily, and that such a work ought not to be executed according to the opinion of one man only; they added, that if the syndics and wardens had been destitute of distinguished men, instead of being furnished with such in abundance, they would have been excusable, but that what was now done was not likely to redound to the honour of the citizens, seeing, that if any accident should happen, they would incur blame, as persons who had conferred too great a charge on one man, without considering the losses and disgrace that might result to the public. All this considered, it would be well to give Filippo a colleague, who might restrain his impetuosity (*furore*).

Lorenzo Ghiberti had at that time attained to high credit by the evidence of his genius, which he had given in the doors of San Giovanni; and that he was much beloved by certain persons who were very powerful in the government was now proved with sufficient clearness, since, perceiving

* Those who desire more minute details, may consult the anonymous biographer before cited, p. 324, *et seq.*

the glory of Filippo to increase so greatly, they laboured in such a manner with the syndics and wardens, under the pretext of care and anxiety for the building, that Ghiberti was united with Filippo in the work. The bitter vexation of Filippo, the despair into which he fell, when he heard what the wardens had done, may be understood by the fact that he was on the point of flying from Florence; and had it not been that Donato and Luca della Robbia comforted and encouraged him, he would have gone out of his senses. A truly wicked and cruel rage is that of those men, who, blinded by envy, endanger the honours and noble works of others in the base strife of ambition: it was not the fault of these men that Filippo did not break in pieces the models, set fire to the designs, and in one half hour destroy all the labours so long endured, and ruin the hopes of so many years. The wardens excused themselves at first to Filippo, encouraging him to proceed, reminding him that the inventor and author of so noble a fabric was still himself, and no other; but they, nevertheless, gave Lorenzo a stipend equal to that of Filippo. The work was then continued with but little pleasure on the part of Filippo, who knew that he must endure all the labours connected therewith, and would then have to divide the honour and fame equally with Lorenzo. Taking courage, nevertheless, from the thought that he should find a method of preventing the latter from remaining very long attached to that undertaking, he continued to proceed after the manner laid down in the writing given to the wardens. Meanwhile the thought occurred to the mind of Filippo of constructing a complete model, which, as yet, had never been done. This he commenced forthwith, causing the parts to be made by a certain Bartolommeo, a joiner, who dwelt near his studio. In this model, (the measurements of which were in strict accordance with those of the building itself, the difference being of size only), all the difficult parts of the structure were shown as they were to be when completed; as, for example, staircases lighted and dark, with every other kind of light, with the buttresses and other inventions for giving strength to the building, the doors, and even a portion of the gallery. Lorenzo, having heard of this model, desired to see it, but Filippo refusing, he became angry, and made preparations for constructing a model of his own, that he might not

appear to be receiving his salary for nothing, but that he also might seem to count for something in the matter. For these models Filippo received fifty lire and fifteen soldi, as we find by an order in the book of Migliore di Tommaso, under date of the 3rd October 1419,* while Lorenzo was paid three hundred lire for the labour and cost of his model, a difference occasioned by the partiality and favour shown to him, rather than merited by any utility or benefit secured to the building by the model which he had constructed.

This vexatious state of things continued beneath the eyes of Filippo until the year 1426,† the friends of Lorenzo calling him the inventor of the work, equally with Filippo, and this caused so violent a commotion in the mind of the latter, that he lived in the utmost disquietude. Various improvements and new inventions were, besides, presenting themselves to his thoughts, and he resolved to rid himself of his colleague at all hazards, knowing of how little use he was to the work. Filippo had already raised the walls of the Cupola to the height of twelve braccia in both vaults, but the works, whether in wood or stone, that were to give strength to the fabric, had still to be executed, and as this was a matter of difficulty, he determined to speak with Lorenzo respecting it, that he might ascertain whether the latter had taken it into consideration. But Lorenzo was so far from having thought of this exigency, and so entirely unprepared for it, that he replied by declaring that he would refer that to Filippo as the inventor. The answer of Lorenzo pleased Filippo, who thought he here saw the means of removing his colleague from the works, and of making it manifest that he did not possess that degree of knowledge in the matter which was attributed to him by his friends, and implied in the favour which had placed him in the situation he held. All the builders were now engaged in the work, and waited only for directions, to commence the part above the twelve braccia, to raise the vaults, and render all secure. The closing in of the Cupola towards the top having commenced, it was necessary to provide the scaffold-

* This statement does not agree with what has previously been said, namely, that the assembly of the architects did not take place until 1420.

—Schorn.

† Or more correctly 1423, at which time Filippo had already been appointed sole master of the works, as Vasari himself relates in the sequel, but Lorenzo drew his salary until the year 1426 — *Ibid.*

ing, that the masons and labourers might work without danger, seeing that the height was such as to make the most steady head turn giddy, and the firmest spirit shrink, merely to look down from it. The masons and other masters were therefore waiting in expectation of directions as to the manner in which the chains were to be applied, and the scaffoldings erected; but, finding there was nothing determined on either by Lorenzo or Filippo, there arose a murmur among the masons and other builders, at not seeing the work pursued with the solicitude previously shown; and as the workmen were poor persons who lived by the labour of their hands, and who now believed that neither one nor the other of the architects had courage enough to proceed further with the undertaking, they went about the building employing themselves as they best could in looking over and furbishing up all that had been already executed.

But one morning Filippo did not appear at the works: he tied up his head, went to bed complaining bitterly, and causing plates and towels to be heated with great haste and anxiety, pretending that he had an attack of pleurisy. The builders, who stood waiting directions to proceed with their work, on hearing this, demanded orders of Lorenzo for what they were to do; but he replied, that the arrangement of the work belonged to Filippo, and that they must wait for him. "How?" said one of them, "do not you know what his intentions are?" "Yes", replied Lorenzo, "but I would not do any thing without him." This he said by way of excusing himself; for as he had not seen the model of Filippo, and had never asked him what method he meant to pursue, that he might not appear ignorant, so he now felt completely out of his depth, being thus referred to his own judgment, and the more so as he knew that he was employed in that undertaking against the will of Filippo. The illness of the latter having already lasted more than two days, the purveyor of the works, with many of the master-builders, went to see him, and repeatedly asked him to tell them what they should do; but he constantly replied, "You have Lorenzo, let him begin to do something for once." Nor could they obtain from him any other reply. When this became known, it caused much discussion: great blame was thrown upon the undertaking, and many adverse judgments were

uttered. Some said that Filippo had taken to his bed from grief, at finding that he had not power to accomplish the erection of the Cupola, and that he was now repenting of having meddled with the matter ; but his friends defended him, declaring that his vexation might arise from the wrong he had suffered in having Lorenzo given to him as a colleague, but that his disorder was pleurisy, brought on by his excessive labours for the work. In the midst of all this tumult of tongues, the building was suspended, and almost all the operations of the masons and stone-cutters came to a stand. These men murmured against Lorenzo, and said, "He is good enough at drawing the salary, but when it comes to directing the manner in which we are to proceed, he does nothing ; if Filippo were not here, or if he should remain long disabled, what can Lorenzo do ? and if Filippo be ill, is that his fault ? The wardens, perceiving the discredit that accrued to them from this state of things, resolved to make Filippo a visit, and having reached his house they first condoled with him on his illness, told him into what disorder the building had fallen, and described the troubles which this malady had brought on them. Whereupon Filippo, speaking with much heat, partly to keep up the feint of illness, but also in part from his interest in the work, exclaimed, "What ! is not Lorenzo there ? why does not he do something ? I cannot but wonder at your complaints." To this the wardens replied, "He will not do anything without you " Whereunto Filippo made answer, "But I could do it well enough without him." This acute and doubly significant reply sufficed to the wardens, and they departed, having convinced themselves that Filippo was sick of the desire to work alone ; they therefore sent certain of his friends to draw him from his bed, with the intention of removing Lorenzo from the work. Filippo then returned to the building, but seeing the power that Lorenzo possessed by means of the favour he enjoyed, and that he desired to receive the salary without taking any share whatever in the labour, he bethought himself of another method for disgracing him, and making it publicly and fully evident that he had very little knowledge of the matter in hand. He consequently made the following discourse to the Wardens (*Operai*), Lorenzo being present :—
"Signori *Operai*, if the time we have to live were as well secured to us as is the certainty that we may very quickly

die, there is no doubt whatever that many works would be completed, which are now commenced and left imperfect. The malady with which I have had the misfortune to be attacked, might have deprived me of life, and put a stop to this work ; wherefore, lest I should again fall sick, or Lorenzo either, which God forbid, I have considered that it would be better for each to execute his own portion of the work : as your worships have divided the salary, let us also divide the labour, to the end that each, being incited to show what he knows and is capable of performing, may proceed with confidence, to his own honour and benefit, as well as to that of the republic. Now there are two difficult operations which must at this time be put into course of execution—the one is the erection of scaffoldings for enabling the builders to work in safety, and which must be prepared both for the inside and outside of the fabric, where they will be required to sustain the weight of the men, the stones and the mortar, with space also for the crane to draw up the different materials, and for other machines and tools of various kinds. The other difficulty is the chain-work, which has to be constructed upon the twelve braccia already erected, this being requisite to bind and secure the eight sides of the cupola, and which must surround the fabric, enchaining the whole, in such a manner, that the weight which has hereafter to be laid on it shall press equally on all sides, the parts mutually supporting each other, so that no portion of the edifice shall be too heavily pressed on or over-weighted, but that all shall rest firmly on its own basis. Let Lorenzo then take one of these works, whichever he may think he can most easily execute, I will take the other and answer for bringing it to a successful conclusion, that we may lose no more time.” Lorenzo having heard this, was compelled, for the sake of his honour, to accept one or other of these undertakings ; and although he did it very unwillingly, he resolved to take the chain-work, thinking that he might rely on the counsels of the builders, and remembering also that there was a chain-work of stone in the vaulting of San Giovanni di Fiorenza, from which he might take a part, if not the whole, of the arrangement. One took the scaffolds in hand accordingly, and the other the chain-work, so that both were put in progress. The scaffolds of Filippo were constructed with so much ingenuity and

judgment,* that in this matter the very contrary of what many had before expected was seen to have happened, since the builders worked thereon with as much security as they would have done on the ground beneath, drawing up all the requisite weights and standing themselves in perfect safety. The models of these scaffolds were deposited in the hall of the wardens. Lorenzo executed the chain-work on one of the eight walls with the utmost difficulty, and when it was finished the wardens caused Filippo to look at it. He said nothing to them, but with some of his friends he held discourse on the subject, declaring that the building required a very different work of ligature and security to that one, laid in a manner altogether unlike the method there adopted; for that this would not suffice to support the weight which was to be laid on it, the pressure not being of sufficient strength and firmness. He added that the sums paid to Lorenzo, with the chain-work which he had caused to be constructed, were so much labour, time, and money thrown away. The remarks of Filippo became known, and he was called upon to show the manner that ought to be adopted for the construction of such a chain-work; wherefore, having already prepared his designs and models, he exhibited them immediately, and they were no sooner examined by the wardens and other masters, than they perceived the error into which they had fallen by favouring Lorenzo. For this they now resolved to make amends; and desiring to prove that they were capable of distinguishing merit, they made Filippo chief and superintendent of the whole fabric for life, commanding that nothing should be done in the work but as he should direct. As a further mark of approbation, they presented him moreover with a hundred florins, ordered by the syndics and wardens, under date of August 13, 1423, through Lorenzo Paoli, notary of the administration of the works, and signed by Gherardo di Messer Filippo Corsini: they also voted him an allowance of one hundred florins for life.† Whereupon, having

* The original design of these erections was preserved in the library of the Senator G. B. Nelli, by whom it was published for the first time in 1753, in his *Discorsi di Architettura*. See also the *Metropolitana Fiorentina Illustrata*, Florence, 1820.

† The anonymous biographer varies materially in the account of these payments, given in different parts of his work. See pp. 326 and 330.—*Ed. Flor.* 1849.

taken measures for the future progress of the fabric, Filippo conducted the works with so much solicitude and such minute attention, that there was not a stone placed in the building which he had not examined. Lorenzo on the other hand, finding himself vanquished and in a manner disgraced, was nevertheless so powerfully assisted and favoured by his friends, that he continued to receive his salary, under the pretext that he could not be dismissed until the expiration of three years from that time.

Drawings and models were meanwhile continually prepared by Filippo, for the most minute portions of the building, for the stages or scaffolds for the workmen, and for the machines used in raising the materials. There were nevertheless several malicious persons, friends of Lorenzo, who did not cease to torment him by daily bringing forward models in rivalry of those constructed by him, insomuch that one was made by Maestro Antonio da Verzellì,* and other masters who were favoured and brought into notice—now by one citizen and now by another, their fickleness and mutability betraying the insufficiency of their knowledge and the weakness of their judgment, since having perfection within their reach, they perpetually brought forward the imperfect and useless.

The chain-work was now completed around all the eight sides, and the builders, animated by success, worked vigorously ; but being pressed more than usual by Filippo, and having received certain reprimands concerning the masonry and in relation to other matters of daily occurrence, discontents began to prevail. Moved by this circumstance and by their envy, the chiefs among them drew together and got up a faction, declaring that the work was a laborious and perilous undertaking, and that they would not proceed with the vaulting of the Cupola, but on condition of receiving large payments, although their wages had already been increased and were much higher than was usual : by these means they hoped to injure Filippo and increase their own gains. This circumstance displeased the wardens greatly, as it did Filippo also ; but the latter, having reflected on the matter, took his resolution, and one Saturday evening he dismissed them all. The men seeing themselves thus sent about their business,

† Of whom we have no other notice than these words.—*Masselli*.

and not knowing how the affair would turn, were very sullen ; but on the following Monday Filippo set ten Lombards to work at the building, and by remaining constantly present with them, and saying, "do this here" and "do that there", he taught them so much in one day that they were able to continue the works during many weeks. The masons seeing themselves thus disgraced as well as deprived of their employment, and knowing that they would find no work equally profitable, sent messengers to Filippo, declaring that they would willingly return, and recommending themselves to his consideration. Filippo kept them for several days in suspense, and seemed not inclined to admit them again ; they were afterwards reinstated, but with lower wages than they had received at first : thus where they had thought to make gain they suffered loss, and by seeking to revenge themselves on Filippo, they brought injury and shame on their own heads.

The tongues of the envious were now silenced, and when the building was seen to proceed so happily, the genius of Filippo obtained its due consideration ; and, by all who judged dispassionately, he was already held to have shown a boldness which has, perhaps, never before been displayed in their works, by any architect ancient or modern. This opinion was confirmed by the fact that Filippo now brought out his model, in which all might see the extraordinary amount of thought bestowed on every detail of the building. The varied invention displayed in the staircases, in the provision of lights, both within and without, so that none might strike or injure themselves in the darkness, were all made manifest, with the careful consideration evinced by the different supports of iron which were placed to assist the footsteps wherever the ascent was steep. In addition to all this, Filippo had even thought of the irons for fixing scaffolds within the cupola, if ever they should be required for the execution of mosaics or pictures ; he had selected the least dangerous positions for the places of the conduits, to be afterwards constructed for carrying off the rain water, had shown where these were to be covered and where uncovered ; and had moreover contrived different outlets and apertures, whereby the force of the winds should be diminished, to the end that neither vapours nor the vibrations of the earth, should have power to do injury to the building : all which proved the extent to which he had pre-

fited by his studies, during the many years of his residence in Rome. When in addition to these things, the superintendents considered how much he had accomplished in the shaping, fixing, uniting, and securing the stones of this immense pile, they were almost awe-struck on perceiving that the mind of one man had been capable of all that Filippo had now proved himself able to perform. His powers and facilities continually increased, and that to such an extent, that there was no operation, however difficult and complex, which he did not render easy and simple ; of this he gave proof in one instance among others, by the employment of wheels and counterpoises to raise heavy weights, so that one ox could draw more than six pairs could have moved by the ordinary methods. The building had now reached such a height, that when a man had once arrived at the summit, it was a very great labour to descend to the ground, and the workmen lost much time in going to their meals, and to drink ; they also suffered great inconvenience in the heat of the day from the same cause ; arrangements were therefore made by Filippo, for opening wine-shops and eating-houses in the Cupola ; where the required food being sold, none were compelled to leave their labour until the evening, which was a relief and convenience to the men, as well as a very important advantage to the work. Perceiving the building to proceed rapidly, and finding all his undertakings happily successful, the zeal and confidence of Filippo increased, and he laboured perpetually ; he went himself to the ovens where the bricks were made, examined the clay, proved the quality of the working, and when they were baked he would select and set them apart, with his own hands. In like manner, while the stones were under the hands of the stone-cutters, he would look narrowly to see that they were hard and free from clefts ; he supplied the stone-cutters with models in wood or wax, or* hastily cut on the spot from turnips, to direct them in the shaping and junction of the different masses ; he did the same thing for the men who prepared the iron-work ; Filippo likewise invented hooked hinges, with the mode of fixing them to the door-posts, and greatly facilitated the practice of architecture, which was certainly brought by his labours to

* This "or" has been added by modern editors, as necessary to the sense of the passage.—*Muscelli*.

a perfection that it would else perhaps never have attained among the Tuscans.

In the year 1423, when the utmost rejoicing and festivity was prevailing in Florence, Filippo was chosen one of the *Signori* for the district of San Giovanni, for the months of May and June; Lapo Niccolini being chosen Gonfalonier for the district of Santa Croce: and if Filippo be found registered in the Priorista as “di Ser Brunellesco Lippi”, this need not occasion surprise, since they called him so after his grandfather, Lippo, instead of “di Lapi”, as they ought to have done. And this practice is seen to prevail in the Priorista, with respect to many others, as is well known to all who have examined it, or who are acquainted with the custom of those times. Filippo performed his functions carefully in that office, and in others connected with the magistracy of the city, to which he was subsequently appointed, he constantly acquitted himself with the most judicious consideration.*

The two vaults of the Cupola were now approaching their close, at the circular window where the lanthorn was to begin, and there now remained to Filippo, who had made various models in wood and clay, both of the one and the other, in Rome and Florence, to decide finally as to which of these he would put in execution, wherefore he resolved to complete the gallery, and accordingly made different plans for it, which remained in the hall of the wardens after his death, but which by the neglect of those officials, have since been lost.† But it was

* Two years before Brunellesco reached the term of his work—and of all his labours—he received a mortifying affront from the Consuls of the Guild of Builders. Finding that he carried on the building without paying himself to pay the annual tax due from every artist who desired to exercise his calling, in addition to the fees paid at his registration, they caused him to be apprehended and thrown into prison. This being made known to the wardens, they became very indignant, and assembling instantly, issued a solemn decree, commanding that Filippo should be liberated, and that the Consuls of the Guild should be imprisoned, which was accordingly done. Baldinucci is the only writer by whom this fact is related. He discovered and printed the authentic document containing the decree, which is dated Aug. 20, 1434. See Moreni, *Due Vite del Brunellesco*, etc., pp. 274-6.

† Of all these models, designs, etc., there now remain in the hall of the wardens only a model, in wood, of the external Cupola and the drum beneath it; a second, shewing a part of the staircase formed between the exterior and interior Cupola, one of the magazines constructed be-

not until our own days. that, even a fragment was executed on a part of one of the eight sides, (to the end that the building might be completed,) but as it was not in accordance with the plan of Filippo, it was removed by the advice of Michelagnolo Buonarroti,† and was not again attempted.

Filippo also constructed a model for the lanthorn, with his own hand; it had eight sides, the proportions were in harmony with those of the Cupola, and for the invention as well as variety and decoration, it was certainly very beautiful. He did not omit the stair-case for ascending to the ball, which was an admirable thing; but as he had closed the entrance with a morsel of wood fixed at the lower part, no one but himself knew its position. Filippo was now highly renowned, but notwithstanding this, and although he had already overcome the envy and abated the arrogance of so many opponents, he could not yet escape the vexation of finding that all the masters of Florence, when his model had been seen, were setting themselves to make others in various manners; nay, there was even a lady of the Gaddi family, who ventured to place her knowledge in competition with that of Filippo.‡ The latter, meanwhile, could not refrain from laughing at the presumption of these people, and when he was told by certain of his friends that he ought not to show his model to any artist lest they should learn from it, he replied that there was but one true model, and that the others were good for nothing. Some of the other masters had used parts of Fi-

neath the drum, and two of machines for raising weights. There is, besides, one small but well-preserved model of the lanthorn, but it cannot be that of Brunellesco, since it wants the staircase formed within the pillar, with all that would serve to show the internal construction.

* On the south-east, and opposite to the Guadagni (now Ricardi) palace. The design was by Baccio d'Agnolo, and the work was executed in Carrara marble—*Schoen*. See also *Masselli*.

† Who, returning from Rome, made a great outcry respecting this gallery, which was in the style of a portico, and which he called a fly-cage, “gabbia da grillo” (more literally, perhaps, a cage for crickets). “Grillo” is also a whim; and such indeed it may well have appeared to him, comparing it, as he did, with the magnificent ornament by which the drum of the great Cupola of the Vatican is enriched.

‡ Five artists presented models for the lanthorn—Lorenzo Ghiberti, Antonio Manetti (respecting whom see Gaye, *Carteggio Inedito*, etc., i, 167, *et seq.*), Bruno di Ser Lapo Mazzei, Domenico Stagnano, and finally Filippo Brunelleschi. We are indebted for these notices to the author of the *Descrizione della Cattedrale di Prato*, Prato, 1846.

lippo's model for their own, which, when the latter perceived, he remarked, "The next model made by this personage will be mine altogether." The work of Filippo was very highly praised, with the exception, that, not perceiving the staircase by which the ball was to be attained, the model was considered defective on that point. The superintendants determined, nevertheless, to give him the commission for the work, but on condition that he should show them the staircase; whereupon Filippo, removing the morsel of wood which he had placed at the foot of the stair, showed it constructed as it is now seen, within one of the piers, and presenting the form of a hollow reed or blow-pipe, having a recess or groove on one side, with bars* of bronze, by means of which the summit was gradually attained. Filippo was now at an age which rendered it impossible that he should live to see the lanthorn completed; he therefore left directions, by his will, that it should be built after the model here described, and according to the rules which he had laid down in writing, affirming that the fabric would otherwise be in danger of falling, since, being constructed with the pointed arch, it required to be rendered secure by means of the pressure of the weight to be thus added. But, though Filippo could not complete the edifice before his death, he raised the lanthorn to the height of several braccia,† causing almost all the marbles required for the completion of the building to be carefully prepared and brought to the place. At the sight of these huge masses as they arrived, the people stood amazed, marvelling that it should be possible for Filippo to propose the laying of such a weight on the Cupola. It was, indeed, the opinion of many intelligent men that it could not possibly support that weight. It appeared to them to be a piece of good fortune that he had conducted it so far, and they considered the loading it so heavily to be a tempting of Providence.‡ Filippo constantly laughed at these fears, and having

* "Staffe", otherwise rendered "rings".

† The first stone of the lanthorn was laid in 1443, and was consecrated by Sant' Antonio; the last was placed in 1461, and was consecrated by the Archbishop Giovanni Neroni, in the presence of the Chapter, with the Signoria and Gonfaloniere.—Moreni, *Due Vite del Brunellesco*, etc., p. 278, note.

‡ The original is "un tentare Dio". I give our familiar English phrase, as perhaps less offensive in the letter though equally senseless and impious in the spirit.

prepared all the machines and instruments required for the construction of the edifice, he ceased not to employ all his time in taking thought for its future requirements, providing and preparing all the minutiae, even to guarding against the danger of the marbles being chipped as they were drawn up; to which intent the arches of the tabernacles were built within defences of wood-work; and for all beside the master gave models and written directions, as we have said

How beautiful this building is, it will itself bear testimony. With respect to the height, from the level ground to the commencement of the lanthorn, there are one hundred and fifty-four braccia;* the body of the lanthorn is thirty-six braccia high; the copper ball four braccia;† the cross eight braccia; in all two hundred and two braccia. And it may be confidently affirmed that the ancients never carried their buildings to so vast a height, nor committed themselves to so great a risk as to dare a competition with the heavens, which this structure verily appears to do, seeing that it rears itself to such an elevation that the hills around Florence do not appear to equal it.‡ And of a truth it might seem that the heavens did feel envious of its height, since their lightnings perpetually strike it.§ While this work was in progress, Filippo con-

* Masselli observes that the Tuscan braccio, which is the ancient Roman foot doubled for the greater convenience, is equal to one foot nine inches and six lines Paris measure. The Florentine editors of 1846-9 add the remark, that the measure of the whole building, as given by Vasari, differs from that given by Fantozzi to the extent of six braccia, the latter assigning a hundred and ninety six braccia as the total height.

† The ball, with the cross (the work of Andrea Verrocchio, whose life follows), was fixed in its place twenty-three years after the death of Brunelleschi, but, having been thrown down by the lightning in the year 1601, it has been replaced by one somewhat larger.—*Masselli*.

‡ It exceeds the Cupola of the Vatican, both in height and circumference, by four braccia, and although supported by eight ribs only, which renders it much lighter than that of the Vatican, which has sixteen flanking buttresses, it is nevertheless more solid and firm. Thus it has never required to be supported by circling hoops of iron, nor has it demanded the labours of the many engineers who have printed volumes of controversies on that subject. See the *Tempio Vaticano* of Fontani, the *Discorsi dell' Architettura*, etc. Schorn remarks that the columns on the south side did at first sink a little, which caused some slight cracks, but they were immediately closed — *German Edition*, vol. ii, p. 204.

§ See the *Metropolitana Illustrata* of G. del Rosso, for an account of the most important injuries inflicted by lightnings down to that of 1776.

structed many other fabrics, which shall now be enumerated in their due order.*

For the family of the Pazzi, Filippo prepared with his own hand, the model for the chapter-house of Santa Croce, in Florence,† a work of great and varied beauty. He likewise made the model of the Busini Palace,‡ a dwelling calculated for two families, as also the model for the house and loggia of the Innocenti,§ the vaulting of which was completed without scaffolding, a method which is still observed in the present day. It is said that Filippo was invited to Milan, to construct the model of a fortress for the Duke Filippo Maria, and that he left the building of the house of the Innocenti meanwhile to the care of his intimate friend Francesco della Luna.|| This Francesco made the bordering of an architrave increasing from the upper to the lower part, which is a violation of architectural rules. When Filippo returned, and reproached him for having done such a thing, Francesco replied that he had taken it from the church of San Giovanni, which is antique. "One sole fault," answered Filippo, "is to be found in that building, and that thou hast imitated."¶ The model of this edifice, by Filippo's own hand, was for many years to be seen in the house of the Guild of Por Santa Maria, and was highly valued, as a portion of the fabric still remained to be finished, but it is now lost. Filippo likewise

In 1812 the building was furnished with lightning conductors, as the Vatican had previously been; and this seems to have sufficiently secured the edifice, which may without exaggeration be called the miracle of architecture.—*Masselli*.

* For further details respecting this work, see Morem, *Due vite di Brunelleschi*, etc., p. 272, et seq.

† Brocchi, in his *Lives of the Florentine Saints*, attributes the erection of this chapter-house to the year 1400, when Brunelleschi was but twenty-three years old.

‡ Now the Quaratesi Palace, in the Piazza d'Ognissanti, Nos. 3423, 3424. —Fantozzi, *Pianta Geometrica di Firenze*.

§ See Gaye, *Carteggio Inedito*, i, 549.

|| This Francesco della Luna was the disciple of Brunellesco in architecture. In the archives of the Administration of Works for the Cathedral of Siena, are many of his letters to Messer Caterino di Corsino, warden of that church —*Ed. Flor.* 1849.

¶ The anonymous biographer is more diffuse than Vasari, when speaking of the audacity and want of judgment betrayed by Francesco della Luna, in frequently departing from the designs of Brunellesco.—*Masselli*.

prepared the model for the abbey of the Canons-regular of Fiesole, for Cosimo de' Medici.* The architecture is of a richly-decorated character, and the building is cheerful, commodious, and truly magnificent. The church, of which the vaultings are coved, is lofty, and the sacristy has its due conveniences, as have all the buildings of the monastery.† But the circumstance most worthy of consideration, and most important, is, that having to erect that edifice, properly levelled, on the declivity of the mountain, he availed himself with infinite judgment, of the descent, and placed therein the cellars, laundries, bakehouses, kitchens, stables, wood chambers, and many other offices beside, so that it is not possible to imagine anything more commodious. He thus secured a level space for the edifice; insomuch that he was able to place the loggia, the refectory, the infirmary, the noviciate, the dormitory, the library, and other principal apartments proper to a monastery, on the same plane: all which was executed at his own cost by the magnificent Cosmo de' Medici, who was moved to this partly by the piety which he constantly displayed in all matters touching the Christian faith, and partly by the affection which he bore to Don Timoteo da Verona, a most excellent preacher of the above-mentioned order, in whose conversation he took so much pleasure, that, for the better enjoyment thereof, he caused several rooms to be constructed in the monastery for his own use, and occasionally resided in them. On this building, Cosimo expended one hundred thousand scudi, as may be seen on an inscription still remaining there. The model for the fortress of Vicosano was likewise prepared by Filippo, who moreover designed the old citadel of Pisa, and by whom the Ponte a Mare‡ was also fortified. In like manner he also gave the design for the new citadel, whereby the bridge was closed by the two towers. and made the model for the fortifications of the harbour of Pesaro. Having then returned to Milan, he prepared the designs of various works for the duke, among others, the plans for the masters who were constructing the cathedral of that city.

For the many important buildings erected at the cost of Cosmo, called Father of his country. see his life by Fabbroni.

† Great changes were made there when the monastery was suppressed.

‡ For more minute details respecting this work and the preceding, see Gaye, *Carteggio Inedito*, i, 544, 545.

It was at this time that the church of San Lorenzo, in Florence, was commenced by the inhabitants,* who had chosen the prior superintendent of the building. That personage made profession of much knowledge in that matter, and busied himself with architecture by way of pastime. The edifice was already commenced, with columns constructed of brick, when Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, who had promised the inhabitants and the prior to build the sacristy and one of the chapels at his own expense, invited Filippo one day to dine with him. After conversing on various matters, Giovanni asked what he thought of the commencement made at San Lorenzo. Filippo was constrained by the entreaties of Giovanni, to give his opinion, and truth compelled him to point out many faults, the consequence of its being directed by a person who had, perhaps, more learning than practical experience in matters of that kind. Thereupon Giovanni inquired of Filippo if a better and more beautiful fabric could be devised, to which Filippo replied, "Without doubt, and I wonder that you, who are the chief of the undertaking, do not expend a few thousand crowns, and build such a church, with its proper appurtenances, as might be worthy of the place, and of the many noble families whose sepulchres are there. Moreover, if you were seen to commence the work, these families would then set about building their chapels to the very best of their ability, and the more readily, as knowing that no memorial remains of our existence but the walls, which bear testimony to those who erected them, hundreds or thousands of years before." Encouraged by the words of Filippo, Giovanni determined to construct the sacristy, the principal chapel, and the whole body of the church, although seven families only were willing to aid in the building, the remainder not possessing the means. Those who took part in the work were the Rondinelli, Ginori, Dalla Stufa, Neroni, Ciai, Marignolli, Martelli and Marco di Luca, whose chapels were all to be made in the cross aisle. The sacristy was the first portion of the structure put in progress, and afterwards

* Rebuilt in the earlier part of the fifteenth century (about 1423), after having been destroyed by fire, as we are informed by Masselli, who follows Del Migliore. But Moreni affirms that to be a mistake, declaring the ancient building to have been in danger of falling, and therefore reconstructed. See also Gaye, *ut supra*, vol. i, pp. 546, 552, 557.

the church gradually proceeded; but, as it went on very slowly, the remaining chapels were granted by degrees to various Florentine citizens. The roof of the sacristy was not completed when Giovanni de' Medici departed to another life, leaving Cosimo his son, who possessing more zeal than his father, and taking pleasure in the memorials of other times, caused the edifice to proceed. This was the first building that he constructed, and he found so much enjoyment in the occupation, that from that time forward, he continued constantly building, even to his death.* Cosimo pressed forward the work in hand with infinite zeal, and while one part was in progress, he caused others to be carried to completion.† So much pleasure did he take in the work, that he was almost always present himself; and his eagerness was such that, while Filippo erected the sacristy, he made Donato prepare the ornaments in stucco, with the stone decorations of the small doors, and the doors of bronze. In the centre of the sacristy, used by the priests for assuming their vestments, Cosimo caused the tomb of his father Giovanni to be constructed, beneath a broad slab of marble, supported by four small columns; and in the same place he made a sepulchre for his family, wherein he separated the tombs of the men from those of the women. In one of the two small rooms which are on each side of the sacristy, having the altar between them, he made a well in one corner, with a place for a lavatory. The whole work, in short, is seen to have been completed with much judgment. Giovanni and the masters first employed, had determined to construct the choir in the centre, and beneath the tribune, but this Cosimo altered at the request of Filippo, who increased the size of the principal

* The later Florentine editors remark, that in all this narration respecting the church and old sacristy of San Lorenzo, Vasari falls into many errors, which were dissipated, with the aid of documents, by the Canon Moreni. Giovanni d'Averardo, called Bicci de' Medici, never intended to do more than build the sacristy, with two chapels, one within it, and one close to it; and these buildings were completed when Giovanni died, in 1428. The principal chapel, with the whole body of the church, is due to Cosimo, *Pater patriæ*, who, seeing that the chapter could not be brought to an agreement on the subject, pledged himself to construct the foundations of those two fabrics. See the *Descrizione della Cappella delle pietre dure e delle Sagrestia Vecchia di San Lorenzo*, etc., p. 48.

† For this building Cosimo set apart 40,000 florins of gold. See Fabbroni, *Vita M. C. Med.* p. 194.

chapel,—which was at first assigned but a small recess,—so that the choir could be made as we see it in the present day. This being finished, there still remained the central tribune and the remainder of the church, which tribune and the rest was not vaulted until after the death of Filippo. The length of this church is one hundred and forty-four braccia.* Many errors may be perceived in it: among others, that of the pilasters being placed on the ground, instead of being raised on a dado, the height of which should have been equal to the level of the bases supporting the columns, which are placed on the steps; since the consequence of the pilaster being shorter than the column is, that the whole work looks stunted and ungraceful. But all this was caused by the counsels of those who came after Filippo, who envied his fame, and who had made models for the purpose of opposing his views during his lifetime. For these they had been rendered contemptible, by sonnets which Filippo had written; and in this manner they avenged themselves after his death, not in this work only, but in all that remained to be executed by them. Filippo left the model of San Lorenzo complete, and a part of the capitular buildings for the priests was finished, making the cloister one hundred and forty-four braccia in length.

While this fabric was in course of erection, Cosimo de' Medici resolved to construct his own palace, and forthwith imparted his intentions to Filippo, when the latter set every other occupation aside, and made him a large and very beautiful model for the building, which he intended to erect on the Piazza, opposite to San Lorenzo, proposing that it should stand entirely isolated on every side. On this occasion the genius and art of Filippo were so nobly displayed, that Cosimo, believing the building would be too vast and sumptuous, could not resolve to have it executed, but he abandoned it more in fear of envy, than because he was deterred by the expense. Whilst this model was in progress, Filippo used to

* At the death of Brunellesco, the sacristy of Lorenzo was finished; but not so the cross-aisle of the church, nor yet the small tribune, which was completed, both within and without, in a manner deviating widely from the plans of Brunellesco. The architect who ruined his idea was Antonio Manetti, as we learn from a letter published by Gaye, vol. i, p. 167 *et seq.* For the most accurate account of the principal dimensions of this building, see the *Guida di Firenze* of the architect Fantozzi.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

say, that he thanked his fortune for so fair an opportunity, since he had now a house to build, such as he had desired to have for many years; but when he heard the determination of Cosimo not to put his design into execution, he broke the model, in his anger, into a thousand pieces. And deeply did Cosimo repent of not having adopted the plans of Filippo, when at a later period he had built his palace on a different model;* and when alluding to Filippo, he would often say, that he had never spoken with a man of higher intelligence or bolder mind, than was possessed by Brunellesco. For the noble family of the Scolari,† Filippo made the model of that most fanciful and remarkable church of the Angeli, which remained incomplete and in the state wherein we now see it, because the Florentines spent the money (which was placed in the Monte for the expenses of the building), for certain exigencies of their city, or as some say, in the wars which they then carried on against the Lucchesi,‡ and wherein they also expended the funds which had been left in like manner by Niccolò da Uzzano, to erect the college of the Sapienza, as we have related at length elsewhere§ And of a truth, if this church of the Angeli had been completed according to the model of Brunellesco, it would have been one of the most

* Built after the design and under the care of Michelozzo Michelozzi, as will be seen in the life of that architect, but with less magnificence, and in a manner by no means exempt from fault.—*Masselli*.

† Of this church, which, by a vow of the celebrated Pippo Spano, who belonged to the Scolari family, was to have been dedicated to the twelve Apostles, and which had been erected almost to the height of the Cornice, there still exist most beautiful remains, to the extent of nine braccia of the height; the external wall of sixteen sides, that is to say, five of which are visible on turning from the Via degli Alfani into the Castellaccio. Other parts also remain; but the roof was never erected, and the pavement has been taken up, to admit of the space being turned into a garden for the use of the monastery. Cosmo I proposed that it should be finished by the Academy of Arts, and used as their place of assembly, as will be seen in the life of Gio. Angiolo Montorsoli. For drawings of this building, see Boni, *Memorie per le belle Arte*, Romæ, 1786, ii, p. 57; also D'Agincourt, *Archit.* pl. 50, 16. But they are not entirely accurate; the windows in the Cupola not being in strict accordance with the intentions of Brunellesco. See *Descrizione di alcuni disegni Architettomici di Classici Autori*, Pisa, 1818.

‡ Of this abstraction of funds there is mention in the notes to the *Vita di Filippo Scolari*, published in the fourth volume of the *Archivio Storico Italiano*.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

§ In the life of Lorenzo di Bicci, *ante*, p. 294.

extraordinary buildings in Italy; since that which we see of it cannot be sufficiently praised. The drawings for the ground-plan, and those for the completion of this octagonal temple by the hand of Filippo, are preserved in our book with other designs of the same master.

In a place called Ruciano, outside the gate of San Niccolò at Florence, Filippo constructed a rich and magnificent palace for Messer Luca Pitti, but this was not by any means equal to that which he commenced for the same person within the city of Florence, and which he completed to the second range of windows, with so much grandeur and magnificence, that no more splendid or more beautiful edifice in the Tuscan manner has yet been seen. The doors of this palace are double; the height of each fold being sixteen braccia and the breadth eight: the first and second ranges of windows being similar to the doors; the vaultings are also double, and the whole building is of such high art, that richer, more beautiful, or more magnificent architecture cannot be imagined. The builder of this palace was the Florentine architect Luca Fanelli, who executed many buildings for Filippo, and who constructed the principal chapel of the Nunziata in Florence, for Leon Batista Alberti,* by whom it was designed at the command of Ludovico Gonzaga. Luca Fanelli was afterwards taken by Gonzaga to Mantua, where he executed many works, and having chosen a wife in that city, he there lived and died, leaving heirs, who, from his name, are still called the Luchi. The palace designed for Luca Pitti was purchased, not many years since, by the most illustrious lady, Leonora of Toledo, duchess of Florence, advised to do so by the most illustrious Signor, the duke Cosmo, her consort, and she so greatly enlarged the property in all directions, that she succeeded in forming a very extensive garden, partly in the plain, partly on the summit of the hill, and partly on the declivities: this she filled with all kinds of trees, indigenous and exotic, very finely arranged, and caused beautiful groves to be planted of various kinds of evergreens, which flourish all the year round; to say nothing of the waters, fountains, fish ponds, and aviaries, the espaliers, and many other things truly worthy of a magnanimous prince, which I do not describe, because it is impossible that he who does not see them

* See the life of Leon Batista Alberti, which follows.

should ever imagine their grandeur and beauty.* And it is certain that duke Cosimo could not have found any undertaking more worthy of the elevation and greatness of his mind than the completion of this palace, which would seem to have been erected by Messer Luca Pitti, expressly for his most illustrious excellency Messer Lucca left it unfinished, being constantly occupied with his labours for the state; and his heirs, not having means wherewith to complete the building, were glad to give it up to the duchess, who continued to expend money on it during the whole of her life, but not to such an amount as to give hope that it could be quickly finished. It is true that she had intended, as I have heard, to expend 40,000 ducats on it in one year only, if she lived, to the end that she might see it if not finished, at least on the way to completion. The model of Filippo has not been found, and his excellency has therefore had another made by Bartolommeo Ammanati, an excellent sculptor and architect † It is according to this that they are now working, and a great part of the inner court is already completed in rustic work, similar to that of the outer court.‡ And of a truth, whoever

* For various details respecting the Pitti Palace and Gardens, see the well-known works of Anguillesi, Inghirami, etc.

† Paolo Falconieri, a most accomplished architect, subsequently made a design for the completion of the work, which is described by Baldinucci in the life of Ammanati; but this was not put in execution, on account of its great cost. Among the designs afterwards prepared, that of Giulio Parigi was executed in part, as we are also told, by Baldinucci. Great additions and embellishments have been made, both inside and out, by the modern architects Gasparo Paoletti, Guiseppe Cacialli, and Cav. Pasquale Poccianti. Some notice of this royal palace will be found in almost all the most celebrated architectural works.—*Masselli*.

‡ See Ruggieri, *Studio d'Architettura di porte e finestre*, for drawings of many parts of this palace. The *Rondo Vecchio*, which forms a right angle with the main building, was completed in the year 1764, under Marshal Botta; and the *Rondo Nuovo*, which is on the other side, was commenced by the Grand Duke Leopold in 1785, and finished by Ferdinand III, in 1799. For this building Brunelleschi adopted the so-called rustic style, examples of which may be seen in ancient edifices in Tuscany, and in the Roman dominions, as, for example, in the Aqua Martia and Curia Hostilia, in the walls of Colonocelli near Tivoli, in a temple near Terracina, and even in certain instances in Greece (See Dodwell, *Views and Descriptions of Cyclopaean and Pelasgic Remains in Greece and Italy*, London, 1834). Instances are also found of the use of this style throughout the middle ages: as, for example, in the palace of the Emperor Barbarossa at Gelnhausen. Brunelleschi was the founder

reflects on the grandeur of this work, will be amazed that the mind of Filippo was capable of conceiving a building so vast and so truly magnificent, not only in its external form, but also in the distribution of all its apartments. Of the views from this palace, which are most beautiful, I say nothing, nor yet of the pleasant hills which form almost an amphitheatre around the edifice, in the direction of the city walls, because it would occupy me too long, as I have said, to describe these things in full, nor could any one who has not seen it, imagine how greatly this palace is superior to every other royal edifice.

It is said that the machinery for the "paradise" of San Felice in Piazza, in the same city, was invented by Filippo for the festival of the Annunciation, which was solemnized by a Representation, in the manner customary in old times among the Florentines. This was without doubt a most extraordinary thing, giving proof of great ability and industry in him who was the inventor, since there was the spectacle of a heaven full of living figures moving about on high, with an infinity of lights, which appeared and disappeared almost as does the lightning. All who could have described these things from their own knowledge are now dead, and the machinery itself is destroyed without a hope that it can ever be reconstructed, seeing that the place is no longer inhabited as of old by the monks of Camaldoli, but by the nuns of San Pier Martire; and also because the monastery of the Carmine suffered considerable injury from that machinery, which pulled down the timbers of the roof. I will therefore not refuse the labour of describing it exactly as it was. Filippo, then, for the purposes of this representation, had suspended between two of the beams which support the roof, the half of a globe, resembling an empty bowl, or rather the basin used by barbers, with the edge downwards; this half-globe was formed of light and thin planks, secured to an iron star, passing round the outer circle; they were narrowed towards the centre, the whole being held in equilibrium by a large ring

of the so-called Florentine manner, which gives to domestic architecture the grave, fortress like aspect, most proper to express the relation of the aristocracy of that time to the people, when it was indispensable that the rich and powerful should be well prepared for making an effectual defence against the violence of popular outbreaks — *Si iorn.*

of iron, around which moved the iron star, whereby the planks forming the basin were supported. The whole machine was upheld by a strong beam of pine-wood, well bound with iron, and placed across the main timbers of the roof: to this beam was fastened the ring which held the basin suspended and balanced; the latter, as seen from below, really presenting the appearance of a heaven. Within the lower edge of the machine were then fixed brackets of wood, exactly large enough to give space for the feet to stand on, but not larger, above each of these, at the height of a braccia, was provided an iron fastening; this was done to the end that a child of about twelve years old might be placed on each bracket, and the child was so bound to the iron above that it could not possibly fall even if it would. These children, twelve in number, being arranged as we have said, were dressed to represent angels with gilded wings, and hair formed of gold threads; they took each other by the hand at the proper time, and waving their arms appeared to be dancing, the rather as the basin was perpetually moving and turning round. Within this concave frame-work and above the heads of the angels were fixed three chaplets or garlands of lights, formed of minute lamps that could not be overturned, and which when seen from below, had the appearance of stars. The brackets also, being covered with cotton wool, presented the semblance of clouds. From the ring above described, there proceeded a very strong iron bar with a second ring, to which was affixed a slender cord, descending towards the ground, as shall be explained in due time; this strong bar of iron had eight branches or arms, which revolved in an arc sufficiently large to fill the space of the hollow basin: at the end of each arm was a stand about the size of a plate, and on every stand was placed a child of about nine years old, well secured to an iron fixed in the upper part of the branch or vane, but yet in such a manner that it could turn itself in all directions. These eight angels, upheld by the above-mentioned iron bar, were gradually lowered by means of a small windlass, and descended from the hollow of the circular space, to the depth of eight braccia below the level of the woodwork supporting the roof, in such sort that they could be seen without concealing from view the twelve angels within the edge of the machine. In the centre of this *bouquet* of the eight angels, (for so was

it very appropriately called), was a halo or glory (*Mandorla*) of copper, wherein were numerous perforations, displaying small lamps placed on an iron in the form of a tube, which, on the pressing down of a spring, was concealed within the copper "*mandorla*"; but when the spring was not pressed, all the lamps appeared lighted through the apertures formed for that purpose in the mandorla. When the group of angels had reached its appointed place, this mandorla, which was suspended by a small cord, was moved softly down by means of another little windlass, and descended gradually to the platform, whereon the representation was exhibited. At that point of the platform where the mandorla was to rest, an elevated place in the manner of a throne was erected, with four steps; in the centre of this elevation was an opening into which the pointed iron of the mandorla descended: the latter having reached its place, a man concealed beneath the throne fixed it securely, without being seen himself, by means of a bolt, so that it rested firmly on its own basis. Within the mandorla was a youth of about fifteen years old, in the guise of an angel, he was bound by an iron cincture to the centre of the mandorla, and secured at the foot of it also in such a manner that he could not fall; but to admit of his kneeling before the Virgin, the iron fastenings were divided into three pieces, which glided one within the other with an easy motion, as the youth knelt down. Then, when the *bouquet* of angels had descended, and the mandorla was fixed into its place, the man who had secured it by means of the bolt, also unfastened the iron which supported the angel, whereupon he, having issued forth, proceeded across the platform, and approaching the spot where sat the Virgin, he made his salutation and uttered the announcement. He then returned into the mandorla, and the lights, which had been extinguished on his leaving it, having been rekindled, the iron which supported him was again secured by the man concealed below, that which held the mandorla to its place was taken away, and the latter was drawn up; while the angels of the *bouquet*, and those who were moving about in the heaven above, all singing, produced such an effect, that the show really appeared to be a paradise. And this illusion was the more effectually produced, because, in addition to the above-described choir of angels, and those forming the group, there was a figure re-

presenting God the Father, placed near the convex side of the basin, and surrounded by other angels similar to those already described ; all arranged by the help of irons in such a manner, that the circle representing heaven, the group of angels, the figure of God the Father, the mandorla with its infinitude of light, and the exquisite accords of soft music, did truly represent paradise. Then to all this was added, that Filippo, for the purpose of permitting the heaven to open and shut, had caused two large folding-doors, each five braccia high, to be constructed, and had provided them with iron or copper rollers, running in grooves beneath, and these last were well oiled, so that when a slender cord placed on each side was drawn by a little windlass, the doors opened or shut as was desired ; the two folds gradually retiring from or closing towards each other by means of the channels beneath as aforesaid. These doors, thus constructed, served a double purpose, the one that when they were moved their weight caused them to produce a sound resembling thunder, the other, that when closed they formed a stage whereon to arrange and make ready the angels, and prepare many other things which it was necessary to do out of sight. This machinery then, constructed as has been described, was invented by Filippo, with many other engines of various kinds, although there are those who affirm that they had been invented long before. However this may be, it was proper to speak of them, seeing that they are altogether gone out of use.*

But we will now return to Filippo, whose name and renown had increased to such an extent that he was sent for from distant places by whomsoever proposed to erect important fabrics, all desiring to have their designs and models from the hand of so great a master, insomuch that powerful means were used, and much friendship displayed, for that purpose.†

* The custom was restored at the marriage of the Prince Francesec, when a representation of the character here described took place in Santo Spirito, an edifice affording ample space, and where the spectacle was exhibited with a more magnificent apparatus.—*Masselli*.

† Bocchi, *Bellezze di Firenze*, p. 506, relates, that Pope Eugenius IV having requested an architect from Cosimo de' Medici, for certain works which he desired to execute, the latter sent him Brunellesco, accompanied by a letter written with his own hand, wherein he says, "I send your Holiness a man of such immense capacity that he would have confidence enough to turn the world back on its axis" Having read the

Thus the Marquis of Mantua, among others, desiring to secure the services of Filippo, wrote with very earnest instances respecting him to the Signoria of Florence, by whom the master was accordingly sent to the marquis in that city, where, in the year 1445, he prepared designs for the construction of dams on the Po, with other works, according to the wish of that prince, who caressed him infinitely, being wont to say that Florence was as worthy to number Filippo among her citizens as he to have so noble and beautiful a city for his birthplace. At Pisa, in like manner, Filippo gave proof of his pre-eminence to the Count Francesco Sforza and Niccolò da Pisa, whom he had surpassed in the construction of certain fortifications, and who commended him in his presence, saying, that if every state possessed a man like Filippo,* all might live in peace, without the use of arms. In Florence, also, Filippo gave the design for the Barbadori

letter, his Holiness cast a glance at Filippo, and seeing him, as he was, so small and insignificant in appearance, he said with a pleasant manner, "This is the man whose courage would suffice to turn the world about." Whereupon Filippo replied, "Let your holiness only give me the point whereon I can fix my lever, and I will then show what I can do." Bocchi subsequently adds, that Filippo returned to Florence loaded with honours and rich rewards.

* Vasari has forgotten to mention certain hydraulic operations attempted by Filippo, in the years 1429-30, when the war of the Florentines against Lucca was at its height. Brunellesco having been sent thither by the republic, with Michelozzo, Donatello, Domenico di Matteo, and (adds Baldinucci) Lorenzo Ghiberti, for his assistants, conceived the thought of turning the city of Lucca into an island, by digging around and enclosing it within trenches, when, a part of the river Serchio being turned for that purpose, the city might be laid under water; but the effect was contrary to his intentions, for, by means of these operations, the city of Lucca became a fortress which the enemy could not approach, and vast numbers of men died at the works, whilst many others became sick; so that the mad inundation, as Giovanni Cavalcanti calls it in his *Storie Fiorentine* (vol. i, pp. 327-32), had an unhappy result, and its author obtained no praise, but rather much blame. Gaye (*Carteggio Inedito*, etc.), has published the letter of the Florentine republic to Rinaldo degli Albizzi, which mentions Brunellesco being sent to Lucca for this purpose; and Moreni, in the notes to the *Due Vite di Brunellesco*, confirms the fact by documents, and by a passage taken from a contemporary author, who was, however, neither Francesco di Rinaldo di Papero nor Lodovico di Papero Cavalcanti, but the above cited Giovanni Cavalcanti himself. See his *Storie Fiorentine*, published by Molini in 1838, with learned and elaborate notes, historical and philological, by Signor Filippo Luigi Polidori.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846 9.

Palace, near the tower of the Rossi, in the suburb of San Jacopo, but this was not put in execution. He likewise prepared the design for the palace of the Giuntini,* on the piazza d'Ognissanti sopra Arno. At a subsequent period, the leaders of the Guelphic party, in Florence, determined to erect a building wherein there should be a hall, with an audience chamber, for the transaction of their affairs; and the care of this they entrusted to Francesco della Luna. The work was commenced, and was raised ten braccia from the ground, many faults having been committed in it, when it was put into the hands of Filippo, who constructed the palace in the form, and with the magnificence which we now see. In the execution of this work, Filippo had to compete with the said Francesco, who was favoured by many, and this was indeed the case with Filippo while he lived; he was ever striving, now with this man, and now with that; for many were hostile to him, and contending with him, and causing him perpetual vexations; nay, they not unfrequently sought to gain honour for themselves from his designs, by which he was ultimately brought to refuse to show anything or to confide in any one. The hall of the above-named palace is no longer used by those captains of the Guelphs before mentioned, seeing that the flood of 1557 having done much injury to the papers of the Monte, Duke Cosimo, for the greater security of the writings appertaining thereto, and which are of the utmost importance, removed them, together with the offices of the institution, to that hall.† But, to the end that the ancient staircase of this palace should still serve for the office of the captains, who had given up the hall, which is used as the Monte, and had retired to a different part of the palace, his excellency gave commission to Giorgio Vasari for the construction of the very commodious staircase which now ascends to the said hall of the Monte, and which was erected by him accordingly. A balcony of wrought stone has also been executed, from a design by the same architect, and this has been placed, according to the intentions of Filippo, on fluted columns of a hard grey stone, called *macigno*.

* Afterwards incorporated, as is believed, with the Geri, now the Martellini palace.—*Musselli*.

† This building still serves, in part, for the purposes of the Monte.—*Ibid.*

In the church of Santo Spirito, the sermons during Lent were one year preached by Maestro Francesco Zoppo, then very popular with the Florentines. In these sermons the preacher had earnestly recommended the claims of the convent and schools for youth, but more particularly those of the church which had been burnt about that time, to the consideration of his hearers.* Thereupon the chief persons of that quarter, Lorenzo Ridolfi, Bartolommeo Corbinelli, Neri di Gino Capponi, and Goro di Stagio Dati, with many other citizens, obtained an order from the Signoria for the rebuilding of the church of Santo Spirito, of which they made Stoldo Frescobaldi proveditor. Frescobaldi, moved by the interest he felt in the old church, the high altar and principal chapel of which had been constructed by his family, devoted extraordinary care to the building; nay, from the very beginning, and before the funds had been gathered from those who, having chapels and burial-places in the church, were proportionally taxed for the purpose, he expended many thousands of scudi, of his own money, but which were afterwards repaid to him.

When the matter had been fully resolved on, Filippo was sent for, and he made a model, comprising all the requisites demanded for the due completion of a Christian temple, whether as regards utility or beauty. On this occasion Filippo laboured much to persuade those who had authority in the matter, to agree that an entire change should be made in the ground plan of the edifice, which he would have turned completely round, and this because he greatly desired that the space in front of the Church should extend to the shores of the Arno, to the end that he who arrived in the city from Genoa, and the Riviera, or from the Pisan and Lucchese territories, should behold the magnificence of this

* The church was not burnt at that time,—during the life of Brunellesco, that is,—but in 1471, which was many years after his death. Before the old church was destroyed, and at the instigation of the preacher, Fra Francesco Mellini, a new one had been commenced, much larger, and more magnificent than the former, but in immediate proximity with it, and according to the design of Brunellesco Stoldo Frescobaldi had been chosen proveditor as early as 1433. The conflagration then caused the building to be accelerated, inasmuch that it was ready for the performance of Divine service in the year 1481. See Moreni, *Vite del Brunellesco*, p. 99, note 2

fabrie. But as many of the citizens, unwilling to have their houses destroyed, refused to agree to this, the desire of Filippo did not take effect. He made the model of the church, therefore, together with the buildings for the dwelling-place of the monks, in the form that we now see it. The length of the church was one hundred and sixty-one braccia, the breadth fifty-four, and the whole building is so well ordered that no work could be constructed, which, for the arrangement of the columns and other ornaments, would be richer, more graceful, or more airy than is this church of Santo Spirito. Nay, were it not for the malevolence of those who perpetually ruin the beautiful commencement of things for the purpose of appearing to understand more than others, it would now be the most perfect church in Christendom. Even as it is, the building is more graceful and more conveniently arranged than any other, although it was not completed according to the model : this we perceive from the beginnings of certain parts of the outside, which have not been executed in accordance with the order observed within ; as it appears that the model would have had the doors and the framework of the windows to do. There are some errors which I will not enumerate, and which are attributed to Filippo, but it is not to be believed that he would have endured their presence had he completed the building, seeing that all his works are brought to perfection with great judgment, prudence, ingenuity, and art, and that this building itself proves him to have possessed a genius truly sublime.*

Filippo was truly facetious in conversation, and acute in repartee, as was shown on a certain occasion, when he desired to vex Lorenzo Ghiberti, who had bought a farm at Monte Morello, called Lepriano, on which he spent double the income that he derived from it. This caused Lorenzo great vexation, insomuch that he sold the farm. Filippo was asked about that time, what was the best thing that Lorenzo had done—being expected perhaps to answer in terms of depreciation respecting the works of Lorenzo on account of the enmity between them—when he replied, “ To sell Lepriano.” At length when he had become very old, (he was sixty-nine years of age that is to say), Filippo departed to a better

* The admiration of Michael Angelo for this edifice is well known.—*Massell.*

life, on the 16th of April, 1446,* after having laboured much in the performance of those works† by which he earned an honoured name on earth, and obtained a place of repose in heaven.‡ His death was deeply deplored by his country, which appreciated and esteemed him much more when dead than it had done while living. He was buried with most honourable and solemn obsequies in Santa Maria del Fiore, although his family sepulchre was in San Marco, beneath the pulpit and opposite the door, where may be found his escutcheon, bearing two fig-leaves with waves of green on a field of gold. His family belongs to the Ferrarese, and came from Ficaruolo, a castle on the Po,§ and this is expressed by the leaves, which denote the place, and by waves which signify the river. The death of Filippo was mourned by large numbers of his brother artists, more especially by those who were poor, and whom he constantly aided and benefited. Thus living in so Christian-like a manner he left to the world the memory of his excellence, and of his extraor-

* Dal Migliore, and with him Richa and Bottari, assign 1444 as the year of Brunellesco's death, but erroneously, since Vasari's date is in strict accordance with the memorials of the times. See *Gaye*, i, 144, note.

† The loggia of the hospital for convalescents, now the schools of St. Paul, on the Piazza di Santa Maria Novella, is attributed by some writers to Brunellesco, as is also the oratory of SS Pietro e Paolo, called the Madonna di pie di Piazza in Pescia, but *Gaye*, *Carteggio* *Inedito*, is inclined to consider this last the work of Filippo's disciple, Andrea di Lazzaro Cavalcanti, called Il Buggiano.

‡ Another work not mentioned by the biographers of Brunellesco is an arch in the sacristy of the Canons, in the Duomo. A decree of the wardens, issued on the 15th October, 1436, makes mention of this work. See Moreni, *Vita del Brunellesco*, p. 284, note.

§ Vasari took this notice, almost word for word, from the anonymous author of the *Vita del Brunellesco*, p. 293. There is full confirmation of its truth in the burial-registers of the convent of San Marco, where the origin of the Brunelleschi family is recorded as here given by Vasari, with the addition of the following words:—

"Sciendum est quod creditur hoc sepulcrum fuisse patris illius magni architectori Philippi ser Brunelleschi, qui habet statuum in Ecclesia Cathedrali, ob testudinem mirabilem ipsius ab eo factam ec."

So far the Florentine editors of 1846 9. Schorn remarks, that "the descent of the Brunelleschi from the ancient family of the Lapi, called in earlier times Aldobrandi, admits of no doubt, but of that family having originated in Ficaruolo, there is as little proof as there is of the assertion that the Lapi family was founded by the father of Arnolfo."—*German Translation of Vasari*, vol. ii, p. 223.

dinary talents. To me it appears, that from the time of the Greeks and Romans to the present, there has appeared no more excellent or more admirable genius than Filippo; and he is all the more worthy of praise, because in his time the German (Gothic) manner was in high favour through all Italy, being that in practice among all the elder artists, as may be seen in numerous edifices. It was Filippo who revived the use of the antique cornices, and who restored the Tuscan, Corinthian, Doric, and Ionic orders to their primitive forms. He had a disciple from Borgo a Buggiano, who was called Il Buggiano; it was this artist who executed the lavatory of the sacristy of Santa Reparata,* where there are figures of children, by whom the water is poured forth. He also executed the portrait of his master, taken from the life, in marble, and this, after the death of Brunellesco, was placed in Santa Maria del Fiore, at the door on the right hand as you enter the church; where there is still to be seen the following epitaph, placed there on the part of the public to do him honour, after his death, as he had done honour to his country during his life.

"Quantum Philippus architectus arte Dædalea valuerit, cum hujus celeberrimi templi mira testudo, tum plures aliæ divino ingenio ab eo adinventæ machinæ documento esse possunt. Quapropter ab eximias sui animi dotes, singularesque virtutes, xv Kal. Maias anno MCCCXLVI ejus h. m. corpus in hac haimo supposita grata patria sepeliri jussit"†

* With respect to this artist nothing was known, beyond the few indications given by Vasari, until the present time; but the *Carteggio Inedito di Artisti*, published by Gaye, has furnished us with more authentic and precise accounts of his existence, at least, if not of his works. His true name was Andrea di Lazzaro Cavalcanti, of the Borgo-a-Buggiano, in Val di Nievole, and not Michele, as Moreni affirms. He was brought up from a child by Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, and is registered as a "maestro di scarpello", but he also practised architecture, following the doctrines of his master. For the lavatory in the sacristy of Santa Reparata—a most eccentric production—he received eighty florins. The portrait of his master and adoptive father, mentioned in the text, is in the font-room of the apartments used by the Superintendents of the Duomo. We have no authentic information as to any other work of this artist, but Gaye believes the oratory of San Pietro e Paolo, in Pescia, to be by his hand, as is also a sort of temple erected within the cathedral of the same city. (See *Carteggio Inedito*, i, 142-45.) Brunellesco made him his heir, and to him was entrusted the execution of the epitaph on the tomb of his master.

† From a book of the Resolutions of the Superintendents, commencing

To do the master the greater honour, the two inscriptions following were added by others.

"*Filippo Brunellesco antiquæ architecturæ instauratori S. P. Q. F. civi suo benemerenti.*" *

The second was written by Gio. Battista Strozzi, and is as follows :

"Tal sopra sasso sasso
Di giro in giro eternamente io strussi;
Che così, passo passo
Alto giuando, al ciel mi ricondussi." †

Other disciples of Filippo Brunellesco were Domenico del Lago of Lugano, Geremia da Cremona, ‡ who worked extremely well in bronze, with a Slavonian, § who performed various works in Venice: Simone, who, after having executed the Madonna || in Or San Michele for the Guild of the Apothecaries, died at Vicovaro, while occupied with an important work for the Count di Tagliacozzo ¶ Antonio and Niccolo, both Florentines, who executed a horse in bronze at in March 1446, and extending to 1449, we find that Brunellesco's epitaph was composed by Carlo Marsuppini, Chancellor of the Republic, and not by his father Gregory Marsupini, as asserted by Richa.

* In the year 1830, the statues of the two architects who commenced and completed the cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore—Arnolfo and Brunellesco, namely—were placed in the new Chapter-house of that church. They were executed by the talented Florentine sculptor Luigi Pampaloni (since dead), and are accounted among the best works of modern Italian art.—*Schorn.*

† As stone on stone I raised, as course on course
For evermore I piled, so tend my steps,
Pace following pace, to my blest home in heaven.

‡ We learn from Panni, *Distinto Rapporto delle Pitture di Cremona*, etc., that a fine work of this Geremia, a tomb of Carrara marble, with ornaments well executed in basso-relievo, and bearing the date 1432, may be seen in the church of San Lorenzo.

§ The later Florentine commentators ask, "Who was this Slavonian architect?" and conjecture that the "Maestro Luciano Martini of Lauranna", a little city of Illyria, whom Federico D'Urbino invited in 1468 to construct his palace, as the most learned architect to be found, may be the Slavonian alluded to. Of this Maestro Luciano important notices are given by Gaye, i, 214-18.

|| This Madonna first occupied the niche afterwards appropriated to, and still retained by, the St. George of Donatello. The Madonna is now within the oratory.—*Schorn.*

¶ The sculptures of Vicovaro are still in good preservation. They adorn the façade of the church of the Madonna, now called the Old Church (Chiesa Vecchia).—*Massella.*

Ferrara, in the year 1461, for the Duke Borso ; with many others, whom it would take too long to enumerate more particularly.* Filippo was unfortunate in some respects; for besides that he had always to be contending with one or another many of his buildings remained unfinished in his own time, nor have they all been completed at any subsequent period. Among these fabrics was that of the church of the Angeli, and it is indeed much to be regretted, that the monks of the Angeli could not complete the building commenced by Filippo, since after they had spent, on what we now see, more than 3,000 scudi, received partly from the Guild of the Merchants, and partly from the *Monte*, where the funds were placed, the capital was squandered, and the church remained unfinished as it still continues. Wherefore, as we have remarked in the life of Niccolò da Uzzano,† he who desires to leave a memorial of his existence in this kind, let him do it for himself while he has life, and not confide the charge to any man, for what we have said of this church may be said of many other edifices planned by Filippo Brunelleschi.

* Gualandi, *Memorie di Belle Arti*, publishes several documents relating to these two masters. Antonio di Cristoforo and Niccolò di Giovanni Baroncelli, both Florentines, laboured together at Ferrara, where they produced various works in bronze. In 1443, Antonio was commissioned to make the model for an equestrian statue of the Marquis Niccolò da Este, in competition with Baroncelli. The two models being presented, that of Antonio was chosen, but in 1450 the two artists executed together the bronze figure of the Marquis Borso da Este, on a horse also of bronze. These statues were thrown down in 1796. For further details respecting these masters and their works, see Gualandi, *ut supra*, Serie iv, pp. 33-48, and Serie v, pp. 178-183.

† Bottari thinks it probable that Don Silvano Razzi, who took so large a part in these lives, may have written a "Life of Niccolò da Uzzano", and cites it here perhaps, speaking in his own person. But Masselli considers the expression to be rather a slight inadvertence of the writer, who meant to say, "as related of Niccolò da Uzzano in the Life of Lorenzo di Bicci", where the expression above repeated occurs

THE FLORENTINE SCULPTOR DONATO

[BORN 1386—DIED 1468.]

THE sculptor Donato,* called by his contemporaries Donatello, and who subscribes himself thus on some of his works, was born in Florence in the year 1386 † He devoted himself to the arts of design‡ and was not only an excellent sculptor and admirable statuary, but was beside very skilful in works of stucco, well versed in the study of perspective, and highly esteemed as an architect. The productions of Donatello displayed so much grace and excellence, with such correctness of design, that they were considered to resemble the admirable works of the ancient Greeks and Romans more closely than those of any other master had ever done. Nor is it without good reason that he is acknowledged to be the first who conducted the practice of historical composition, in basso rilievo, into the right path, his works of that kind giving proof of so much thought, power, and facility, that he is at once perceived to have had the true intelligence and mastery of that branch of art, which he exercised with extraordinary success, insomuch that he has not only remained unsurpassed in that style, but has never been equalled by any artist, even down to our own days.§

Donatello was brought up from early childhood in the

* In the fiscal register for 1430, this artist is called Donato di Niccolò di Betto Bardi, but in other documents he is sometimes called Donatello. When mentioned in reference to his works, he is usually called Donatello Fiorentino.

† In three documents cited by Gaye, the date of Donato's birth is variously given, as in 1382, 1386, 1387. We abide by the common opinion, that he was born in 1386.

‡ According to Masselli, Donato first studied painting under Lorenzo di Bicci: but the intelligent German commentators do not think this opinion well supported.

§ The high encomiums bestowed by Vasari, and after him by Borghini and Baldinucci, on Donatello, whom they declare to be the true restorer of sculpture, appear to be principally founded on the fact that he first succeeded in giving to his figures that freedom of movement, and force of expression, which were afterwards carried to the highest point by Buonarroti; a manner which, from the imposing solemnity of the effect produced, is called by the Italians *il terribile*. For a comparison of the manner of Donato with that of his contemporary Lorenzo Ghiberti, see Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.* ii. 286.

nouse of Ruberto Martelli and by his many good qualities, as well as by his diligence in the study of art, he secured the affection, not only of Martelli himself, but of his whole family. This master produced many works in his youth, but because they were many, they were not considered to be of any great account. The work which obtained him a name, and caused him to be known for what he really was, was an Annunciation,* executed in the stone called *macigno*, which was placed near the altar and chapel of the Cavalcanti family, in the church of Santa Croce, in Florence. Around this he executed an ornament in the *grotesque* manner, with a basement variously decorated and finished above in round arches. He added six boys who are bearing garlands; they appear to be holding each other closely as if in fear of the height, and to be thus seeking to secure themselves. But it is in the figure of the Virgin that he has principally displayed his art. Alarmed by the unexpected appearance of the angel, her movements betray timidity, yet, with great sweetness and most becoming reverence, she turns herself with an exquisite grace towards him who is saluting her, insomuch that one perceives in her countenance the humility and gratitude due to one who presents an unexpected gift, and which are all the more deeply felt, the more important is the benefit received. In the draperies of this madonna moreover, and in those of the angel, Donato exhibited much ability; they float off from the figures in graceful folds, the nude forms are displayed through them with masterly skill, and prove his determination to discover and restore that beauty of ancient art which had lain concealed for so many years: he gave evidence, in short, of so much power and art in this work, that design, judgment, and practised facility in the use of the chisel, could produce nothing finer, nor could better be desired.† For the same church, beneath the roodloft, and beside the historical

* Not marble, as Cicognara implies, but a fine-grained sandstone, called *macigno*, and found in many parts of the Apennines; it is considered to be in the highest perfection near Fiesole, and is sometimes called "*Pietra Fesulana*" from that circumstance. This stone receives various names, according to its colour, whether a lighter or darker grey, as *serena*, *griccia*, etc.

† This work still exists, but it is to be remarked that the boys are four, not six; and they are not in stone, but wood. The bassi-relievi are engraved by Cicognara, ii, pl. 5.

work of Taddeo Gaddi, Donato executed a Crucifix in wood, on which he bestowed extraordinary labour. When the work was completed, believing himself to have produced an admirable thing, he showed it to Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, his most intimate friend, desiring to have his opinion of it. Filippo, who had expected, from the words of Donato, to see a much finer production, smiled somewhat as he regarded it, and Donato seeing this, entreated him by the friendship existing between them, to say what he thought of it. Whereupon Filippo, who was exceedingly frank, replied, that Donato appeared to him to have placed a Clown on the cross, and not a figure resembling that of Jesus Christ, whose person was delicately beautiful, and in all its parts the most perfect form of man that had ever been born. Donato hearing himself censured where he had expected praise, and more hurt than he was perhaps willing to admit, replied, "If it were as easy to execute a work as to judge it, my figure would appear to thee to be Christ and not a boor; but take wood, and try to make one thyself." * Filippo, without saying anything more, returned home, and set to work on a Crucifix, wherein he laboured to surpass Donato, that he might not be condemned by his own judgment; but he suffered no one to know what he was doing. At the end of some months, the work was completed to the height of perfection, and thus done, Filippo one morning invited Donato to dine with him, and the latter accepted the invitation. Thereupon, as they were proceeding together towards the house of Filippo, they passed by the Mercato Vecchio, where the latter purchased various articles,† and giving them to Donato said, "Do thou go forward with these things to the house and wait for me there, I'll be after thee in a moment." Donato, therefore, having entered the house, had no sooner done so, than he saw the Crucifix, which Filippo had placed in a suitable light. Stopping short to examine the work, he

* Hence the proverbial expression, "*piglia del legno e fanne uno tu*" (take wood and make one thyself), which is constantly used to whoever disparages a thing which we think so good, that it could not be done better.—*Masselli*.

† An annotator of the seventeenth century, who has written notes on the margin of a copy of Vasari, which afterwards came into the possession of the painter Cav. Bossi, remarks that "in those days painters did not play the gentlemen as they do in our times."—*Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

found it so perfectly executed, that feeling himself conquered, full of astonishment, and, as it were startled out of himself, he dropped the hands which were holding up his apron, wherein he had placed the purchases, when the whole fell to the ground, eggs, cheese, and other things, all broken to pieces and mingled together. But Donato, not recovering from his astonishment, remained still gazing in amazement and like one out of his wits when Filippo arrived, and inquired, laughing, "What hast thou been about, Donato? and what dost thou mean us to have for dinner, since thou hast overturned everything?" "I, for my part," replied Donato, "have had my share of dinner for to-day; if thou must needs have thine, take it. But enough said: to thee it has been given to represent the Christ; to me, boors only."*

In the church of San Giovanni in the same city, Donato executed the sepulchral monument of the pope, Giovanni Coscia, who had been deposed from the pontificate by the Council of Constance. The monument to Coscia was erected at the cost of Cosimo de' Medici,† who was the intimate friend of the deposed pontiff. For this tomb, Donato executed the figure of the departed pope in gilded bronze, with those of Hope and Charity, in marble, all with his own hand; but the figure of Faith‡ was done by his pupil Michelozzo. In the same church, and opposite to the work just described, is a figure of Santa Maria Maddalena, executed in wood, which is extremely beautiful and admirably finished: the penitent is seen consumed and exhausted by her rigid fastings and abstinence, insomuch that every part exhibits the perfection of an anatomical study, most accurately represented in all its parts.§ In the Mercato Vecchio, on a co-

* The crucifix of Brunellesco is still in Santa Croce, in a chapel belonging to the Bardi family, at the upper end of the north aisle. See Cicognara, ii, pl. 5, vol. 4, p. 88, for plates of these two works, with a comparison of their respective merits — *Schorn*.

† Not by Cosimo de' Medici, but by the executors of the will of the pope, Baldassare Coscia (John XXIII). The inscription on the tomb is as follows. —

"JOANNES QUONDAM PAPA XXIII, OBIT FLORENTIE ANNO DOMINI
MCCCCXVIII, XI KALENDAS JANUARIIL."

See Del Migliore, *Firenze Illustrata*

‡ See Cicognara, ii, pl. 10 — *Schorn*

§ Now placed over an altar between the central door of the church and that opposite to the Bigallo. This work also is engraved by Cicognara, ii, pl. 6 — *Ibid.*

lumn of granite, standing entirely apart, there is a figure of Plenty, by Donato, in the stone called *macigno forte*, which is so well done, that it has always been held in the highest estimation by artists and all men of judgment in matters of art.* The column on which this figure stands was formerly in San Giovanni, where the remaining columns of granite which sustain the inner cornice are still in their places, the one in question was taken away and a fluted column was placed in its stead, on which there once stood a statue of Mars, erected in the centre of the temple; but this last was removed, when the Florentines were converted to the faith of Jesus Christ.† The same master, while still very young, executed a figure of the prophet Daniel, in marble,‡ for the façade of Santa Maria del Fiore; and at a later period he produced one of San Giovanni Evangelista seated; this figure is four braccia high, it is clothed in very simple vestments, and is much celebrated.§ In the same place, at an angle of the building, on that side which faces the Via del Cocomero, is the figure of an old man, between two columns, which is executed more in the manner of the ancients, than is to be remarked in any other work by Donato; the head of this statue bearing the impress of the thoughts and cares which length of years bring to those who are exhausted by time and labour. Donato likewise executed for the same church the decorations of the organ, which stands over the door of the old sacristy, where are those figures, so boldly

* This figure being corroded by the action of the weather, was removed in 1721, to make way for one sculptured by Gio. Battista Foggini, which is still to be seen there.—*Musselli*

† The column here mentioned was certainly not taken from San Giovanni; nor was that church at any time a temple of Mars. See Borghini, *Discorsi*. Migliore, *Firenze Illustrati*, etc.

‡ It is not now known where this figure is. Bottari erroneously speaks of it as placed within the church, being misled by the annotator to the *Riposo* of Borghini, who has taken the Ezekiel of an unknown author, for the Daniel of Donato.

§ "Which of the four Evangelists was executed by Donatello it is difficult to ascertain," remark the Florentine editors of 1849. "since all were removed on the destruction of the façade in 1586, when they were placed in the four chapels of the principal tribune of the cathedral." Musselli, who follows Richa, attributes the whole four to Donatello; but thus the later Florentine commentators affirm to be a mistake, seeing that Niccolò d'Arezzo and Nanni d'Antonio took part in the execution of these works. See *ante*, the lives of these masters.

sketched as we have before said, that in looking at them one almost believes them really to live and move * It may indeed be truly said of this master, that he effected as much by the superiority of his judgment as by the skill of his hand, seeing that many works are produced which appear very beautiful in the work-rooms where they are executed, but which, when taken thence and placed in another situation, in a different light or higher position, present a much changed aspect, and turn out to be the reverse of what they appeared. Donato, on the contrary, treated his figures in such a manner, that while in the rooms where they were executed they did not produce one-half the effect, which he had in fact secured to them, and which they exhibited when placed in the positions for which they had been calculated. For the new sacristy of Santa Maria del Fiore, Donatello gave the design of those boys who support the festoons, which decorate the frieze;† as also that of the figures executed in the circular window beneath the cupola. The subject is the Coronation of Our Lady, and the design of the work is greatly superior to that of the paintings in the other windows, as is clearly obvious.‡ Donato also produced the statue of St. Peter, still to be seen in San Michele, in Orto, in the same city, (Florence); an admirable figure, full of spirit,§ which he executed for the Guild of Butchers;|| with the figure of San

* See *ante*, the life of Luca della Robbia. The later Florentine commentators, quoting Rumohr, cite a decree of the Superintendents of the Duomo and the Syndics of the Guild of Wool-staplers, by which Donatello is commissioned to execute two doors of bronze, for the two new sacristies of the Florentine Cathedral. But Donatello being prevented "by sufficient causes" from proceeding with these doors, one of them was given to Luca della Robbia, who completed it in company with Michelozzo and Bartolommeo; the other still remains to be done.

† They are executed in the graceful manner which distinguishes that in the chapel of the Cavalcanti in Santa Croce.—*Masselli*.

‡ The painted glass of the other windows has been replaced by clear glass, in contravention of the founder's wishes, "to give the church more light."—*Ibid*.

§ This figure still retains its place.

|| The construction of Or San Michele was completed at the cost of the principal Guilds of Florence; and in the foundations, laid 29th July 1337, were placed gold and silver coins, with the following inscription:—*Ut magnificentia Populi Flor. artium et artificum ostendatur* Thence it was that every Guild resolved to erect a statue of its patron saint, either of bronze or marble, in the niches of the external walls.

Marco,* undertaken in the first instance in concert with Filippo Brunelleschi,† for the Guild of Joiners, but which Donatello afterwards finished by himself, an arrangement to which Filippo had consented. This figure was executed by Donato with so much judgment, that while standing on the ground its excellence was not obvious to those who were but imperfectly acquainted with matters of art, insomuch that the syndics of the Guild were not disposed to have it placed in the situation intended for it; whereupon Donato bade them suffer him to raise it to its due position, when he would so work at it that they should see a different figure from that they then beheld. Having placed the statue accordingly, he shut it up for a fortnight, and then, without having touched it, uncovered his work to the admiration of all.

For the Guild of Armourers, Donatello executed a most animated figure of St. George, in his armour. The brightness of youthful beauty, generosity, and bravery shine forth in his face; his attitude gives evidence of a proud and terrible impetuosity; the character of the saint is indeed expressed most wonderfully, and life seems to move within that stone. It is certain that in no modern figure has there yet been seen so much animation, nor so life-like a spirit in marble, as nature and art have combined to produce by the hand of Donato in this statue.‡ On the pedestal which supports the tabernacle enclosing the figure, the story of St. George killing the dragon is executed in basso-rilievo, and also in marble: in this work there is a horse, which has been highly celebrated and much admired: in the pediment is a half-length figure of God the Father, also in basso-rilievo.§ This master likewise executed the tabernacle for the Mercatanzia, which is

* A work highly praised by Michael Angelo, and which also still remains.

† From certain records extracted from the Book of the Joiners' Guild, and published by Gualandi (*Memorie delle belle Arti*, serie iv, p. 104-7), it appears that Donatello undertook this work without the assistance of any other artist, although Niccolò d'Arezzo was sent to Carrara to purchase the marble. For further details, see Gualandi, *ut supra*.

‡ A long and erudite discourse on this statue was written by Francesco Bocchi, about the year 1571. It was printed by Marescotti in 1584, with the title of *Eccellenza della Statua di San Giorgio di Donatello*, etc., and was reproduced in the *Lettere Pittoriche*. Engravings of the statue will be found in D'Agincourt and Cicognara.

§ These bassi-rilievi are now in the last niche on the north side.

opposite to the church of that oratory; it is in marble, of the antique order called Corinthian, and differs entirely from the Gothic manner. This tabernacle was intended for the reception of two statues, but these Donato would not complete, because he could not come to an agreement with the syndics in respect to the price. They were consequently executed in bronze, after his death, by Andrea del Verrochio, as will be related hereafter. In that façade of Santa Maria del Fiore, which faces the Campanile, Donato executed four figures, each five braccia high,* two of which are portraits from the life, one of Francesco Soderini when a youth, the other of Giovanni di Barduccio Cherichini, now called the Zuccone.† The latter is considered the most extraordinary and most beautiful work ever produced by Donatello, who, when he intended to affirm a thing in a manner that should preclude all doubt, would say, "By the faith that I place in my Zuccone." And while he was working on this statue he would frequently exclaim, while looking at it, "Speak then! why wilt thou not speak?" Over the door of the Campanile, on the side facing the Canonicate, is the figure of Abraham about to sacrifice Isaac, by this master, with another prophet. These figures were formerly placed between two other statues.

For the Signoria of Florence, Donatello cast, in bronze, a statue of Judith cutting off the head of Holofernes.‡ This

* Three only of these figures are by Donatello, and these bear his name, which is engraved on the plinth. their height is three braccia and a half. They are, the San Giovanni; the David, called *Lo Zuccone*; and the Prophet Jeremiah, or Solomon. The fourth is the work of a certain Giovanni Rosso, and bears his name. Baldinucci had long since named this master as the author of one of these statues, but which of them he had produced was not known until the year 1831, when the scaffolding erected for the repair of the building, presented an opportunity for ascertaining the fact.

† So called because entirely bald. Cicognara, who has engraved it, considers that what Vasari has said of the San Marco, would be more properly applied to this statue.

‡ Until the year 1495, this statue adorned the house of Piero de' Medici; who was then exiled, and the Judith was transferred to the Rughiera of the Palazzo de' Signori, being placed where the David of Michael Angelo now stands, as appears from old pictures representing the death of Savonarola. It is adorned with the significant inscription which follows, and which may still be seen there.—*Exemplum Sal. Pub. Quesposuere*, M cccc.xcv. In 1504 it was finally placed where it now is, and where, according to Vasari, it first stood.—*Masselli*.

was placed on the piazza, in an arch of their loggia. It is a work of great excellence, and proves the mastery of the author over his art. There is much grandeur and simplicity in the aspect and vestments of Judith; her greatness of mind, and the power she derives from the aid of God, are made clearly manifest, while the effects of wine and sleep are equally visible in the countenance of Holofernes,* as is the result of death in his limbs, which have lost all power, and hang down cold and flaccid. This work was so carefully executed by Donato, that the casting turned out most successfully, and was delicately beautiful: he then finished it so diligently, that it is indeed most wonderful to behold. The basement, also, which is a balustrade, in granite, of simple arrangement, is very graceful in its effect, and the appearance is extremely pleasing to the eye. Donatello himself was so well satisfied with the whole of this work, that he determined to place his name on it (which he had not done on the others), as is seen in the words *Donatelli Opus* † In the court of the before-mentioned Palazzo de' Signoria is a David, in bronze, by this master, naked, and of the size of life. He has cut off the head of Goliath, and, raising his foot, he places it on the head; in his right hand is the sword. The animation, truth to nature, and softness manifest in this figure, make it almost impossible to artists to believe that it has not been moulded on the living form. This statue formerly stood in the court of the Medici Palace, but, on the exile of Cosimo ‡ it was transported to the position above named (the Signoria). In our day, the Duke Cosimo having made a fountain on the spot which this figure occupied, has caused it to be removed to another court (the place, that is, where the lions§ formerly stood), where it makes a very fine ornament to that façade

* A singular proof of foresight is to be remarked in this artist, observes Cicognara, in reference to this statue—the care, namely, with which he has restricted the attitudes of his figures, in the hope of preserving them from the mutilations so common among works of antiquity. With this view, he has restrained the gestures within the narrowest limits permitted by a due attention to the effect which he desired to produce.

† This is not strictly accurate, his signature appearing on others of his works also. the Judith is one of the latest works of Donatello. Rumohr remarks that the pulpit of San Lorenzo is very rudely cast; and from this circumstance he conjectures that Donatello may have secured assistance for the execution of the Judith.—*Ital. Forsch.* ii, 239.

‡ Cosimo the Elder. Pater Patruæ.

§ Now among the bronzes preserved in the Gallery of the Uffizj.

of the palace. There is another beautiful David, in marble, also by Donatello, to the left of the hall where the clock of Lorenzo della Volpaia is placed: the head of the dead Goliath lies beneath his feet, and he holds the sling where-with he has slain the Philistine, in his hand.* In the first court of the Palazzo de' Medici are eight medallions of marble, whereon are copies from antique cameos, and casts from the reverses of medals, by Donatello, with some, also, of his own invention, which are very beautiful. They are fixed in the frieze, between the windows and the architrave, above the arch of the loggia.† There is here, moreover, the antique white marble figure of Marsyas, restored by Donatello, and placed at the entrance to the garden,‡ as also a large number of antique heads, restored and enriched by this master, with an ornament composed of wings and diamonds (the emblem of Cosimo), extremely well executed in stucco.§ A very fine granite vase, whence issued a jet of water, with one of a similar kind in the garden of the Pazzi, in Florence, and which also has a jet of water, are among the works of Donatello.|| In the same palace of the Medici are likewise figures of the Madonna in basso-rilievo, of marble and bronze, with other most beautiful works in marble, executed by Donatello, in low relief, of extraordinary merit ¶ Such was indeed the estimation in which the talents of Donatello were held by Cosimo, that he kept him continually at work; and so great was the affection which Donatello, on his part, bore to Cosimo, that, at the slightest intimation, he comprehended all that was desired, and obediently fulfilled every wish. It is said that a Genoese merchant had caused Donato to make a bronze bust, of the size of life: it was a very beautiful

* This figure is also in the Uffizj, in the western corridor, and on the left hand.—*Masselli*.

† These medallions are still in their original position, and are in good preservation.

‡ A Marsyas of white marble is now in the Gallery of the Uffizj, and is supposed to be that here mentioned; but the mediocrity of the workmanship renders us doubtful of the truth of this opinion.—*Ed Flor* 1845-9.

§ We are not prepared to say to what extent these works have been preserved.—*Masselli*.

|| The fate of the first-named fountain is unknown; the second is still in the place here mentioned.—*Ibid*.

¶ If these works are still in existence, they have been distributed into various places, now unknown —*Ibid*.

work; and having to be carried to a great distance, was executed in a light and delicate manner. This commission had been procured for Donatello by the intervention of Cosimo; but when the bust was finished, and the merchant came to pay for it, the master appeared to him to demand too much for his work: thereupon the merchant was referred to Cosimo, who, having caused the bust to be taken to the upper court of the palace, had it placed between the battlements which overlook the road, to the end that it might be seen the better. When Cosimo therefore sought to arrange the difference, he found the offer of the merchant to be very far from the demand of Donatello; and, turning towards him, observed that he offered too little: but the merchant, thinking it too much, replied that Donato could have made it in a month, or something better, and would thus be gaining more than half a florin per day. Donato then turned about in great anger, this remark having offended him highly; and, telling the merchant that he had found means in the hundredth part of an hour to spoil the whole labour and cares of a year, he gave a blow to the bust, which fell to the street below, and was dashed in pieces, at the same time observing to the merchant that it was easy to see he was better versed in bargaining for horse-beans than in purchasing statues. Regretting what had happened, the merchant would then have paid him double the sum demanded, on condition of his reconstructing the bust; but this Donato could not be persuaded to do, by all his promises; nor would he consent even at the request of Cosimo. In the houses of the Martelli,* are several statues, in marble and bronze, by this master; among others, a David,† three braccia high, with many other works executed by him, and freely presented to that family, in proof of the love and devotion which he bore them. Among these works is more particularly to be specified a San Giovanni, of marble, in full relief, and three braccia high; a most rare thing;‡ now possessed

* These were in the street which takes its name from that family, which now resides in the Via della Forca.—*Masselli*.

† An unfinished statue in marble, still to be seen, with other works of Donatello to be mentioned hereafter, in the residence of the Martelli family, in the Via della Forca.—*Ibid*.

‡ Cicognara speaks at length of this statue, comparing it, entirely to the advantage of Donatello, with other figures of the saint, by the most famous painters, he also gives a drawing of the work.

by the heirs of Ruberto Martelli, and respecting which a *Fideicommisso* was executed, to the effect that it should neither be pledged, sold, nor given away, under heavy penalties, in testimony of the affection borne by the Martelli family to Donato, and of his gratitude to them for the opportunity which their protection had afforded him for the acquirement of his art.*

Donato also constructed a sepulchral monument for an archbishop, which was sent to Naples, and is erected in Sant' Angelo di Seggio di Nido.† In this work are three figures in full relief, which support the sarcophagus on their heads, and on the tomb itself is a story, in basso-relievo, which merits the highest praise. In the palace of the Count of Matalone, in the same city, is the head of a horse, from the hands of Donato, which is so beautiful that many believe it to be antique.‡ In the Castello di Prato he constructed the marble pulpit, from which the girdle (of the Virgin) is shown. In one compartment of this pulpit is a dance of children, so admirably and beautifully executed, that the master may be truly said to have exhibited the perfection of his art no less

* Cicognara gives a drawing of another admirable work of Donatello, now in the Martelli Palace—a bronze medallion or patera, which appears to be the imitation of an antique, whence it may be inferred that there have been, and probably still are, other imitations, no less excellent, by the same artist. An equally admirable work of this master is also in that palace—a bust of San Giovannino, so beautiful and so exquisitely finished as to be a perfect gem. Schorn affirms that the idea of Raphael's John the Baptist was taken from this work. The genealogical tree of the Martelli family was executed by Donatello on the façade of their ancient house; but when the destruction or removal of these memorials of the nobility was commanded by the conquering French Republic in 1799, this work was removed to the present dwelling of the family. See Cinelli, *Bellezze di Firenze*.

† Schorn, who quotes Baldinucci, vol. iii, p. 76, *note*, observes that in this monument, which was erected to the memory of Cardinal Rinaldo Brancacci, Michelozzo took part; and Gaye (i, 117 9) cites a document wherein this work is mentioned, among others by Michelozzo, in the following terms. "We have a tomb in hand for Naples, which is intended for Messer Rinaldo, Cardinal de' Brancacci of Naples. We are to have 850 florins for this tomb, but have to finish and take it to Naples at our own expense; they are now working on it at Pisa." Some heads and figures from this tomb may be seen in Cicognara, ii, pl. 8.

‡ And it is in fact the relic of an antique horse, which stood before the cathedral, but was melted down by an archbishop to make a great bell. Mention is made of it by Sarnelli in the *Descrizione di Napoli*; in the *Vite de'*

n this work than in others.* Donatello likewise cast two capitals, in bronze, as supports for the above-described work, one of which is still there, but the other was carried away by the Spaniards, when they gave that region over to pillage †

Now it chanced that at this time the Signoria of Venice, having heard of his fame, sent for Donato, to the end that he might erect the monument of Gattamelata,‡ in the city of Padua, whither he repaired very willingly, and where he erected the bronze horse, still on the Piazza di Sant' Antonio, in which the chafing and neighing of the horse are made clearly obvious, while the pride and spirit of the rider are also expressed with infinite force and truth by the art of the master.§ Notwithstanding the great size of this casting, Donatello preserved an admirable justice in all the proportions; and the excellence of the work is such that it may be compared with those of any ancient master for design, animation, art, harmony, and care in execution; insomuch that it

Pittori Napoletani of Dominici, in the *Storia* of Winckelmann, etc. So far Masselli. Schorn remarks, that this head was formerly in the Colobrano Palace, and is now in the Royal Museum. The later Florentine editors observe, that Vasari himself, in his first edition, expressed a belief that the head was antique.

* Although we find it recorded that on the 14th July, 1428, the Wardens of the Girdle "gave the external pulpit, wherein the girdle is shewn, to Donatello di Niccolò, and to Michele di Bartolommeo (Michelozzo) to be made, yet the contract for its execution was not finally completed until 1434. Lorenzo Ghiberti was chosen arbiter of this work, which cost 330 florins. See *Descrizione della Cattedrale di Prato*, where (pl. 4) a part of the pulpit is engraved, giving two groups of the dancing children, which are the most admirable portion of the work. The number of the compartments is seven.—*Ed. Flor.* 1849. See also Cicognara, *ut supra*.

† The author of the *Descrizione* above cited, p. 79, believes with good reason that this second capital—or, more properly, part of the same capital—was not carried away in the sack of 1512. He inclines to think that it was never erected in the place destined for it.

‡ Erasmo da Narni, called Gattamelata, leader (condottiere) of the Venetian troops.

§ Schorn remarks that the figure of the rider is somewhat too small, when considered in relation with that of the horse; and Masselli asserts that the rider is not so much esteemed as the horse. He proceeds to observe that the signature of the master, "OPUS DONATELLI FLORENTINI", is on the girth of the animal, which moves in the manner already alluded to, when describing the horse of Paolo Uccello. The same thing, he further remarks, may be observed of numerous horses, antique as well as modern, not excepting the horse of Phidias on the Parthenon.

not only astonished all who then beheld it, but continues to amaze those who examine it in the present day. The Paduans, moved by the merit of this work, did their utmost to obtain the artist for their fellow-citizen, and sought, by all sorts of caresses, to prevail on him to stay with them. In the hope of retaining him, they gave him the commission to execute stories from the life of Sant' Antonio of Padua on the predella of the high altar, in the church of the Friars Minors. These stories are in basso-rilievo, and are executed with so much ability, that the most excellent masters in this art stand amazed and confounded before them, when they consider the beautiful and varied compositions they display, with the vast amount of extraordinary figures they contain, and the careful consideration of the perspective manifest in all their parts.* The Maries weeping over the Dead Christ, on the front of the altar, are likewise an extremely fine work of this master. In the palace of one of the Counts Capodilista, Donato constructed the skeleton of a horse, in wood; the neck is wanting, but the remainder may still be seen. The order observed in the junction of the different parts is so remarkable, that whoever considers the manner of this work will be enabled to judge of the varied resources and boldness of the artist.† For a convent of nuns, in Padua, Donatello executed a San Sebastiano, in wood, in compliance with the entreaties of a chaplain, their friend, who was a Florentine, and one of his own intimates. This chaplain brought Donato a figure of the saint, old and very ugly, belonging to the nuns, begging that he would make the new statue like that. The master, desiring to oblige the chaplain and the nuns, took pains to imitate their model; but, rude and ugly as the figure he had to copy was, Donato could not do otherwise than mani-

* This work is highly praised by Cicognara, who has engraved a portion of it. See the *Storia della Scultura*, etc., vol. ii, plate 7. For a minute description of other works of this master in the same church, see the *Lettere Pittoriche*, vol. i, p. 70. Fantuzzi, *Monumenti Ravennati*, and Gualandi, *Memorie di Belle Arti*, also give various details respecting him.

† The horse, which still exists, is thirty palms long; but this somewhat excessive length is perhaps accounted for by the fact that it was to be placed on wheels and used in the public spectacles, in which position the proportions would most probably acquire correctness. It is further said—and a little poem in Latin, by Giovanni de' Martini, attests the fact—that a gigantic figure of Jupiter (corresponding, that is, with the dimensions of the horse) was originally seated on its back.

fest the excellence of his art in his accustomed manner. At the same time he executed many other works, in stucco and clay; and, from a piece of old marble which the nuns above-mentioned had in their garden, he produced a very beautiful figure of the Virgin. A vast number of works by this master exist in all parts of that city.* They caused him to be considered a wonder among the Paduans, and won him the commendations of all good judges. But this determined Donato to return to Florence; he declared that if he remained any longer in Padua, he should forget all that he had acquired, from being so much praised by every one; wherefore he affirmed that he should return gladly to his native city, though he were to be continually censured there, since such censure would give him motives for study, and consequently conduce to his attainment of greater glory. Having therefore departed from Padua, he passed through Venice on his return to Florence, and, as a mark of his consideration for the Florentines residing there, he left them the gift of a San Giovanni Batista, for their chapel in the church of the Friars Minors,† carved by himself, in wood, with infinite study and care. In the city of Faenza, also, Donatello executed a San Giovanni and a San Girolamo, which are no less esteemed than are the other works of this master.‡

On his return into Tuscany, Donatello constructed a marble tomb in the chapter-house of Montepulciano, adorned with an historical representation of great beauty.§ In the sacristy of San Lorenzo, in Florence, he executed a marble lavatory,

* There is a Deposition from the Cross by Donatello, over a door of the Chapel of the Relics in the *Santo* of Padua, which is highly praised by Cicognara, who gives a plate of it.

† In the church of Santa Maria de' Frari. It is still in its place on an altar (which is also the work of good Florentine artists) near to the monument erected to Canova. Cicognara considers the small bronze door of a ciborium, of which he gives a drawing, and which is now in the Academy of the Fine Arts, to be also a work of Donatello, executed for the church of the Servi.—*Masselli*.

‡ The figure of San Girolamo (St. Jerome) is still preserved in the convent of the "Fratelli Riformati" in Faenza. Being somewhat injured by the worm, it was restored and coloured in the year 1845. There is likewise a bust of San Giovannino in the house of the parish priest of the Borgo, which is believed to be by Donatello — *Ed. Flor* 1849.

§ The monument of the learned Bartolommeo Aragazzi, secretary and afterwards gentleman of the chamber, to Pope Martin V.

on which Andrea del Verrocchio also worked,* with many busts and figures in the palace of Lorenzo della Stufa, which are full of spirit and animation. Then, leaving Florence, he repaired to Rome, where he laboured to the utmost of his power to imitate the works of the antiques; and, while studying them, he produced, at the same time, a tabernacle of the Sacrament, in stone, which is now in San Pietro.† When returning to Florence, and passing through Siena, Donatello undertook to execute a bronze door for the baptistery of San Giovanni, in that city; and having made the model in wood, he had nearly finished the wax moulds, and successfully made the various preparations for casting, when there arrived in Siena a Florentine goldsmith, Bernardetto di Mona Papera, an intimate friend of Donatello, who, returning homeward from Rome, so talked and contrived that, whether for his own affairs, or for some other cause, he succeeded in taking Donato with him to Florence. The work thus remained unfinished, or rather, it was never begun; and there is preserved in that city, by the hand of Donatello, a San Giovanni Battista only; this is in bronze, it is in the apartments belonging to the superintendents of the Duomo, and wants the right arm, from the elbow downwards. Donato himself is said to have left it in this state, because he had not received the full amount of the payment due for it.‡

Having thus returned to Florence, Donato undertook to decorate the sacristy of San Lorenzo, in stucco, for Cosimo de' Medici. In the angles of the ceiling that is to say, he executed four medallions, the ornaments of which were partly painted in perspective, partly stories from the Evangelists in basso-rilievo. In the same place Donato made two doors of bronze in basso-rilievo of most exquisite workmanship: on these doors he represented the apostles, martyrs,

* This work is still to be seen in one of the small rooms beside the Tribune.

† Bottari remarks that this work was removed to make way for that of Bernini, in gilded bronze, which was copied from the temple erected by Bramante in the cloister of San Pietro in Montorio.

‡ Della Valle declares this to be incorrect. "The San Giovanni," he says, "is entirely complete, but is more like a wild hunter than the Baptist." See also Rumohr, *Ital. Forsch.* ii, 361. The later Florentine commentators enumerate several works of this master as likewise existing in Siena. See on this subject also Rumohr, as above cited, pp. 208, 239 359, etc.

and confessors, and above these figures are two shallow niches in one of which are San Lorenzo and San Stefano, in the other San Cosimo and San Damiano.* In the transept of the church also, Donatello executed four figures of saints in stucco,† each five braccia high, which are very well finished. The bronze pulpits were likewise constructed under his direction; and the passion of Christ‡ represented thereon, is a work in which drawing, force, and invention, are alike remarkable, with a rich variety in the figures and building. This work Donato was prevented by age from completing himself, and it was finished by his disciple Bertoldo,§ who brought it to the utmost perfection. In Santa Maria del Fiore are two colossal figures of brick and stucco, by Donatello, they stand without the church, and serve as ornaments to the angles of the chapels.|| Over the door of Santa Croce is still to be seen a statue of San Lodovico, in bronze, five braccia high, from the hand of Donatello, who being reproached for having made the figure stupid and clumsy,—(it is perhaps the worst, or in any case the least meritorious of his works)—replied, that he had done so of set purpose, since the saint certainly must have been a stupid fellow to leave his sovereignty and make himself a monk.¶ For Cosimo de' Medici, the same master executed the bust of his wife** in bronze, and this is still preserved in the treasury of our lord the Duke Cosimo,†† where are many other works in bronze and marble from the hand of Donato; among others a Virgin in marble, with the Child in her arms, in very low relief, than which it is not possible to see anything more beautiful, and

* All these works still exist.—*Masselli*.

† They were destroyed by exposure to the weather, and were replaced by others.—*Ibid*.

‡ Cicognara gives an engraving of this work, to which he accords due praise. See vol. ii, pl. 7. Richa also gives a plate of these bassi rilievi.

§ “Who certainly,” remarks Cicognara, “has not laid hands on the work of his master without extreme discretion and much careful thought.”

|| These figures have been destroyed by exposure to the weather.—*Masselli*.

¶ The figure of St. Louis is still in its place. Bottari thinks it needful to observe that Donato must have been jesting.

** This lady was born Countess Bardi di Vernio.—*Schorn*.

†† This work has disappeared, as has also the bust of the duchess.—*Masselli*.

the rather as it is surrounded by historical representations in miniature by Fra Bartolommeo,* which are admirable, as will be further shown in its due place. Our lord the duke has also a most beautiful, or rather wonderful, crucifix in bronze, from the hand of Donato, in his study, where there are innumerable antiquities of rare value, with very fine medals † In the before-mentioned treasury (*guardaroba*), moreover, there is a basso-relievo in bronze, representing the Crucifixion of our Lord, which contains a great number of figures, with another crucifixion also in bronze. In the house now belonging to the heirs of Jacopo Capponi, who was an excellent citizen and true gentleman, is a figure in marble of the Virgin, in half relief, which is esteemed to be a most extraordinary work.‡ Messer Antonio de' Nobili also, who was administrator of his excellency the duke, had a work in marble by the hand of Donato in his house, and in this is a half-length figure of Our Lady, which is so beautiful, that Messer Antonio prized it as much as all his wealth : nor is it less valued by Giulio his son, a young man of singular excellence and judgment, the friend of artists and of all distinguished men. In the house of Giovan Battista d'Agnol Doni, a Florentine gentleman, there is moreover a Mercury in metal by Donato, the height one braccio and a half ; it is in full relief, and is clothed in a somewhat fanciful manner; the execution of this work is truly beautiful, and it is no less remarkable than the other rarities which adorn his most beautiful house.§ Bar-

* In the edition of 1568, Vasari has *Fra Ber.*, of which Bottari made *Fra Bernardo*, a master who never existed. Later editors followed Bottari, complaining at the same time of Vasari, for not having mentioned the master again, as he had promised to do. But this abbreviation should doubtless be read *Fra Bar.* for Bartolomeo (della Porta), in whose life Vasari speaks at greater length of these miniatures, which are still in existence.

† Of the works of art described as to be found in the *Guardaroba* of Duke Cosmo, some are still preserved, either in that place, in other parts of the palace, in the royal villas, or in the public gallery ; but very many are dispersed — *Masselli*.

‡ Of this work, and that next described, nothing is now known. — *Ibid.*

§ This small statue represents a child, smiling, and in the act of shooting an arrow. The head is crowned with rushes, with a flower in front ; the shoulders and feet are winged, and a short fawn-like tail is on the back ; small snakes surround the feet ; and the vestments of the figure are bound to the waist by a cincture of poppies. Opinions vary in regard to this statue. Some—as, for example, Cinelli—consider it

tolommeo Gondi, of whom we have already spoken in the life of Giotto, possesses a figure of Our Lady in mezzo-rilievo by the hand of Donato, which is finished with so much love and diligence, that it is scarcely possible to imagine anything better; nor will it be readily conceived with what grace and lightness the master has treated the ornaments of the head, or the elegance which he has imparted to the vestments of this figure.* Messer Lelio Torelli also,† first auditor and secretary to the lord duke, a no less judicious lover of all the sciences, talents, and honourable vocations, than excellent as a lawyer, has a marble figure of the Virgin in his possession which is likewise by Donatello. But fully to narrate the life and enumerate the works executed by this master, would necessitate a longer story than we have proposed to ourselves in writing the lives of our artists, seeing that he occupied himself with so many things; giving his attention not only to works of importance,‡ of which we have spoken sufficiently, but also to the smallest matters connected with art. He frequently executed the arms of families, for example, placing them over the chimney-pieces, or on the fronts of the houses of the citizens, as may still be seen in the house of the Sommai, which is opposite to that of the baker, della Vacca, where there is a most beautiful specimen of this kind: he made a chest or sarcophagus also, for the family of the Martelli, in the form of a cradle of wicker-work; this was intended for a tomb, and is deposited beneath the church of San Lorenzo, no tombs of any kind being allowed to appear above, or in the church itself—the epitaph of that of Cosimo de' Medici is alone excepted, and the entrance even of this is placed below, like that of the others § It is said, that Simone,|| the brother of Donato, having prepared the model for the sepulchre; others—among whom is Lanzi—affirm it to be modern. The latter informs us that it is placed in the Gallery, in the hall of the modern bronzes.

* Neither of this Virgin, nor of that next mentioned, have we any trace.—*Masselli*

† A man of letters and legist, who edited the *Pandects*, after the famous Pisan (now Florentine) Codex.

‡ *Masselli* enumerates many others: among them, a St. John the Baptist, in marble; an adult figure, much attenuated, and engraved by Cicognara, but with some expression of doubt as to its authenticity.

§ These tombs are still in their place —*Masselli*

|| See his life, with that of Filarete which follows.—*Ibid.*

chral monument of Pope Martin V, sent for Donato, to the end that he might see it before it should be cast, whereupon that master, proceeding to Rome accordingly, chanced to be there exactly at the time when the Emperor Sigismond was in the city, for the purpose of receiving the crown from Pope Eugenius IV;* wherefore he found himself compelled to give his attention to the sumptuous preparations made for that festival,† which he did in company with his brother Simone, acquiring therefrom much renown and very great honour.

In the *guardaroba* of the Signor Guidobaldo, duke of Urbino, is a most beautiful head of marble, from the hand of Donatello, and it is believed that this work was presented to the ancestors of the signor Duke, by the magnificent Giuliano de' Medici, during the time of his stay at the court of Urbino, where were assembled a large number of distinguished men. In effect, Donato was a master of such merit, and so admirable in all he did, that we may safely declare him to have been the first, who, by his knowledge, judgment, and practice, rendered the art of sculpture and of good design illustrious among the people of modern times. And he is all the more worthy of commendation, because in his day the antiquities now brought to light—the columns, triumphal arches, and vases—had not been discovered, and excavated from the earth. Donato was, moreover, the principal cause of the determination taken by Cosimo de' Medici to bring the antiquities now in the Palazzo Medici‡ to Florence: and all of which he restored with his own hand. He was most liberal, friendly, and courteous to all, being ever more careful for his friends than for himself; he attached little value to his gains, but kept what money he had in a basket, suspended by a cord

* Under this pope, Donato erected the tomb of Giovanni Crivelli, the Milanese, Archdeacon of Aquileia, on which he inscribed the words "OPUS DONATELLI FLORENTINI." This tomb is in the church of Ara Coeli in Rome (not in that of the Minerva, as asserted by Manni, in his notes to Baldinucci), and stands before the chapel of the Transfiguration. There was also a statue of St John the Baptist, carved in wood, by the same master, in the sacristy of San Giovanni Laterano; and Della Valle tells us that he was commissioned to execute a figure of the same saint for the baptismal font of Orvieto.

† Sigismond, King of the Romans, was crowned Emperor on the 31st. of May, 1433.—*Ed Flor.* 1849.

‡ It is to be regretted that Vasari mentions the restoration of the *Marsyas* only.—*Masselli*.

to the roof, and from this all his assistants, as well as his friends took what they needed, without being expected to say anything to him. He passed his old age cheerfully, and when he became too decrepit to work longer, he was taken care of by Cosimo, and others of his friends. It is said, that when Cosimo found himself at the point of death, he left Donato in charge to Piero his son, who being a most careful executor of his father's will, bestowed on him a farm in Cafaggiuolo, the income from which was of such amount, that Donato might have lived on it most commodiously. He made great rejoicings over this gift accordingly, considering himself to be more than secured from the fear of dying of hunger by such a provision; but he had not held the property a year, when he returned to Piero, restoring the farm to him by the proper legal forms, declaring that he would not have his quiet destroyed, by thinking of household cares, and listening to the troubles and outcries of the farmers, who came pestering him every third day, now because the wind had unroofed the dove-cote, then because his cattle had been seized for taxes, and anon because of the storms which had cut up his vines and fruit-trees: with all which he was so completely worn out and wearied, that he would rather perish with hunger, than be tormented by so many cares. Piero laughed at the simplicity of Donato, and to liberate him from this grievance, he resumed possession of the farm, (for this Donato absolutely would have done), but assigned him an income of equal or larger value, secured on the bank, and to be paid in cash; of this he received the due proportion every week, while he lived, an arrangement which rejoiced him greatly.* Thus, as the friend and servant of the house of Medici, Donato lived in cheerfulness and free from cares all the rest of his days: when he had attained his eighty-third year, he

* Vespasiano da Bisticci, in his life of Cosmo the Elder, has the following passage, among others relating to Donatello:—"As Donatello did not go dressed in the manner that Cosimo would have liked, the latter caused a mantle and cap to be made for him, with a cape beneath the mantle; and thus providing him with a new suit, he sent it to the master one morning that there was a festival, to the end that he might wear it on that occasion. Donato wore it once or twice, but after that he sent it to Cosimo again, because, as he said, it appeared to him to be too dainty."—*Vita di Cosmo*, in the *Spicilgium Romanum*, edited by Cardinal Mai.

became paralytic, and could no longer labour in any manner, whereupon he took to his bed, where he lay constantly, in a poor little house* which he had in the Via del Cocomero, close to the nuns of San Niccolò, and here, becoming worse from day to day, and declining by degrees, he died on the 13th of December, 1466.† He was buried in the church of San Lorenzo, near the tomb of Cosimo, as he had himself commanded, to the end that his body might be near him when dead, as his spirit had been ever near him when in life.‡

The death of Donato was much regretted by his fellow-citizens, by the artists, and by all who had known him in his life, and to the end that they might do him more reverence after death, than he had received while alive, they performed his obsequies most honourably in the above-named church, and he was accompanied to his grave by all the painters, architects, sculptors, goldsmiths, and in fine, by nearly all the inhabitants of the city. Nor was it until a long time after that they ceased to compose verses to his honour in different languages, and of various kinds; of these it must suffice for us to give the few that may be read below.

But before I come to the epitaphs, I think it would not be amiss to relate one more anecdote of Donatello, which is as follows. When he had already become sick, and a short time only before he died, there went to see him certain persons of his kinsfolk, and after they had saluted him, as is customary, and condoled with him on his illness, they told him that it was his duty to leave a farm which he had in the territories

* Of this house there is no other memorial than that of a contract for letting it, bearing date in the year 1443, and which is cited by Manni in his notes to Baldinucci. This document sets forth that a certain Manno di Giovanni Temperani, "*locut ad pensionem Donato, vocato Donatello, olim Nicholai Betti, scultori, populi Sancti Laurenti de Florentia, domum cum horto, apotheca et alius in populo Sancti Michaelis Vicedominorum loco dicto. Da Casa Bischeri,*" etc.

† Palmieri, in his work *De Temporibus*, assigns 1463 as the year of Donato's death. The "1466" of Vasari, is perhaps an error of the press.

‡ Bottari observes that another reason for his choice of San Lorenzo, may have been that many of his works were there; as Vasari also informs us, in a passage of his *Ragionamenti*. Donatello had previously secured a tomb in this church, as we learn from Manni, who cites the grant made by the Prior Piero Betti. The sepulchre of Donatello was granted, in the year 1547, to the Scalandroni family.

of Prato to them, and thus they begged him very earnestly to do, although it was small and produced but a very little income. Hearing this, Donato, who showed good sense and rectitude in all that he did, replied thus, "I cannot content you in this matter, kinsmen, because I resolve—and it appears to me reasonable—to leave the farm to the countryman who has always tilled it, and who has bestowed great labour on it; not to you, who, without ever having done anything useful for it, or any other thing but thought of obtaining it, now come, with this visit of yours, desiring that I should leave it to you: Go! and the Lord be with you." And of a truth such relations, who have no affection but to their own interests, and no motive of action but the hope of gain, should always be treated in that manner. Donato, therefore, having caused a notary to be summoned, left the said farm to the labourer who had always tilled it, and who had perhaps behaved better towards him in his need than those relations had done. His possessions connected with art were left to his disciples, who were Bertoldo,* a Florentine sculptor, who imitated him pretty closely, as may be seen from a battle, in bronze, between men on horseback; a very beautiful work, now in the *guardaroba* of the signor duke Cosimo; † Nanni d'Antonio di Banco, who died before him; Rossellino. Disiderio, and Vellano da Padua:‡ but it may indeed be affirmed,

* Cicognara remarks that Bertoldo was an artist whose works are far from approaching the perfection attained by Donatello, excepting only in the one instance of a most beautiful medallion, representing Mahomet II. On one side is the likeness of Mahomet; and on the reverse is a chariot drawn by horses, on which is the Genius of Victory, who drags after him three female figures, naked and chained, to signify three kingdoms conquered. Cicognara remarks that the beauty and elegance of these figures, might entitle them to be called the Three Graces, rather than three subjugated kingdoms. Beneath are the words, "OPUS BERTOLDI FLORENTINI SCULPTORIS." One of the principal merits of Bertoldo is, that of having been the head of that sort of academy or school of art which the magnificent Lorenzo assembled in his gardens, and also the collector of many models, drawings, etc., which had been used by his masters, but which are now unhappily lost.—*Masselli*.

† There is a battle in basso rilievo, in the hall of the modern bronzes in the Florentine Gallery, which is certainly very beautiful. Some think it that here alluded to; others consider it too fine to be a work of Bertoldo: but the praises given to the medallion of Mahomet, and the comparison of that work with the one here in question, might serve to remove these doubts.—*Ibid*.

‡ The lives of these artists follow in due course. Among the disciples

that all those have been his disciples who, since his death, have desired to work successfully in relief. The drawings of Donato are extremely bold, and his designs evince a facility and freedom which have no equal, as may be seen in my book of drawings, where I have figures clothed and naked, drawn by the hand of this master, with some of animals, which astonish all who see them ; and many other extremely beautiful things.* The portrait of Donato was executed by Paolo Uccello, as has been related in the life of the latter. The epitaphs are as follows :—

“ Sculptura H. M. a Florentinis fieri voluit Donatello, utpote homini, qui ei, quod jamdiu optimis artificibus, multisque sæculis, tum nobilitatis tum nominis acquisitum fuerat, injuriæ temporis, perdidit ipsa, ipse unas, una vita, infinitisque operibus cumulatis, restituerit et patriæ benemerenti hujus restitutæ virtutis palmam reportarit.”

“ Excudit nemo spirantia mollius æra
Vera cano: cernes marmora viva loqui
Græcorum sileat prisca admirabilis ætas
Compedibus statuas continuisse Rhodon.
Nectere namque magis fuerant hæc vincula digna
Istius egregias artificis statuas.

“ Quanto con dotta mano alla scultura
Gia fecer molti, or sol Donato ha fatto:
Renduta ha vita a' marmi, affetto ed atto:
Che piu, se non parlar, può dar natura?”

Donato left the world so well furnished with his works, that we may with truth affirm, no artist to have worked more than he did. Finding pleasure in every branch of his art, he put his hand to every kind of work without considering whether it were of little importance or high value : but this multifarious action of Donato in every kind of relief, whether alto, mezzo, basso, or bassissimo, was without doubt exceedingly serviceable to sculpture, seeing that as in the good times of the ancient Greeks and Romans, it was by the number of masters that the art was brought to perfection, so it was by

of Donato, properly so called, must be numbered a certain Giovanni da Pisa, whom Donatello, according to the *Anonimo* of the sixteenth century, published by Morelli, had with him in Padua, and by whom there is an excellent alto-rilievo in terra-cotta, in a chapel of the church of the *Eremitani* in that city, of which Cicognara has given an engraving, —*Masselli*.

* In the collection of drawings of the Florentine Gallery, there is a beautiful head of a child by Donatello; it is in water-colours on blue paper, the high lights are white.—*Schorn*.

the vast amount of his labours that Donato alone sufficed to restore it to the admirable and perfect condition wherein we see it in our day.* For this cause artists are more deeply indebted to him, than to any other man born in modern times, for the grandeur of this art; since he not only rendered the difficulties of the art less formidable, by the immense variety of his works, but also because he combined, in his own person, the invention, judgment, practice, power of design, and every other quality that can, or ought to be, ever expected from the most sublime genius. Donato was extremely bold and resolute, executing whatever he undertook with extraordinary facility, and constantly performing much more than he had promised.

The completion of almost all his works was left to his disciple Bertoldo, but more particularly the bronze pulpits of San Lorenzo, which were eventually finished in great part by his hand, and brought to the state in which we now see them in that church.

I will not omit to mention, that the most learned and very reverend Don Vincenzo Borghini, of whom we have before spoken in relation to other matters, has collected into a large book, innumerable drawings of distinguished painters and sculptors, ancient as well as modern, and among these are two drawings on two leaves opposite to each other, one of which is by Donato, and the other by Michael Angelo Buonarroti. On these he has with much judgment inscribed the two Greek mottos which follow; on the drawing of Donato, "Ἡ Δοξα τοῦ Βοναρροτίζει," and on that of Michael Angelo, "Ἡ Βοναρροτος Δοξατίζει", which in Latin run thus: *Aut Donatus Bonarroto exprimit et refert, aut Bonarroto Donatum*; and in our language they mean, "Either the spirit of Donato worked in Buonarroti, or that of Buonarroti first acted in Donato."†

* Schorn remarks that in many of his compositions in relief, Donatello adopted the system of Ghiberti, as regarded perspective; but in others he imitated the ancients. He adds that to Donatello is due the merit of having been the first to follow their example, in a regular and consistent manner, as relates to the treatment of both high and low relief.—*German Edition of Vasari*, vol. ii, p. 256.

† Of the many epitaphs composed, as Vasari has remarked, in honour of Donatello, not one was placed on his tomb. It is true that towards the middle of the last century, the following inscription, composed by

THE FLORENTINE SCULPTOR AND ARCHITECT
MICHELOZZO MICHELOZZI.*

[BORN 1395?—DIED AFTER THE YEAR 1470.]

IF all who inhabit this world would consider that they may have to live when they can no longer work, there would not be so many who are reduced to beg that in their old age which they have squandered without any kind of restraint in their youth, when their large and liberal gains, blinding their judgment, have tempted them to spend beyond what was needful, and much more than was right and suitable. Wherefore, since he who has fallen from possessing much to having little or nothing, is often looked upon but coldly, each should endeavour, but in all rectitude, and preserving the medium, to prepare in such sort that he shall not have to beg in his old age. Thus, he who will do as Michelozzo did (who would not imitate his master, Donatello, in this respect, although he did so in his art), will live honourably all the days of his life, and will not be compelled in his last years to go about, miserably seeking the means of existence.†

the Canon Salvino Salvini, was placed near the entrance of the crypt.—

“DONATELLUS
RESTITUTA ANTIQUA SCULPENDI CÆLANDIQ; ARTE
CELEBERRINUS
MEDICIS PRINCIPIBUS SUMMIS BONARUM
ARTIUM PATRONIS APPRIME CARUS
QUI UT VIVUM SUSPEXERE
MORTUO ETIAM SEPULCRUM LOCO SIBI
PROXIMIORE CONSTITUERUNT
OBIIT IDIBUS DECEMBRIS AN. SAL. MCCCCLXVI.
ÆT. SUE. LXXXIII.”

* Migliore found from the fiscal documents of the period, that this master was sometimes called Michelozzo di Bartolommeo di Gherardo, and sometimes Michelozzo di Borgognone sofar Masselli; the later Florentine commentators add, that in the contract made by Donato with the wardens of the Cathedral of Prato, Michelozzo is called Michele, (see *Descrizione della Cattedrale di Prato*, p. 77). Respecting the year of his birth there is much doubt; but that stated above, (1396), seems likely to be correct, as being the year most frequently given in the different fiscal documents relating to him, but which vary considerably.—(See Gaye *Carteggio Inedito*, i, 117-120) See also Rumohr, *Italiensche Forschungen*, ii, 241, 292, 295, and 362; where many interesting details in relation to the works and descendants of this master will be found.

† The son of Michelozzo, called Ser Niccolo, was employed in various

Michelozzo studied sculpture and design, in his youth, under Donatello,* and although he experienced some difficulty, he nevertheless pursued his labours to improve himself so steadily, whether in clay, in wax, or in marble, that, in the works which he afterwards produced he constantly displayed much talent, and even genius. In one respect, however, Michelozzo surpassed many, and on the point in question may be said to have surpassed himself also. We here allude to the fact, that after the death of Brunellesco, Michelozzo was considered the most consistently *regular* architect of his time, and the one who most suitably and correctly arranged and distributed the different kinds of dwellings, whether palaces, monasteries, or houses, as will be declared in its proper place. Donatello availed himself for many years of Michelozzo's aid; the latter having acquired great practice in works of marble, as well as in the casting of bronze. Of this we have proof in the sepulchral monument erected, as we have said, in the church of San Giovanni, at Florence, by Donatello, for the Pope Giovanni Coscia, since the greater part of it was executed by him. In the same place there is still to be seen a marble statue of Faith, by Michelozzo; it is two braccia and a half high,† and is very beautiful. This figure was made at the same time with one of Hope, of the same size, and another of Charity, both executed by Donatello, but the work of Michelozzo does not lose by comparison with them.‡ Over the sacristy and the rooms of the superintendents, which are opposite to San Giovanni, Michelozzo executed a San Giovannino, in full relief,§ which is finished with offices of the state; and Lorenzo, the son of Niccolo, was chosen one of the Priors in 1522—(See Rumohr *ut supra*, ii, 241).

* Before commencing his labours with Donato, Michelozzo had previously studied with Ghiberti, this fact, hitherto unknown, is important, as accounting in part for the progress in art of Michelozzo, and we learn it from a fiscal report, in which he alludes to the part he had taken in the statue of San Matteo, when he was the companion of Lorenzo di Bartoluccio.—See Gaye, *Carteggio Inedito*, etc., i. 117-120. *Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

† The height of these figures is not quite two braccia.—*Masselli*.

‡ For the Florentine Baptistery Michelozzo also made the silver statue of San Giovanni, attributed by Vasari to Antoniodel Pollaiuolo. See Gori, *Monumenta Basilicæ Baptistarii Florentini*. See also Rumohr, *ut supra*, for documents relating to other works of this master in the same building.

§ Now in the often-mentioned corridor of modern bronzes in the

extreme care, and was much praised. This artist was closely attached to the service of Cosimo de' Medici, to whom the superiority of his talents was well known, and who consequently caused him to prepare the model for the house and palace situated at the corner of the Via Larga,* and beside San Giovannino; that which had been made by Filippo di Ser Brunellesco appearing to him, as we have said, too sumptuous and magnificent, and quite as likely to awaken envy among his fellow citizens as to contribute to the grandeur and ornament of the city, or to his own convenience. Wherefore, as Cosimo considered the model made by Michelozzo satisfactory, he caused the building to be erected under his care; when it was completed in the manner that we now see, with all the utility, beauty, and graceful decorations so much admired, and which derive majesty and grandeur from their simplicity. Michelozzo deserves all the more credit for this building, since it was the first palace erected in Florence after modern rules,† and in which the rooms were arranged with a view to convenience as well as beauty. The cellars are excavated to more than half their depth under ground, having four braccia beneath the earth that is, with three above, on account of the lights. There are, besides, butteries, store-rooms, etc. on the same level. In the first, or ground floor, are two court-yards, with magnificent colonnades (loggia), on which open various saloons, bed-chambers, ante-rooms, writing-rooms, offices, baths, kitchens, and reservoirs, with staircases, both for private and public use, all most commodiously arranged. In the upper floors are dwellings and apartments for a family, with all those conveniences proper, not only to that of a private citizen, as Cosimo then was, but sufficient also for the most powerful and magnificent sovereign. Accordingly, in our time, kings, emperors, popes, and whatever of most illustrious Europe‡ can Florentine Gallery. Over the door whence this beautiful little statue was taken, is now another in terra-cotta, also representing San Giovannino, and believed to be by Michelozzo.

* Afterwards enlarged by the Marchese Riccardi, whose name the palace still retains, although it belongs to the government.

† For many valuable observations respecting the architecture of this palace, see Quatremere de Quincy, *Hist. de la Vie et des Ouvrages des plus célèbres Architectes*, i, 72. See also Milizia, *Memorie degli Architetti Antichi e Moderni*, vol. i, lib. iii, cap. i, p. 155.

‡ Among others must be enumerated Charles VIII, since it was there that the magnanimous action of Pier Capponi was performed.—*Musselli*,

boast in the way of princes, have been most commodiously lodged in this palace, to the infinite credit of the magnificent Cosimo, as well as to that of Michelozzo's eminent skill in architecture.*

In the year 1433, when Cosimo was exiled, Michelozzo, who loved him greatly, and was faithfully devoted to his person, voluntarily accompanied him to Venice, and would always remain with him during the whole time of his stay there; wherefore, in addition to the many designs and models which he made in that city for various private dwellings and public buildings which he decorated for the friends of Cosimo and other nobles, Michelozzo constructed the library of the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore, a house of the Black Monks of Santa Giustina. This was built by the command and at the expense of Cosimo, who completed it, not only externally, and with the wood-work, seats, and decorations required, but also furnished it with many books.† Such was the occupation, and such the amusement of Cosimo during that exile, from which, having been recalled by his country, in the year 1434, he returned almost in triumph, and Michelozzo with him. The master was thus again in Florence at the time when it was perceived that the public palace of the Signoria began to show symptoms of decay, some of the columns of the courtyard giving way, either because the weight with which they were loaded was too great, or that their foundations were weak and awry, or perhaps because the parts which composed them were not well put together; but whatever may have been the cause of decay, the care of the restoration was entrusted to Michelozzo, who willingly accepted that charge, and the rather as, while in Venice, he had provided against a similar peril which was threatening a house in the neighbourhood of San Barnaba. A gentleman had a palace there

* For certain strictures on some parts of this building, the student in architecture is referred to Milizia, *ut supra*, vol. i, lib. iii, cap. i.

† Schorn remarks that this library is mentioned by Sansovino, *Descrizione di Venezia*, p. 81; by Ammirato, *Ritratti d'Uomini Illustri di Casa Medici*; by Lorenzo Seraderò, *Monum. Italæ*, and at greater length by the Canon Biscioni, in his Preface to the Catalogue of the Medicean Library, Florence, 1752. Vasari himself also alludes to it in his *Ragionamenti*, p. 17. The Marchese Selvatico attributes an efficacious influence on Venetian art to the works of Michelozzo. See his learned *Studi sull' Architettura e Scultura in Venezia*, Venice, 1847, 8vo.; a work not unfrequently quoted by the later Florentine commentators.

which seemed on the point of falling, and he therefore put it into the hands of Michelozzo; whereupon the latter, according to what Michael Angelo Buonarrotti formerly told me, caused a column to be constructed secretly, and when he had also prepared a number of props and supports, he concealed the whole in a boat, into which he entered himself, with several builders, when, in one night, he securely propped the house and replaced the column. Emboldened by this experience therefore, Michelozzo repaired the injury received by the palace of the Signoria, to his own honour as well as to the credit of those by the favour of whom such a charge had been committed to him. He refounded and reconstructed the columns, placing them in the condition wherein we now see them. Having first constructed a massive framework of thick beams and very strong uprights, to strengthen the centres of the arches, which were formed of nut-wood, and which he now caused to assist in the support of the weight formerly borne up by the columns alone, he then removed such portions of the latter as were defective, by little and little, replacing the decayed parts by new pieces, prepared with great care; and thus he effected in such a manner that the building did not suffer in any way, nor has it ever since sunk a hair's breadth. And to the end that his columns might be known from the others, Michelozzo constructed some with eight sides, and having capitals carved in foliage, after the modern fashion; others he made round, but all are most easily distinguished from those previously erected by Arnolfo.* When this had been accomplished, it was determined in pursuance of the advice of Michelozzo, by those who then governed the city, that the weight pressing on the arches of those columns should be diminished, and that the walls of that part should be reconstructed to that end. The buildings surrounding the court, from the arches upwards, were consequently altered; windows being made after the modern fashion, and similar to those which the master had constructed in the palace of the Medici; cavities were moreover hewn in

* The columns, as well as the walls and ceilings of the gallery, were decorated with pictures and ornaments in stucco, for the marriage of Francis de' Medici (afterwards second Grand Duke) with Joanna of Austria, which took place in the year 1565. These decorations still remain.—*Masselli*.

the stones, and in these were placed the golden lilies still to be seen there;* all which Michelozzo caused to be completed with great promptitude. In the second floor, immediately above the windows of the before-mentioned court-yard, the architect contrived circular apertures, to give light to the rooms of the *entresol*, which are over those of the first floor, and where is now the hall of the Dugento. The third floor, finally, in which resided the Signori and the Gonfaloniere, was more richly adorned, and on the side towards San Piero Scheraggio, Michelozzo arranged a series of rooms for the Signori, who had previously all slept together in one great chamber. These apartments consisted of eight for the Signori, with a larger one for the Gonfaloniere, and they all opened upon a gallery, the windows of which looked on the court yard. Above these apartments was a range of commodious rooms for the household of the palace, the officers of the courts, etc. In one of these rooms, that namely which is now the treasury, there is the portrait of Carlo Duke of Calabria, son of King Robert, who is represented kneeling before a figure of the Virgin. This picture is by the hand of Giotto.† In like manner, the architect provided rooms for the women-servants, the ushers, doorkeepers, trumpeters, musicians, pipers, mace-bearers, servants of the courts, heralds, and such-like, with all other apartments required in a palace of that character.‡ On the upper part of the gallery, and entirely around the court, Michelozzo erected a stone cornice, with a reservoir of water, which was filled by the rains, for the use of the fountains that were required to play at certain times. The improvements and decorations of the chapel, wherein mass is performed, were also executed by Michelozzo, and here he likewise constructed several rooms, the ceilings of which were highly enriched with lilies

* They were removed in 1809 by the French government, then ruling in Florence, who objected to the lilies, as too closely resembling those in the arms of their deposed sovereigns; they also declared that the deep colour of the medallions rendered the court too dark.—*Masselli*.

† This picture is no longer visible, as has been observed in the life of Giotto.—*Ibid.*

‡ The architect Giuseppe del Rosso, who directed the alterations made in 1809, published a collection of remarks at Siena in 1815, on the methods pursued by him on that occasion; a work which may be advantageously consulted by any one engaged in making future changes.—*Ibid.*

of gold on a ground of blue. At the same time he caused the ceilings of other rooms, both on the upper and lower floors of the palace, to be constructed anew, while the old ones which had been formerly made there in the ancient manner, were covered. In a word, he gave to the whole building that perfection of completeness which is proper to such a palace.* The water from the wells, moreover, he contrived to convey to the first floor, where, by means of a wheel, it could be attained more easily than was usually the case. For one defect only did the ingenuity of Michelozzo fail to discover a remedy: this was the public staircase, which, being ill-arranged from the beginning, and situated in an inconvenient place, was too steep, insufficiently lighted, and in all respects badly constructed, with stairs of wood from the first floor upwards. He nevertheless laboured to such effect that a flight of circular steps was formed at the entrance to the court. He also made a door, with pillars, of *pietra forte*, and very beautiful capitals, carved with his own hand.† This door had, besides, a cornice and double architrave, of very good design, in the frieze of which he placed the arms of the commune. But, what was more, he made the whole staircase of *pietra forte*, up to the floor inhabited by the Signoria, and fortified it at the top and in the middle with a portcullis at each point, in case of tumults. At the summit of the stair he further constructed a door, which was called "the chain," by which there constantly stood a door-keeper, who opened or closed it, accordingly as he was commanded by those who ruled. Michelozzo also rendered the fabric of the Campanile more secure, by means of very strong iron girders, this building having cracked beneath the weight which is improperly distributed at that part, over the supports of the cross-beams, that is, on the side towards the Piazza. Finally, he so greatly improved, and so ably restored this palace, that he was highly commended by the whole city; and, in addition to other rewards, he was chosen one of the *Collegio*,‡ which

* The reader who may desire minute details respecting the exact dates, etc., of these works, will find them in Gaye, *ut supra*, vol. 1, pp. 554-560, *et seq.*

† In some of the magnificent halls of this palace, now used for the *Guardaroba*, the rich ceilings here described still remain; but the door, with its beautiful capitals, carved by Michelozzo, will be vainly sought in the entrance to the court.—*Masselli*.

‡ The sixteen Gonfalonieri of the people, with the twelve Buonomini

magistracy in Florence is esteemed highly honourable. And now, if it should appear to any one that I have spoken at more length on this subject than may perhaps seem needful, I deserve to be excused for this, inasmuch as, that, having shown in the life of Arnolfo, that this building was out of square, and destitute of correct proportion at its first erection in 1298; that it had columns of unequal sizes in the courtyard, with arches, some of which were large and some small, stairs ill-contrived, and rooms awry and badly proportioned, it was necessary that I should also show to what extent the building had profited by the skill and judgment of Michelozzi, although even he did not arrange it in such a manner that it could be commodiously inhabited or occupied in any manner without great discomfort and the utmost inconvenience. But when, at length, the Signor Duke Cosimo came, in the year 1538, to make it his habitation, his Excellency began to bring it into a better shape; yet, as the intentions of the duke were never understood, or as the architects who were employed by him for many years on that work did not know how to execute his purposes, he resolved to try if there were not some means whereby, without destroying the old works, in which there was certainly something good, and proceeding in accordance with the plan he had formed in his mind, the staircases and apartments, ill-contrived and inconvenient as they were, might not be brought into somewhat better order, and arranged with more regard to convenience and proportion.

Having therefore caused the Aretine painter and architect, Giorgio Vasari, to be sent for from Rome, where he was employed in the service of Pope Julius III, the duke gave him a commission, not only to make a new arrangement of the rooms which he had already caused to be commenced in the upper part of the division opposite to the Corn Market (those rooms being also awry in consequence of the defects of the ground plan), but likewise commanded him to consider whether the palace could not, without destroying the work already done, be so contrived internally that communications might be established were the two most important magistracies of the city, after the Signoria. They were called colleges, because, says Varchi, "they could never meet apart from each other and from the Signoria, whether for the proposal of measures, or for the decision of business." The having belonged to a college, rendered the descendants of a Florentine eligible to the service of the State in its public offices.

all over it, from one part to another, and from one room to another, by the means of staircases, private and public, to be constructed in a manner that should make them as easy of ascent as was possible. Giorgio Vasari, therefore, while the above-mentioned rooms, which were already begun, were in process of decoration, the ceilings being enriched with oil paintings and gold, and the walls covered with frescoes, or in other cases adorned with stucco,—Giorgio, I say, examined the whole ground-plan of the palace minutely, both the new part and the old; and after he had determined, with no small labour and study, on the means to be adopted for executing what he proposed to do, he gradually began to bring the building, by little and little, into better form, and succeeded in uniting the rooms formerly separated, of which some were high and others low, almost without destroying any part of what had previously been done. But, to the end that the Signor Duke might see the design of the whole, Vasari prepared, in the space of six months, a model, in wood, representing the exact proportions of the entire fabric, which has rather the form and extent of a castle than of a palace. And this model having been approved by his Excellency, the work proceeded in accordance with it, and many commodious apartments were made, with easy staircases, private and public, which communicate with all the floors, and thus liberate the halls, which formerly were like a public road, since it was not possible to reach the upper stories without first passing through them. The whole was magnificently adorned with various paintings; and finally the roof of the great hall was raised twelve braccia above its previous height; insomuch that if Arnolfo, Michelozzo, and the other masters who had laboured on this building, from its first foundation to the present time, should return to life, they would not know it again; nay, they would rather believe that it was not their work, but a new construction and a different edifice.

But let us now return to Michelozzo: the church of San Giorgio had at this time been given to the monks of San Domenico da Fiesole, but they did not occupy it longer than from about the middle of July to the end of January, because Cosimo de' Medici and Lorenzo his brother had obtained for them, from Pope Eugenius, the church and convent of San Marco, which had previously been occupied by Salvestrine

monks, to whom San Giorgio was given in exchange. Moreover they (Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici), being much devoted to religion, and zealous for the Divine service and worship, gave orders that the above-named convent of San Marco should be entirely rebuilt according to the design and model of Michelozzo, commanding that it should be constructed on the most extensive and magnificent scale, with all the conveniences that those monks could possibly desire. This building the master commenced in the year 1437, and the first part completed was that above the old refectory and opposite to the ducal stables, which had formerly been erected by the Duke Lorenzo de' Medici. In this place twenty cells were made, the roof was put on, and the various articles of wood work brought into the refectory, which was finished as we see it in our day.* But the edifice was not proceeded with any further at that time, because it was necessary first to see what would be the end of a lawsuit, which a certain Maestro Stefano, general of the aforesaid Salvestrine monks, had commenced against the monks of San Marco in relation to that convent.† At length, the suit having ended in favour of the brothers of San Marco, the construction of the convent was resumed; but it was again interrupted, for the principal chapel, which had been erected by Ser Pino Bonaccorsi, had afterwards devolved on a lady of the Caponsacchi‡ family, and from her it had passed to Mariotto Banchi. Lawsuits to I know not what amount then ensued; and Mariotto having got through them all, and taken the said chapel from Agnolo della Casa to whom it had been either

* The reader who may desire minute details respecting this building, is referred to Gaye, *Carteggio inedito di Artisti*, for the various dates, etc., and to the *Annal. Conv. Sancti Marci de Florentia*, for the more extended history of the building and its inhabitants.

† See the *Annal. Conv. Sancti Marci*, *ut supra*.

‡ The lady of the Caponsacchi family, here referred to, was the daughter of Ser Pino, and it was by her, and not by her father, that the chapel was founded, as was shewn by an inscription given by Richa, in his *Notizie storiche*, etc., as also by Bottari, in a note on this passage. It was found on a column of the old chapel (which was removed when the new chapel was built) and was as follows.—

“Hanc capellam fecit fieri Domina Francisca uxor olim Banchi de Caponsacchis pro remedio animæ patris sui Ser Pini Bonaccorsi et filiorum ejus Michaelis, Joannis et Philipp. Anno Domini MDXXI, mensa Julii.”

sold or given by the above-named Salvestrine monks, made it over to Cosimo de' Medici, who on his part gave Mariotto 500 scudi for the same. Subsequently, and when Cosimo had in like manner bought from the brotherhood of the Spirito Santo the site whereon the choir now stands, the chapel, the tribune, and the choir were built under the direction of Michelozzo, and were completed and furnished at all points in the year 1439.* The library was afterwards erected, it was vaulted above and below, and had sixty-four bookcases of cypress wood filled with most valuable books.† The dormitory, which was in the form of a square, was next built, and finally the cloister was completed, with all the other truly commodious apartments of that convent, which is believed to be the most perfectly arranged, the most beautiful and most convenient building of its kind that can be found in Italy, thanks to the skill and industry of Michelozzo, who gave it up to its occupants entirely finished in the year 1452.‡ Cosimo de' Medici is said to have expended 36,000 ducats on this fabric; it is added that while it was in course of construction, he gave the monks 366 ducats every year for their support. Of the erection and consecration of this temple certain details may be read in an epitaph (sic) of marble placed over the door leading into the sacristy, and which is in the following words.

“Cum hoc templum Marco Evangelistæ dicatum magnificis sumptibus Cl. V. Cosmi Medicis tandem absolutum esset, Eugenius Quartus Romanus Pontifex maxima Cardinalium, Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, aliorumque sacerdotum frequentia comitatus, id celeberrimo Epiphaniæ die, solemni more servato, consecravit. Tum etiam quotannis omnibus, qui eodem die festo annuas statasque consecrationis ceremonias casti

* Both the tribune and choir were rebuilt in a different form in the year 1678.—*Masselli*.

† In this library was deposited the celebrated collection of Niccolò Niccoli, whose liabilities Cosimo had cancelled, on condition that he should have the free disposal of these books, in the arrangement of which he availed himself of the counsels of Thomas of Sarzana, afterwards Pope Nicholas V.—*Schorn*.

‡ This convent, although enlarged and in some parts modernized, still remains for the greater part as it was left by Michelozzo. So far *Masselli*. The Florentine commentators of 1846-9, adduce the authority of certain chroniclers of the convent, who declare the plan of the monastery to be due to Brunellesco, attributing the direction and execution only to Michelozzo; they further assign the year 1443 as that of the completion of the building, instead of 1452, as given by Vasari.

pieque celebraverint viserintve, temporis luendis peccatis suis debiti septem annos totidemque quadragesimas apostolica remisit auctoritate. A.M.CCCC.XLII."

In like manner Cosimo commanded the noviciate of Santa Croce to be constructed after the designs of Michelozzo, with the chapel of the same, and the entrance which leads from the church to the sacristy, and which communicates with the noviciate, as well as with the stair-case of the dormitory.* These works, whether as regards their beauty of form, convenience, or decorations, are not inferior to any of the buildings, whatever their character, erected by the truly magnificent Cosimo de' Medici, or which were carried into execution by Michelozzo. Among other particulars, was the door leading from the church to the above-named portions of the fabric, which the master executed in the grey stone called *macigno*, and which was much commended for its novelty, and for the beauty of its decorations; since it was at that time but little the custom to imitate the good manner of the ancients, as Michelozzo did in that case. Cosimo de' Medici also caused the palace of Cafaggiuolo in Mugello, to be constructed by the advice and after the plans of Michelozzo, who gave it the form of a fortress, surrounded by trenches:† he likewise proceeded to lay out farms, and make roads about the domain, while he further planted gardens, constructed fountains, with groves around them, and made aviaries, with all the other requisites to a complete country residence. At the distance of two miles from the palace, and in a place called the Friars' Wood, Cosimo completed the erection of a convent, for the barefooted monks of St. Francis; this he also confided to the care of Michelozzo, and a very beautiful work it is.‡ At Trebbio, in like manner, Michelozzo executed various improvements; as he also did at the palace of Villa Careggi,§ which was a rich and magnificent building, whither Michelozzo conducted the water for the fountain which we now see there. For Giovanni, the son of Cosimo

* All these works remain as here described, with the door in *macigno* mentioned immediately after them.—*Masselli*.

† The palace of Cafaggiuolo has suffered many changes; it has no longer the trenches here described around it, and has in our days been deprived of one of its towers.—*Ibid*

‡ The convent of the Zoccolanti is still in existence.—*Ibid*.

§ Now in the possession of the Orsi family.—*Ibid*.

de' Medici, the same architect constructed another magnificent and noble palace at Fiesole, the foundations for the lower part of which were sunk at a very great expense, in the declivity of the hill, but this was not without its equivalent advantage, since the master contrived to place in that portion of the edifice, various cellars, store-rooms, stables, and other handsome and useful appurtenances to the dwelling of a noble. Above these, and in addition to the ordinary halls, chambers, and other apartments usual in such buildings, Michelozzo constructed some for books, with others for music. He gave in short a clear proof, in this palace, of the eminent skill which he possessed in architecture, since in addition to all that we have said, it may be truly affirmed to have been built in such a manner, that although much exposed on that eminence, it has never sunk in the smallest degree. This palace* being completed, Michelozzo built the church and convent of the monks of San Girolamo above it, and almost at the summit of the hill, which was also done at the expense of Giovanni. The design and model of the hospital,† which Cosimo de' Medici caused to be erected in Jerusalem, for the pilgrims who go to visit the sepulchre of Christ, were furnished by Michelozzo, as was the design for six of the windows in the façade of San Pietro, and which was sent to Rome by Cosimo. These windows were adorned with the arms of the Medici, but three of them have been removed in our own day, and replaced by Pope Paul III, with others bearing the arms of the Farnese family ‡ At a subsequent period, Cosimo was informed that a grievous dearth of water was suffered at Santa Maria degli Angeli, at Assisi,§ to the great incon-

* Now called the Villa Mozzi, from the name of the family by whom it has been long possessed. The building was restored and embellished by the architect Gasparo Paoletti, in 1780.—*Masselli*

† The church and convent were founded by Count Carlo Montegraneli, in the beginning of the century, and were only restored by Michelozzo. The former still exists, with a portico, added in 1634, from the design of Matteo Nigetti; the convent has been turned into a villa, and now belongs to the Cav. Prior Riccasoli.—*Schorn*.

‡ "An example by no means praiseworthy, being injurious to history, and authorizing posterity to inflict similar wrongs on the monuments of those who have failed to respect the memorials of their predecessors."—*Masselli*.

§ The earthquakes of 1832 inflicted serious injuries on this celebrated edifice and did great damage to the neighbourhood.—*Ibid*.

venience of the numerous pilgrims who yearly flock to that place, on the 1st of August, for the "Ab-solution"; he consequently sent Michelozzo thither, when that master conducted a spring which rises mid-way up the hill, to the wells of Santa Maria, which he then adorned with a rich and beautiful colonnade (loggia); the columns whereof, formed of separate pieces, were decorated with the arms of Cosimo. Within the convent also, and in like manner at the command of Cosimo, Michelozzo executed many useful improvements for the monks; these the magnificent Lorenzo afterwards renewed at a greater cost, and with increased beauty of ornament; he likewise caused the wax figure of the Madonna to be made, which is still to be seen there* Cosimo de' Medici moreover commanded that the road leading from Santa Maria degli Angeli to the city, should be paved with bricks, and before Michelozzo left that neighbourhood, he prepared the design of the old citadel of Perugia. Returning at length to Florence, he built the house of Giovanni Tornabuoni, at the corner of the Tornaquinci,† which was in almost all respects similar to the palace constructed by the same master for Cosimo. excepting that the façade has not the carved stone-work and cornices of the latter, but is entirely plain.

After the death of Cosimo, by whom Michelozzo had been as much beloved as a dear friend could be, Piero, his son, caused the master to build the marble chapel of the Crucifix, in San Miniato sul Monte,‡ and in the semi-circle of the arch Michelozzo sculptured, in mezzo-rilievo, the Falcon, with the diamond, which was the device of Cosimo,§ the father of Piero, a work that was truly beautiful. Some time after this was completed, the same Piero de' Medici, proposing to construct the chapel of the Annunciation, in the church of the Servi,

* At the time of Boltari (who notices the fact in 1759) this figure had already disappeared.

† This building afterwards belonged to Alessandro de' Medici, Cardinal of Florence, and is now in the possession of the Corsi family. Bocchi, *Bellezze di Firenze*, attributes the Ricasoli palace also, which stands opposite to the Borgo Ognissanti, to Michelozzo.

‡ The chapel is in the centre of the church. The crucifix for which it was erected is now in the church of Santa Trinita in Florence, whither it was transported in 1671.

§ The reader who may desire more extended details respecting the arms and devices of the Medici, is referred to Giovio, *Dell' Impresa*.

entirely of marble, desired to have the opinion of Michelozzo, who was now become old, respecting the matter, not only because he highly estimated the skill of that master, but also because he knew how faithful a friend and servant the latter had been to Cosimo his father. Michelozzo having accordingly said what he thought of the design, the charge of executing it was entrusted to Pagno di Lapo Partigiani, a sculptor of Fiesole,* who displayed much ability and foresight in the progress of the work, having many things to provide for in a very small space. This chapel is supported by four marble columns, about nine braccia high, with double flutings after the Corinthian manner; the bases and capitals are variously carved, and are duplicate in all their parts. Over the columns are the architrave, frieze, and cornice, all with the parts in like manner doubled and sculptured in various fancies, but more particularly with the arms of the Medici, and with foliage. Between these and other cornices constructed for another range of windows, is a long inscription, beautifully cut in marble; while between the four columns, and forming the ceiling of the chapel, is a canopy of marble, richly carved and decorated with enamels, prepared by the action of fire, and with mosaics of various fancies in gold, and precious stones. The pavement is formed of porphyry, serpentine, vari-coloured and other marbles, and stones of price, distributed and arranged in very beautiful order: the chapel is enclosed within a railing of bronze, above which are chandeliers, fastened into an ornamental frame-work of marble, which makes a most admirable finish to the bronze railing and the chandeliers: the door which closes the chapel is also of bronze, and is very well executed. Piero left commands to the effect that the chapel should be surrounded by lights, arranged in thirty lamps of silver, and this was done; but as these lamps were broken up during the siege, our lord the Duke gave orders many years since that they should be replaced, and the greater part of them are already made, the work being still in progress; but in the meantime there has never ceased to be the same number of lights kindled, thirty namely, as was commanded by Piero, although the lamps have

* The marble font in the church of San Giovanni at Siena, is a work of this artist, who gave the design for the palace erected at Bologna by Sante Bentivoglio, in the year 1460.—*Ed. Flor.* 1846-9.

not been of silver since the period of their destruction.* To these ornaments Pagno added an immense lily, formed of copper, and proceeding from a vase which is placed on the angle of the painted and gilded cornice of wood, whereby the lamps are supported. But this cornice is not suffered to uphold so great a weight alone, the whole being sustained by two branches of the lily, which are of iron, painted green, and which being fixed into the angle of the marble cornice, support the other branches; these last are of copper, and hang freely suspended in the air. This work was certainly executed with judgment, and displays invention, wherefore it deserves to be much commended as a fanciful and beautiful thing.†

Beside the chapel here described, a second was built on the side towards the cloister, which now serves as a choir for the monks. The windows of this last-named chapel receive their light from the court, and illuminate not only the chapel itself, but, standing opposite to two similar windows, they also give light to the room containing the small organ which is beside the marble chapel. On the wall of this choir is a large press or awning, in which the silver vessels of the Nunziata are kept. On all parts of the building and on all these ornaments are to be seen the arms and devices of the Medici.‡ Without the chapel of the Nunziata and opposite to it, the same master made a large chandelier in bronze, five braccia high: the holy water font of marble at the entrance of the church is likewise by his hand, as is a figure of San Giovanni in the centre of the building, which is a very beautiful work.§ Pagno also executed a half-length Madonna in marble, which was placed above the table or counter where the monks sell

* They were subsequently all reconstructed in silver; but towards the close of the last century they were again broken up for the public service. No long time elapsed, however, before the offerings of the faithful repaired the mischief; so that this remarkable chapel is not now deprived of its rich decoration.—*Masselli*.

† At the time when Richa wrote his *Notizie Storiche delle Chiese Fiorentine*, the lily, with its ramifications, had been removed.—*Masselli*.

‡ About the middle of the seventeenth century, the walls of this choir were inlaid with precious stones, representing emblems and devices alluding to the Virgin. On the spot where stood the press or armory, there is now a tabernacle, in which the crucifix of Antonio da San Gallo, formerly placed over the high altar, is preserved.—*Ibid*.

§ Neither the chandelier nor the San Giovanni are now to be seen.

the candles. The size of the figure is that of life, the Child is in its arms, and the expression is very good.* There is a similar Virgin by the same artist in the rooms used by the superintendents of Santa Maria del Fiore †

In San Miniato al Tedesco, likewise, Pagno executed certain figures while still very young, in company with his master Donato, and in Lucca he constructed a marble tomb opposite to the chapel of the Sacrament in the church of San Martino for Messer Piero Nocera, who is there portrayed after the life.‡ Filarete, in the 25th book of his work, has recorded that Francesco Sforza, fourth duke of Milan, presented a most beautiful palace in that city to the magnificent Cosimo de' Medici, and that the latter, to show the duke how acceptable was the gift, not only adorned it richly with marbles and carvings in wood, but also enlarged it under the direction of Michelozzo, giving it an extent of eighty-seven braccia and a half, whereas it had previously measured eighty-four braccia only § Besides this, he commanded that various pictures should be painted there, more particularly in one of the galleries, where he caused to be represented certain stories from the life of the emperor Trajan. || Among the decorations of these works, Cosimo ordered the portrait of Francesco Sforza to be depicted, with that of the Lady Bianca, duchess of Milan, his consort, and those of their children; the portraits of many other nobles and great personages were added, together with those of eight emperors, and with these Michelozzo placed the likeness of Cosimo himself, done by his own hand. All the rooms, moreover,

* The counter and the Madonna have alike disappeared.—*Masselli*.

† This is perhaps the figure still to be seen in the room opposite to the door of entrance.

‡ More correctly, Pietro da Noceta. The tomb is not by Pagno, but by Matteo Civitali, a much esteemed sculptor of Lucca, whose name it bears.—*Masselli*.

§ Now the Palazzo Vismana. Of the old part there remain only the court, the external door of marble, exceedingly rich in ornament, with the portraits of Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria, the devices of the Sforza family, those of the Medici, etc. Cicognara has given an engraving of two of the figures on the sides of the door. Filarete concludes the twenty-fifth and last book of his work, with a description of this magnificent palace, adding a pen-and-ink drawing of the elevation of its façade.—*Ed. Flor.* 1849.

|| Modern changes have left but few vestiges of these paintings.—*Ibid*.

were decorated by the master with the arms of Cosimo, arranged in various modes and accompanied by his device of the Falcon and Diamond. The paintings here described were all by the hand of Vincenzo di Zoppa, a painter who was held in no small esteem at that time and in that country.*

It appears that the money expended by Cosimo in the restorations of this palace was paid by Pigello Portinari,† a Florentine citizen, who then directed the financial and other affairs of Cosimo in Milan and resided in the palace.

There are certain works in marble and bronze by Michelozzo in Genoa,‡ with many others in other places which are known by their manner. But what we have now said of him must suffice; he died in the 68th§ year of his age, and was buried in his own tomb in the church of San Marco, in Florence. His portrait, by the hand of Fra Giovanni, is in the sacristy of Santa Trinita, in the figure of an old man with a cap on his head, representing Nicodemus,|| who is taking the Saviour from the cross.

* Foppa, and not Zoppa. See Lanzi, *History of Painting*, vol. ii, pp. 88, 465, *et seq.*

† Pigello Portinari caused a sumptuous chapel to be constructed, under the direction of Michelozzo, in the church of Sant' Eustorgio in Milan. This he dedicated to the Martyr St Peter—it is on the model of that erected by Brunellesco for the Pazzi family, in the cloister of Santa Croce.

‡ It would not be possible now to ascertain the existence of these works, since Vasari does not describe them, nor are they pointed out in the more recent Guides of this city.—*Ed Flor.* 1846-9.

§ More probably seventy-eight.—*Ibid.*

|| Vasari here alludes to the Deposition from the Cross of Fra Giovanni Angelico, now in the Gallery of the Florentine Academy. The figure of Nicodemus has the halo proper to the head of a saint, and is altogether ideal. The head of Michelozzo is portrayed in the figure wearing a black head-dress, and who is speaking to the disciple below, as he resigns the body of the Saviour to his care.

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